



EARLY CHRISTIANITIES AND THE PLACE OF PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCHUS (P. OXY.) 840

by

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יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הַהֲלֹךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם הוּא יְלִיחָם לְכֶם כִּכל אֲשֶׁר עַשְׂתָּה אֶתְכֶם בָּמֹאכְרִים לְעַזְיִינִיכֶם:³⁰
וּבָמֹרְכֶבֶר אֲשֶׁר רָאִית אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָכֶל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶה קָאֲשֶׁר יְשֹׁא-אִישׁ אֶת-בָּנוֹ בְּכָל-הָרָה אֲשֶׁר
כָּל-כָּתָם עַד-בְּאֶתְכֶם עַד-הַמְּקוֹם כֹּהֵן:³¹

Deut 1:30–31

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Erastus Jonker

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SECTION A

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic Introduction

In 1905 the archaeologists, Grenfell & Hunt discovered a previously unknown fragment of a Gospel on a rubbish heap in Oxyrhynchus in Upper Egypt.¹ It contains a controversy dialogue between Jesus and a high priest regarding purity. The fragment is interesting in that it offers a plausible account of Jesus in a controversy over purity, a literary form we often find in the canonical Gospels. Dunkerley refers to this fragment as “the longest, best-preserved and most valuable of the Oxyrhynchus fragments.”² Unfortunately this fragment has not received the attention it duly deserves.

1.2 Text and Translation

<p>[Βουλόμενος] πρότερον προαδικῆσαι πάντα σοφίζεται. ἀλλὰ προσέχετε μὴ πως καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ ὄμοια αὐτοῖς πάθητε. οὐ γάρ ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς μόνοις ἀπολαμβάνουσιν οἱ κακοῦργοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ [καὶ] κόλασιν ὑπομένουσιν καὶ πολ[λ]ὴν βάσανον . καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸὺς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ιερῷ.</p>	<p>καὶ προελθὼν Φαρισαῖος τις ὀρχιερεὺς Λευ[εις] τὸ ὄνομα συνέτυχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ε[ἴπεν] τῷ σωτῆρι τις ἐπέτρεψεν σοι [πατ]εῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ ιδεῖν [ταῦ]τα τὰ ἅγια σκεύη μή`τε’ λουσα[μ]έν[ῳ] μ[ή]τε `μήν’ τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς π[όδας] βα[π]τισθέντων; ἀλλὰ μεμιολ[μμένος] ἐπάτησας τοῦτο τὸ ιερὸν τ[όπον ὅντα] καθαρὸν ὃν οὐδεὶς ἄ[λλος] εἰ μὴ λουσάμενος καὶ ἀλλάξας τὰ ἐνδύματα πατεῖ οὐδε ὁ[ρᾶν τολμᾶ ταῦτα] τὰ ἅγια</p>
<p>Before the one who intends to do wrong first, he reasons everything out subtly. But take heed lest you suffer the same things as they. For not only among the living do evildoers of men receive the same things, but punishment they also await – and severe torture.</p>	<p>And after he had taken them along with him, he led them into the sanctuary itself and walked about in the temple. And walking ahead a Pharisee, a certain high priest, with the name of Levi, joined them and asked the Saviour: “Who has allowed you to set foot in this sanctuary and to behold these holy vessels, without having washed yourself, without your disciples even having immersed their feet? But you have set foot in this temple which is a pure place and you have polluted something that nobody else, unless he has washed himself and changed his clothes, sets a</p>

¹ Their report was published as Bernard P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Oxford: Hart, 1908), 5:1–10. For the location of Oxyrhynchus, cf. appendix. The manuscript dates to the time Oxyrhynchus was part of the Roman province of Arcadia. The city’s Egyptian name is *Per-Medēd* after the (sharp-nosed) elephant fish that used to be worshipped there. The Greek and the Egyptian name refer to this fish. This fish was also used as a hieroglyph:



² Roderick Dunkerley, *The Unwritten Gospel* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1925), 8.

<p>σκεύη.</p> <p>καὶ σταθεὶς εὐθὺς ὁ σωτὴρ] σὺν τοῖς μαθήταις ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ] σὺ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ὥν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθαρεύεις; λέγει ἑκεῖνος' αὐτῷ καθαρεύω. ἔλουσάμην γὰρ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δαυιδ καὶ δι' ἑτέρας κλείμακος κατελθὼν καὶ δι' ἑτέρας ἀνῆλθον καὶ λευκὰ ἐνδύματα ἐνεδυσάμην καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ τότε ἥλθον καὶ προσέβλεψα τούτοις τοῖς ἀγίοις σκεύεσιν.</p> <p>ὁ σωτὴρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν οὐαὶ τυφλοὶ μὴ ὄρῶντες. σὺ ἐλούσω τούτοις τοῖς χεομένοις ὃ[δ]ασιν ἐν οἷς κύνες καὶ χοῖροι βέβληνται νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νιψάμενος τὸ ἐκτὸς δέρμα ἐσμήξω ὅπερ καὶ αἱ πόρναι καὶ αὐλητρίδες μυρίζουσιν καὶ λούσουσιν καὶ σμήχουσι [καὶ καλλωπίζουσι πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἐκείνῳ πεπλήρωται σκορπίων καὶ πάσῃς κακίαις. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ μου οὓς λέγεις μὴ βεβαίηται βεβάμμεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐλθοῦσι ἀπὸ [τοὺς πατρὸς ἔπανω. ἀλλὰ οὐαὶ [τοῖς...</p>	<p>foot into, or would he venture to behold these holy vessels."</p> <p>And the Saviour immediately stood still with his disciples and answered him: "You are after all in the temple. Are you pure?" He tells him: "I am pure. For I have washed myself in the Pool of David with one flight of stairs I went down and with another I went up and white clothes I have put on and pure ones and then I came and looked at these holy vessels."</p> <p>The Saviour answered him and said: "Woe you blind that do not see. You have washed yourself in this flowing water in which dogs and pigs lie day and night and you have washed your outer skin and have wiped yourself clean, as also the prostitutes and pipe girls anoint and wash themselves and wipe themselves clean and beautify themselves toward the lust of men but their inside is filled with scorpions and every evil. But I and my disciples whom you say have not immersed, we have been immersed in living water from heaven which comes from the Father above. But woe unto those..."</p>
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1.3 Research Problem

The majority of publications on P.Oxy. 840 appeared before Bauer's work that deconstructed the myth of the unity within Christianity before the time of Constantine.³ Many scholars have tried to identify the kind of Christianity displayed in the fragment. Yet, there is no consensus. There have been those seeing it as Jewish-Christian document (von Harnack, Kruger),⁴ some seeing it as an Orthodox document (Grenfell & Hunt, Jülicher, Swete and Goodspeed)⁵ and

³ Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (ed. R. A. Kraft & G. Kodel; trans. Philadelphia Seminar on Early Christian Origins; 3d ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) originally published as *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934). No year has seen more publications on P.Oxy. 840 than 1908, the year it was published.

⁴ Adolf Von Harnack, "Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück," in *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben* 2 (ed. A. von Harnack; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911), 239–250; Michael J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Texts and Editions of New Testament Study 1; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 228–238.

⁵ Bernard P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (70 vols; Egypt Exploration Fund; Oxford: Hart, 1908), 5: 4; Adolf Jülicher, "Ein neues Jesuswort?" *Christliche Welt* 8 (1908): 201–204; Henry B. Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente herausgegeben und erklärt* (Bonn: Marcus, 1908), 3–9; Edgar J. Goodspeed, "The New Gospel Fragment from Oxyrhynchus," *BW* 31/2 (1908): 142–146.

others that have thought of it as a Gnostic document (Lagrange, Tripp and Bovon).⁶ This dissertation aims at establishing the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840 within early Christianity by looking at relevant inter-texts related to these movements in a systematic way.

1.4 Research Objectives

- To determine the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840
- To place P.Oxy. 840 within the development of Christian theology
- To show what is unique to P.Oxy. 840 in comparison with the most relevant inter-texts

1.5 Thesis Statement

In light of the above research problem and objectives the thesis of this work is that P.Oxy. 840 can be mapped on a trajectory leading from Q to Justin Martyr.

After the research of Bauer it has become problematic to call Christianity orthodox before the Constantinian revolution. In order to make up for the deficiency of a term for the dominant form of Christianity prior to Constantine, Ehrman has introduced “Proto-Orthodoxy.”⁷ P.Oxy. 840 appears to be one of the earliest remains of Proto-Orthodoxy at the time of Justin when Proto-Orthodoxy was still but emerging Proto-Orthodoxy. Justin Martyr seems to have played a pivotal role in the invention of Proto-Orthodoxy, or as he would call it “Christian Philosophy.” P.Oxy. 840 seems to be at this same crossroads, although it seems to look back to the older apostolic period. This is indicated by the genre of the document, that of Gospel. Nevertheless, P.Oxy. 840 does not seem to be unaffected by philosophy or the new professionalization of the faith.

⁶ Marie-Joseph Lagrange, “Nouveau Fragment non canonique relatif à l’Evangile,” *RB* 5 (1908): 552, 538–553; David Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing: John 13 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” *ExpTim* 103 (1992): 238; François Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840: Fragment of a Lost Gospel, Witness of an Early Christian Controversy over Purity,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 722, 705–728.

⁷ Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (3d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 8.

1.6 Delineations & Limitations

- This work is not a commentary on P.Oxy. 840 or on any of the inter-texts it is compared with
- It is not a redefinition of Orthodoxy, Gnosis or Jewish Christianity
- Apocalyptic prospects should be ignored

1.7 Definitions of Terms and Concepts

1.7.1 Anti-Judaism

Anti-Judaism: This form of discrimination against Jews is motivated more by religion and culture, while race does not seem to have been relevant. This was more common in the ancient world than anti-Semitism. It is debatable whether Anti-Judaism should not sometimes be understood in the light of xenophobia, where Romans despised Egyptians, Scythians and Jews all at the same time (as βάρβαροι) because they were not Roman or Greek.⁸

Prophetic Anti-Judaism: Rhetoric from ancient Israelite prophets criticizing Israel. This criticism had an undeniable deliberative thrust, intended to improve Israelite behaviour. This criticism is by in-group members against in-group members.⁹

Gentilizing Anti-Judaism: Rhetoric by Gentiles criticizing Jews. This criticism is by out-group members against in-group members.

Anti-Semitism: This form of discrimination against Jews is motivated more by race than by religion and seems to be a child of colonialism. Davies is adamant that “anti-Semitism” cannot be used to describe every form of criticism of Jews. Anti-Semitism is an ideology that started in the nineteenth century based on the premise that Jews are genetically different from non-Jews and constitute an inferior race.¹⁰

Israelite: The gentilic “Israelite” is preferred to “Jew” except when an author describes Israelites from an outsider perspective, where the gloss “Jews” or “Judeans” can be

⁸ Paula Fredriksen, “What Parting of the Ways?” in *The Ways That Never Parted* (ed. A. H. Becker & A. Y. Reed; TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr, 2003), 35–64.

⁹ Lloyd Kim, *Polemical in the Book of Hebrews* (PTMS 64; Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2006), 3–4.

¹⁰ William D. Davies, “Paul: From the Jewish Point of View,” in *The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies & J. Sturdy; vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 729 fn. 144.

more practical for understanding an author (the term can describe political, ethnic and religious dimensions in different proportions).

Ioudaioς: is not an easy lexeme to translate. Craffert points out that its semantic range includes the following references: 1) geographical and ethnic: somebody living in the province *Iudaea* (this reference was often broadened to encompass all of Israel (excluding Samaria [?]); 2) religious: somebody who worships the God who has his temple in Jerusalem; 3) political: a citizen or ally of the state of *Iudaea* (e.g. this reference included Idumeans like Herod).¹¹ Accordingly reference 1 was the primary one and is best captured by the gloss “Judean.” References 2–3 only occur after the middle of the second century B.C.E. After the third century the reference 1 and 3 cease to exist. In defining the word one must also bear Samaritans in mind.

Supersessionism: The perspective that Jewish institutions and ideas are fulfilled by Christian ones and that the church has taken Israel’s place as the elect of YHWH.

Tanak: This is the transliteration of the Hebrew Bible, being an acronym of *Tôrâ Nêbî’îm Wiktûbîm* (Law, Prophets and Writings [or Psalms]). These writings are usually called the Old Testament in a Christian environment as opposed to the New Testament. This opposition is not found in the historical record before Melito of Sardis around 170 C.E.¹² Therefore this dissertation sticks to Tanak.

1.7.2 Diversity in Christianity

Fourfold Gospel: This is shorthand for Mark, Matthew, Luke and John. It refers to Irenaeus’ description of these four Gospels. Although the use of the term can lead one to think that it was inevitable that only these four Gospels would be canonized, it is not intended in this dissertation. A literary canon is viewed here as something that is a result of popularity, not pre-determined by fate. This term is very useful in the context of harmonizing Gospels like the Diatessaron.

Gnosis: Greek for Knowledge. On the one hand it is misleading to speak of this Christian trajectory as “Gnosis” because of its exotic associative meaning. This would not have been understood as such in a Greek environment. If one were to call it “Knowledge” and its practitioners “Knowers” it would sound rather mundane.

¹¹ Pieter F. Craffert, “Digging up Common Judaism in Galilee: Miqvaot at Sepphoris as a Test Case,” *Neot* 34/1 (2000): 49–50, 39–55.

¹² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 42.

Proto-Orthodoxy: This term is used in a consciously artificial way as language mechanism that draws attention to how problematic it is to keep connecting official Orthodoxy and the dominant but unofficial form of Christianity before Constantine. The further one goes back in time the harder such connections become, as such the lexeme Proto-Orthodoxy is not found in primary literature.¹³

Trajectory: In stead of describing the different early Christian groups as sects, this dissertation prefers the term trajectory as it is more dynamic and leaves room for theological development across time. Therefore Gnostic movements and later Manichaeian movements can be seen as part of the same trajectory even though one would not describe them as one sect. Secondly, trajectory can also be used for how theological concepts develop and are shared by different Christian groups, for example, regarding anti-Judaism.

1.7.3 Form Criticism

With rhetorical terms this dissertation tries to stick to the Latinized terms, although they go back to Greek invention. The Mathematical symbol, > (greater than), is used below to reflect the hierarchy of Berger's system. The list is alphabetical according to the bottommost category. For example, Dialogue>Revelatory Discourse>Explanatory Revelatory Discourse is alphabetized under "explanatory." As can be seen below not all of these categories are taken over from Berger. Some are rabbinic exegetical methods, for instance. The following three categories from rhetorical criticism are foundational to Berger's work:¹⁴

- a) Deliberative Rhetoric: The orator attempts to persuade his audience what action to take in the future¹⁵
- b) Demonstrative Rhetoric: No specific action is to be taken by audience, but an attempt is made to influence their values and beliefs.¹⁶
- c) Judicial Rhetoric: The orator's audience has to judge events of the past as in a court of law.¹⁷

¹³ The lexeme is an invention of Ehrman, *The New Testament*, 8.

¹⁴ Separate chapters are devoted to collective forms like analogies, sentences, speeches, chriae and apophtegmata, and argumentation. Their division into these rhetorical categories have to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

¹⁵ George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4.

¹⁶ Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 4.

¹⁷ Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 4.

Scribal Forms>Al-tiqre: Chiastic inversion (cf. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* quoted in Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.4f).

Deliberative>Announcement of Woe (*Weherede*): Originally in Israel woe is associated with mourning rites, but after the eighth century it is used by prophets to open speeches.¹⁸ The purpose of an announcement of woe is to indicate in a general sense that there is reason for mourning. Berger argues that an announcement of woe with the Dative has more of an emphasis on the metaphor of death than without it.

Demonstrative>Acclamation “You are...” (*Akklamation “Du bist...”*):¹⁹ Acclamation is often preceded by controversy over the person and her actions. This is related to acclamations like “this is the Son of God” with a second person instead of the demonstrative.

Speeches>Argumentatio is the part of a speech concerned with proof as opposed to *narratio* and *peroratio*.²⁰

Deliberative>Beatitude: (*Seligpreisungen*)²¹ Berger leaves beatitudes quite open (perhaps because of the general application of the lexeme μακάριος), so that somebody is called blessed, if he is seen to be in a happy state, while at the same time his good actions are endorsed. Often, but not always, beatitudes are found in the context of warnings in terms of deeds and rewards. These beatitudes are contrasted with statements of woe in Luke 6.

Charter Myth: These are myths that are set in a primal time which is somewhat different from the reader’s time, for example, “in those days there were giants upon the earth.”²² Events are told that are outside the normal experience of readers (and even of the narrator), for example, a snake conversing with a woman. The aim of these myths is to describe where the world and its inhabitants come from and to explain various features of daily life, for example, why childbirth is painful.²³

Judicial>Combination of Apology and Accusation (Rebuke)>Comparison between I-You (*Ich-Ihr Synkrisis*): Naturally defense and accusation often go hand in hand.²⁴

¹⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 202.

¹⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 235.

²⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 72.

²¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 188–191.

²² John W. Rogerson, “Myth in the Old Testament” in *Myth and Scripture: Contemporary Perspectives on Religion, Language & Imagination* (ed. D. E. Callender Jr.; SBLRBS 78.; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 21, 15–25.

²³ Charter myths are different from the mythicizing of history which is set in more familiar time. An example of the last mentioned category is the description of the Israelites’ wanderings through the wilderness in Exodus and Numbers, cf. Rogerson, “Myth in the Old Testament,” 21.

²⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 362.

Comparison is often used with this mixed form, for example, in Stephan's speech in Acts 7.

Deliberative>Warning in Terms of Deeds and Reward>Conditional Announcements of Salvation and Doom (*Bedingte Heilsansagen in Verbindung mit bedingten Unheilsansagen*) [*Doppelteilige Schluße*]:²⁵ The symmetry between salvation and doom is important, for example, whoever confesses me, I will confess before the Father, but whoever denies me, I will deny.

Argumentation (from logic)>Demonstrative>*Deductio ad absurdum*: Proof of the absurdity of an opponent's position by looking at the conclusion thereof.²⁶ Although more readily associated with argumentation, this form is found in Gospels, for example, Mark 8:36 (what does it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?) and Luke 14:28–31 (as Jesus speaks about sacrifices that need to be made by those that follow him he speaks about the builder that fails to count the cost).²⁷

Dialogue of the Redeemer (genre of books): Dialogue set after the resurrection of Jesus.²⁸

Demonstrative>Dialogue with Prophetic Symbolic Act (*Dialog mit prophetischer Zeichenhandlung*): Such an act symbolizes what is yet to take place. This genre plays an important role in the Prophets. Especially Hosea has to marry a prostitute and have children of harlotry to symbolize the people of Israel's harlotry in forsaking YHWH (Hos 1:2). His first son by the prostitute is to be called Yezreel for YHWH will punish the house of Jehu for the blood spilt at Yezreel (Hos 1:4). In the New Testament it is often combined with the audience's failure to understand, for example, the foot washing-scene in John 13:4–17 with the disciples' failure to understand in John 13:6–10.²⁹

Deliberative>Discourse on Norms (*Normendiskurs*): This genre has both deliberative and demonstrative elements, as it addresses values, but also intends to persuade the audience to act accordingly, for example, James 3:2–12 on the dangers associated with the tongue.

²⁵ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 174.

²⁶ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 103. Cf . 1 Cor 15:13ff has a whole series of them. How can some say that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection of the dead, Christ has not been raised from the dead. If Christ has not been raised our preaching is in vain and your faith. If the dead are not raised, let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die.

²⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 98.

²⁸ Wilhelm Schneemelcher, "Dialogues of the Redeemer" in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; Louisville: Westminster, 2003), 228–231.

²⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 253, 321.

Demonstrative>Divine First Person Speech (*Gottesrede [Ich-Rede]*): Except for Revelation this genre is only found in the New Testament in quotations from the Tanak. It is according to the pattern of Deuteronomy 5:6 which serves as the introduction of the decalogue: “I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage” (RSV).

Demonstrative>Encomium: A speech that praises an individual.³⁰

Demonstrative>Dialogue>Revelatory Discourse>Explanatory Revelatory Discourse (*Erklärung von Offenbarungsworten*): By definition revelatory discourse is puzzling and the hearers often express their bafflement. This is a favourite device of the Johannine Gospel which often combines it with its foundational metaphors like light, bread and water.³¹

Demonstrative>First Person Speech (Ich-Rede): This use of a first person subject is well familiar from narrative criticism. Most of these texts in the New Testament are concerned with the sender, the messenger or the exemplary role of the subject. It is used by Jesus and apostles.³²

Deliberative>Warnings in Terms of Deeds and Rewards>Conditional Announcements of Salvation>First person Speech as Authorization of Conditional Warnings (*Ich-Worte als Autorisierung bedingter Mahnrede*): For example, Luke 21:14ff where Jesus sends out his messengers and encourages them that he will give them a mouth and wisdom to testify before kings and governors and that by their endurance they will gain their lives.³³

Demonstrative>First Person Speech of Having Come and Having Been Sent (*Ich-Worte vom Gekommensein und Gesandtsein*): Introductions like these have a programmatic nature, for example, “He [the Spirit of the Lord] has anointed me...and has sent me to...” (Luke 4:16ff).³⁴

Scribal Forms>*Gezērā šāwā*: A conclusion based on analogy, one of Hillel’s seven hermeneutic rules.³⁵

Figure of Speech>Hendyades: Saying one thing in more than one way, for example, “the king (Nebuchadnezzar) was angry and very furious” (Dan 2:12 RSV)

³⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 222.

³¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 253.

³² Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 256.

³³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 171.

³⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 263.

³⁵ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 112.

Figure of Speech>Hyperbaton: To emphasize a word unusually, it can be separated from the word it is used with, for example, ὁφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου (Because of one man [Philip II], Greece has suffered thus; Demosthenes 18.158).³⁶ As is clear from the example this is difficult to imitate in modern languages where the word order is more fixed.

Demonstrative>First Person Speech>“I am *x*, it is me”-formulas (*Aussagen nach dem Schema ich bin x, ich bin es*): This introduction indicates authoritative and at the same time disputable claims by the speaker.³⁷

Demonstrative>Report about Visions and Auditions>Interpretation of Something Enigmatic (*Deutung des zuvor Rätselhaften*). Interpretation of enigmatic events follows on the explanation of the identity of the protagonist, for example, with the transfiguration in Mark 9:7 “This is my beloved Son; listen to him” ([RSV] Mark 9:7).³⁸

Demonstrative>Dialogue>Interrupted Dialogue (Abgebrochener Dialog): The enigmatic saying is not explained due to some kind of interruption.³⁹

Judicial Chria (*Chrie dikanischer Art*): Judicial chriae have an apologetic character that tries to defend the novelty of emerging Christianity as opposed to Judaism, for example, its fasting practice, its Sabbath-practice, its conception of purity, its high regard for Jesus, and Jesus’ messianic claims.⁴⁰

Demonstrative>Laudatory Biography (*Enkomion-Biographie*): This genre describes the life of some protagonist and aims to praise him.⁴¹ Its predecessor seems to be the biographies of the prophets. Important information include: Name, ancestry, place of birth, characteristics, appearance, and eventually, deeds, place of death and funeral, for example, the report on the Baptist in Mark 1:4–8.

Demonstrative>Liturgy (*Erzähltes Zeremoniell*): These ceremonial acts present the reader with a graphic image of the future salvation, for example, Revelation 11:15–19.⁴²

Demonstrative>Martyrology>Martyrology of a philosopher (*Märtyrerberichte über Philosophen*): Typically martyrologies end with the burial of the martyr. Berger also includes the *Passio Pauli* (Acts 21), although he is not yet dead.⁴³ Various examples

³⁶ Eduard Bornemann & Ernst Risch, *Griechische Grammatik* (Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1978), §144.

³⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 259.

³⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 284.

³⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 254.

⁴⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 91.

⁴¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 347.

⁴² Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 320.

⁴³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 334, 337.

of martyrologies of philosophers occur, for example, of Zeno, Anaxarchus and Hermias who refuse to submit to the tyrant often by applying defiant rhetoric.

Metaphorical Personal Labelling (*Metaphorische Personalpredikation*): This refers to utterances where a personal pronoun is combined with a metaphor, for example, “You are the light of the world” of Matt 5:14.⁴⁴

Scribal Forms>*Midraš pešer*: Interpretation following longer passages from Scripture. It consists of the repetition of words, phrases and components from sentences in a new syntactic context. Other citations are then applied to create new meaning,⁴⁵ for example, Hebrews 2:6–10 reflecting on Psalm 8:5–7.

Narratio: Narration of the relevant events.⁴⁶

Demonstrative>Narrative Mandatio>Narrative Commissioning (*Berufungsgeschichte*): Mandatio refers to narratives that present the result of commanding by some figure of authority and obedience to him by his subordinate. In the New Testament it is applied to narratives where the disciples, demons and sick obey the Lord.⁴⁷ Narrative Commissioning is found in 1 Kings 19:19–21 (Elijah commissioning Elisha).

Demonstrative>Negative Missionary Report (*negative Basisbericht [nach missionarischen Wirken]*): Missionary reports refer to texts that report on the success or failure of missions in summary format without describing isolated events.⁴⁸

Peroratio: Important conclusion (course of action to be undertaken).⁴⁹

Demonstrative>Prophecy (*Vaticinium*): This refers to pronouncements referring to salvation or doom, though standing outside of the framework of deeds and reward. The authority of these sayings are based on the author and on their occurrence alone, for example, the disciples finding the colt before the Last Supper in accordance with Jesus’ prophecy (Mark 11:2, 7).

Scribal Form>*Piqquah nefesh* (saving a life): One of the extensions and limitations to Hillel’s hermeneutical rules introduced by Rabbi Nahum of Gimzo who states that the precepts of the Sabbath need not apply in cases where a life is in danger.⁵⁰

Scribal Form>*Qal wāhōmer* (light and heavy) (*deductio a minore ad maius*): an inference from the less to the more important and from the more important to the less important.

⁴⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 38.

⁴⁵ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 112.

⁴⁶ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 72. Cf. *argumentatio* and *peroratio*.

⁴⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 314.

⁴⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 331.

⁴⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 72. Cf. *argumentatio* and *narratio*.

⁵⁰ Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 125.

Any *qal wāhōmer* has two premises and one conclusion. The first premise states that two things A and B stand to each other in the relation of major and minor importance. The second premise states that with one of these two things, A, a certain restrictive or permissive law is connected. The conclusion is that the same law is applicable to the other thing, B.⁵¹ This is one of Hillel's seven hermeneutic rules.

Deliberative>Warning and Rebuke>Rebuke and Announcement of Doom in the Form of Prophecy (*Schelte und Unheilsankündigung in Form eines Vaticiniums*). There is some tension between the deliberative and judicial nature of this form. In case of the first possibility the audience's behaviour can still be improved, but not in the case of the latter. Prophesying against Jerusalem could be judged a capital offence.⁵²

Deliberative>Warning and Rebuke>Rebuke and announcement of doom (*Schelte und Unheilsankündigung*): It is important to note that this form is not intended as judgement, but intended to improve the audience's behaviour.⁵³ The guilty party is addressed in the second person and the rebuke is about general behaviour.

Demonstrative>Report about Visions and Auditions (*Berichte über Visionen und Auditionen*): Berger is sceptical of the form Report about Visions and Auditions and thinks it anachronistic to project modern rationality onto the Ancient World where visions would necessarily be differentiated from natural events.⁵⁴

Scribal Identification with “This is...” (*Schriftgelehrte Identifikation mit “Dieser ist”*): Berger looks for the origins of this form in apocalyptic meaning-making and propaganda meant for the synagogues to emphasize the legitimacy of Jesus' messianic claims.⁵⁵

Demonstrative>First Person Speech>Self Recommendation and Self-Promotion (*Selbstempfehlung und Selstabgrenzung – Werberuf*): Berger explains this form by the fact that a competitive environment forces the charismatic to show his own legitimacy. The simplest way is to express this clearly yourself, for example, Matthew 11:28.⁵⁶

Demonstrative>First Person Speech>Simple introduction by Messenger (*Einfache Botenselbstvorstellung*): In presenting himself as God's messenger Jesus clearly

⁵¹ Cohn-Sherbok, “Plucking Grain on the Sabbath,” 37.

⁵² Jer 26; *Ascen. Isa.* 3:6, 10; 5:1. Cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 196.

⁵³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 195.

⁵⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 285.

⁵⁵ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 352.

⁵⁶ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 266.

places himself in relation to the Father. A similar technique is used by the Prophets, for example, Amos 7:15.⁵⁷

Sentences>Sentences about Certain Trades>Sentences about Messengers (*Sentenz über Gesandten*): Sentences have such a general character, that they needn't be attributed to an authority to be legitimate.

Sentences>Sentences about Certain Trades>Sentences about Slaves (*Sentenz über Sklaven*).

Demonstrative>Symbolic Act (*Zeichenhandlung*): This act symbolizes what is yet to take place.

Demonstrative>Synkrisis: A comparison of two individuals or entities.⁵⁸

Demonstrative>First Person Speech>Use of the third person instead of the first (*Die Verwendung der 3. Person statt der 1.*). The most common form of this technique is found in the “son of man-sayings.”⁵⁹

Demonstrative>Martyrology>Temptation of the righteous as part of a report on philosophers (*Versuchung des Gerechten*): In these texts the adversary or some ruler attempts to move the righteous to apostasy. This form typically combines imperative and a verb “to save yourself.”⁶⁰

Deliberative>Warning against False Teachers (*Warnung vor falschen Lehrern*): These warnings usually occur at the start of speeches. The form is found in the testament-literature already.⁶¹

Deliberative>Warnings in Terms of Deeds and Reward (*Mahnungen im Tat-Folge-Schema*): Such warnings are pronounced according to the formula if you do x, y will happen as a result.⁶² This form is often associated with Wisdom-literature.⁶³

Deliberative>Warning for Special Occasions>Warning in when-you-sentence with reference to your brother (*Mahnung: Wenn-du-Sätze über das Verhältnis zum Bruder*): this form contains a conditional clause and provides important information about concrete questions in the earliest churches. The form with reference to your brother is common in the Tanak, for example, in the prescriptions about helping the livestock of your

⁵⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 268.

⁵⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 345–346.

⁵⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 261.

⁶⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 337.

⁶¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 144.

⁶² Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 167.

⁶³ Llewellyn Howes, *Judging Q and Saving Jesus: Q's Contribution to the Wisdom-Apocalypticism Debate in Historical Jesus Studies* (Cape Town: AOSIS, 2016), 99.

brother (Deut 22:1–4). Matthew 5:23 warns about making peace with your brother before sacrificing.

Deliberative>Warnings in Terms of Deeds and Reward>Words Related to Entering the Kingdom and Inheriting Its Blessings (*Worte vom Eingehen in das Reich Gottes und vom Erben und Segen des Reich Gottes*). Relevant to these utterances are those that do not enter the kingdom, the unjust.⁶⁴

1.8 Assumptions

- Before the time of Constantine Christianity was diverse and there was no official theology;
- theology was pluralistic and regional;
- at the same time the diversity was accommodated within limits;
- the theology we know has come through the prism of Nicaea, so that we must be careful to project ideas anachronistically onto this period;
- the development of theology is understood as a tree that branches off with some branches breaking off quickly and others growing strong, but very few with enough vigour to last longer than a century (evolutionary metaphor);
- the diversity before the time of Constantine was much broader than the three categories featured in this dissertation (Jewish Christianity, Gnosis and Proto-Orthodoxy);
- trajectories are not static and in sealed compartments, so that they develop through time and share overlapping features;
- anti-Semitism is a phenomenon that started in the nineteenth century that was based on ethnic and racial differences and it should be separated from anti-Judaism which is concerned with theological differences and does occur in the Ancient World in various degrees;⁶⁵
- anti-Judaism is often perpetrated by Israelites, for example, prophetic anti-Judaism as can be seen in prophetic criticism of Israel;
- this also invalidates references that an author “must have been a Gentile, for no Jew would ever have said something like that;”

⁶⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 182.

⁶⁵ James D. G. Dunn, “The Question of Anti-Semitism in the New Testament Writings of the Period,” *Jews and Christians: The Parting of Ways AD 70–135* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 177, 177–211.

- Christians were able to absorb this self-critical prophetic anti-Judaism to its advantage in Jewish-Christian polemics to advocate supersessionism;⁶⁶
- this is not to deny that anti-Judaism cannot be as destructive as anti-Semitism;
- definition of concepts is too reductionist from an epistemological perspective, so that classification with reference to comparable Others becomes more important;
- the diversity within Christianity is mirrored in its mother-religion, Judaism, till the Rabbis started to dominate the faith;
- the writings from Qumran are consistently associated with the Essenes;
- P.Oxy. 840 was written in an advanced agrarian society much different from our own industrial society;
- P.Oxy. 840 was written in a culture dominated by Greeks under Roman political control within an Israelite ideology, so that all three of these three forces could influence the author;
- the historicity of P.Oxy. 840 cannot be proven, so that this dissertation is not concerned with it;⁶⁷
- the date of composition of P.Oxy. 840 is around 150 C.E. (contra Bovon, Miller and Stewart-Sykes);⁶⁸
- the title Saviour in P.Oxy. 840 should be understood as an epithet for Jesus;
- the critical text of Kruger underlies this dissertation.⁶⁹

1.9 Significance of the Study

This dissertation has more of a theoretical than a practical significance. Determining the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840 will contribute to our understanding of the development of Proto-Orthodoxy and the professionalization of Christianity when it became a philosophy at the time of Justin. To a certain extent it is a vindication of the older research on P.Oxy. 840 when its orthodoxy was taken for granted before the publication of Bauer's work. The most recent

⁶⁶ Abel M. Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles in the Early Jesus Movement: An Unintended Journey* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 33.

⁶⁷ From the literature review (Büchler, Jeremias and Schwartz) it seems clear enough that P.Oxy. 840 is historically possible, despite Schürer's initial objections.

⁶⁸ Bovon, "Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840," 705; Alistair Stewart-Sykes, "Bathed in Living Waters: Papyrus 840 and Christian Baptism Reconsidered." ZNW 100 (2009): 283, 278–286; Miller, Stuart S. *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels and Ritual Purity among the Jews of Roman Galilee* (Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2015), 119.

⁶⁹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 66–68.

publications on P.Oxy. 840 have suggested other ways to understand it either as a Gnostic or a Jewish-Christian document. Determining the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840 is important, as it provides scholars with an important criterion to classify this Gospel.

1.10 Structure of the Study

Chapter 1. *Introduction, Text and Translation*

Chapter 2. *Research History*

Chapter 3. *Method*

Chapter 4. *Reading of P.Oxy. 840*

Chapter 5. *Gnostic Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840*

The Book of Thomas the Contender NHC II,7

The Gospel of Mary BG,1

The Trimorphic Protynnoia XIII,35 (Sethian)

The Gospel of the Egyptians NHC III,2 and IV,2 (Sethian)

Zostrianos VIII,1 (Sethian)

Testimony of Truth NHC IX,29

The Paraphrase of Shem NHC VII,1

Justin the Gnostic (Hippolytus, Ref. 5.27.3)

Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis (Manichaean)

Chapter 6. *Jewish-Christian Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840*

Q

Matthew

The Gospel according to the Hebrews

The Gospel according to the Nazarenes

The Gospel according to the Ebionites

Papyrus Egerton

Pericope Adulterae

Chapter 7. *Proto-Orthodox Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840*

Mark

John

Epistula Apostolorum

Hebrews

Barnabas

Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*

1.11 Corrections on the Thesis

Proff. Dr Tobias Nicklas (Universität Regensburg), Paul Decock (St Joseph's Theological Institute) and Ernest van Eck (University of Pretoria) were responsible for examining this thesis. I am thankful for their time in reading my work and for all their helpful comments.

I have incorporated what they have said as will become evident in some of the footnotes. Despite Prof. Dr Nicklas' criticism on the statistics on the christological titles I have retained this as a tool for analysing the inter-texts. For the sake of accuracy I have rounded off all percentages to the second decimal place. This has improved the statistics as Prof. Dr Nicklas would have seen them the first time. Although these statistics may seem like an oversimplification, they remain useful, in so far as they give an overview of every inter-text's application of the title of Saviour in proportion to other titles.

1.12 Conclusion

One may ask whether it is necessary to write another monograph on P.Oxy. 840 after such a complete monograph like Kruger's has been published in 2008. Because of the significance of this fragment it seems to be the case, as Kruger could have discussed the place of P.Oxy. 840's within early Christianity in greater depth. As a prognosis it is expected that Kruger's finding that P.Oxy. 840 originated in a Jewish-Christian setting will be overturned. P.Oxy. 840 seems closer to Proto-Orthodoxy, but at a time when there was not a very clear division between Proto-Orthodoxy and Jewish Christianity. This will confirm P.Oxy. 840's early dating in the first half of the 2nd century, making it a very significant document for early Christianity. Such an early dating may also bring the fragment into consideration when forming a picture of the historical Jesus.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Cf. the evaluation of such an idea by Andrew Gregory, "The Non-Canonical Gospels and the Historical Jesus: Some Reflections on Issues and Methods," *EvQ* 81/1 (2009): 15–16.

2 RESEARCH HISTORY

The discovery of P.Oxy. 840 in 1905 by Grenfell & Hunt caused an immediate sensation in the press.¹ From 1908 to 1914 there had been no shortage of articles written on it.² Since 1986 P.Oxy. 840 has received much more attention than one would expect of such a small sample of text. The most controversial aspects of P.Oxy. 840 are: historicity, whether it is a Synoptic or a Johannine Gospel and what kind of Christianity or trajectory lies behind the text. Manuscript, text and style are discussed in addition.

2.1 Historical Plausibility

When Grenfell & Hunt published the fragment in 1908, they described the fragment as an “interesting and valuable addition to the scanty remnant of the numerous uncanonical traditions concerning Christ’s teaching which were current in many Christian communities.”³ Nevertheless, after consulting with the Jewish Historian, Schürer, they thought that the references to the temple and its rituals at the time of the first century are inaccurate. That pigs and dogs would wash in a pool in which priests would purify themselves is seen as an exaggeration for rhetorical effect.⁴

Jülicher notes the agreement between the image of Jesus in P.Oxy. 840 and the historical Jesus, in conflict with the Pharisees and their vanity.⁵ He feels that it is only coincidental that P.Oxy. 840’s pericope did not gain acceptance into the Fourfold Gospel.⁶ Jülicher emphasizes that P.Oxy. 840 does not contribute to what we know about Jesus and his time. According to him Jesus’s argument that his form of purity trumps that of Levi is a self-referential argument. He concludes with the sweeping statement that we will not find Jesus in the sands of Egypt.

¹ Erwin Preuschen, “Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos,” ZNW 9 (1908): 1.

² Michael J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Texts and Editions of New Testament Study 1; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 3–13 divides scholarship on this fragment into the periods 1908–1914 (Initial interest), 1914–1986 (Subsequent neglect), and after 1986–2004 (Occasional attention).

³ Bernard P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (70 vols; Egypt Exploration Fund; Oxford: Hart, 1908), 5: 1–10.

⁴ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 10.

⁵ Adolf Jülicher, “Ein neues Jesuswort?” *Christliche Welt* 8 (1908): 201–204.

⁶ Jülicher, “Ein neues Jesuswort?” 203.

Smith agrees with the inaccurate portrayal of the temple calling the narrative “glaringly fictitious.”⁷

There are, however, a few scholars who take a less critical view of the fragment. Von Harnack doubts the historicity of P.Oxy. 840 by noting that we do not know about Jewish legislation that demanded purity from laymen before visiting the temple, although he does open the possibility for unknown scribal enactments.⁸ In the end the similarity between the Synoptic Jesus and P.Oxy. 840, makes von Harnack *want* to believe its historicity.

Büchler refers to passages from rabbinic literature to meet some of the objections against the fragment.⁹ In looking at the criticism against P.Oxy. 840 that laymen were never able to see the holy vessels, he notes that after festivals all the vessels except the golden and brazen alters had to be cleaned in the inner court where they would be visible to the public (*m. Hag.* 3.7–8; *t. Hag.* 3.35; *y. Hag.* 3.79d).¹⁰ As this happened after the festivals there would not be many pilgrims, but it would in theory be possible for them to see them. He eventually concludes that this fragment contains older material than that found in the Synoptics. Davies, Lietzmann, Marmorstein, Preuschen and Blau all argue for the historicity of the fragment.¹¹

Dunkerley is surprised at how the discoverers of the fragment could dismiss it so quickly.¹² He thinks the material is in complete harmony with Jesus’ teaching. After the wars, Jeremias added his voice saying that in P.Oxy. 840 we have one of the few non-canonical sayings of Jesus that has some historical merit.¹³ In fact he goes so far as saying that P.Oxy. 840 “is by far the most important of the discoveries which the excavations have yielded.”¹⁴ Jeremias concludes that because of the proximity to the Synoptics, the Semitisms and the historical accuracy P.Oxy. 840 is to be understood as a significant tradition about Jesus with

⁷ David Smith, *Unwritten Sayings of Our Lord* (Hodder, 1913), 143.

⁸ Adolf Von Harnack, “Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück,” in *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben* 2 (ed. A. von Harnack; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911), 246, 239–250.

⁹ Adolf Büchler, “The New Fragment of an Unknown Gospel,” *JQR* 20 (1908): 330–346.

¹⁰ Büchler, “The New Fragment,” 338.

¹¹ W. W. Davies, “A Fragment of Another Gospel,” *Methodist Review* 90 (1908): 815–818; Hans Lietzmann, “Das neugefundene Evangelienfragment und seine Vorgänger,” *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung* 31 (1908): 662–672; Arthur Marmorstein, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Evangelienfragment in Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol V n. 840, 1907,” *ZNW* 15 (1914): 337, 336–338; Preuschen, “Das neue Evangelienfragment,” 8; Ludwig Blau, “Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos buch- und zaubergeschichtlich betrachtet nebst sonstigen Bemerkungen,” *ZNW* 9 (1908): 207, 204–215.

¹² Roderick Dunkerley, *The Unwritten Gospel* (London: Allen, 1925), 113–117.

¹³ Joachim Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß Jesu mit dem pharisäischen Oberpriester auf dem Tempelplatz. Zu Pap. Ox. V 840,” *ConBNT* 2 (1947): 97–108. A shorter and somewhat different version of this article is found in the more accessible *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1948), 39–49 and in English *Unknown Sayings of Jesus* (London: SPCK, 1964). I will be referring to both German versions.

¹⁴ Joachim Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus* (London: SPCK, 1964), 17.

some Jerusalem local colouring.¹⁵ Jeremias reflects on a parallel from Tannaitic literature (*t. Kelim Qammā* 1.6) which uses the same language and addresses the very same dilemma of some priest that entered the space between temple and altar without having washed his hands and feet.¹⁶ Jeremias emphasizes that ἀρχιερεύς has other references than “high priest,” including “Schatzmeister” and “Hauptmann” both of which can be applied to P.Oxy. 840.¹⁷

Schwartz proposes a new explanation for the fragment’s peculiar comments about the temple.¹⁸ Whereas previous scholars emphasize that the temple’s utensils could not be seen from the court of the Israelites,¹⁹ In agreement with Büchler, Schwartz draws attention to the fact that during the celebrations of *Sukkōt* the utensils were exhibited before the pilgrims in the temple. He points to a Tannaitic report where mention is made of Pharisees purifying the candelabrum after such a festival (*t. Hag.* 3.35; *b. Hag.* 3.8 [79d]).²⁰

Bovon seems to build on Tripp’s foundation despite noting Schwartz’s defence of the fragment’s accuracy.²¹ The concept of the Pool of David is connected to baptisteries found in the archaeological remains of churches in Tunisia, Greece and Italy. The holy vessels are in turn identified with the Christian utensils of chalice and plate. Like Tripp, Bovon thinks P.Oxy. 840 is written into a first-century setting, but reflects later realities.²²

Kruger has argued against Bovon’s proposals, noting that his proposals of baptismal fonts and Christian utensils and chalices all reflect fourth-century realities and are thus too late for the period in which almost all scholars propose dating P.Oxy. 840.²³ The Pool of David is understood by Kruger as a *miqweh* with a divided staircase.²⁴ This is because of the fact that it is used for purification, has divided steps, contains natural or running water, and was located in Jerusalem close to the temple.²⁵ Kruger understands the pigs and dogs washing in the pool for priests in the sense that pigs and dogs wash in earthly water all the time and that it cannot compare to heavenly water. This is not that different from Jeremias’ understanding. Based on primary sources he argues for a standard immersion for laymen

¹⁵ Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 47.

¹⁶ Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 47.

¹⁷ Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 100.

¹⁸ Daniel R. Schwartz, “Viewing the Holy Utensils (P.Ox. V,840),” *NTS* 32 (1986): 153–159.

¹⁹ Marmorstein, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Evangelienfragment in Oxyrhynchus Papyri,” 337.

²⁰ The same passages Büchler, “The New Fragment,” 338 initially referred to.

²¹ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 722.

²² David Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing: John 13 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” *ExpTim* 103 (1992): 237–239.

²³ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 110.

²⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 143.

²⁵ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 116–122.

before entry into the temple.²⁶ For Kruger the author of P.Oxy. 840 displays an uncanny awareness of Jewish practices at the time of the Second Temple.

Although Safrai & Safrai are impressed with P.Oxy. 840's knowledge of Second Temple Judaism they only find fault with its claim that there were pigs in Jerusalem. The author must have been writing outside of Palestine because of the reference to pigs, perhaps in Alexandria or another diaspora.²⁷ For Safrai & Safrai, P.Oxy. 840 is an important testimony to the inter-cultural contact between Judaism and Christianity at a very early period, showing how they continued to influence each other. In the end P.Oxy. 840 is viewed as an important testimony to the link between Tannaitic and Second Temple *hälākâ*. Safrai & Safrai note that the gatekeeper, Levi, would not have been able to see that Jesus and his disciples were not pure.²⁸ They note that a gatekeeper would also not be allowed to enter the sanctuary.²⁹

Miller takes exception to Kruger's proposal of the Pool of David as a *miqweh*.³⁰ Miller notes the danger of measuring Second Temple phenomena according to rabbinic legislation as there is a gap of two centuries. Miller uses a very narrow definition for *miqveh*. Nevertheless, even if P.Oxy. 840's historicity cannot be proven by its accuracy describing *miqwa'ôt*, Miller notes that in the Second Temple period Jews were not that strict on where immersion could take place, so that any pools could in theory be used. Miller emphasizes that there is no positive evidence that P.Oxy. 840 was familiar with Jewish practice of the time.

Jeremias' claim that P.Oxy. 840 shows authentic Jerusalem colouring, seems to be overruled by the unlikelihood of pigs in Jerusalem. His suggestion that ἀρχιερεὺς can refer to other references is widely accepted. It is no longer disputed that pilgrims to the temple could theoretically have seen the holy utensils. It stands to reason that history can never be proven. But from this literature review it seem clear enough that despite some problems, P.Oxy. 840 is historically plausible. Its accuracy regarding Judaism has been advocated by seasoned rabbinic scholars like Büchler, Safrai & Safrai. What is even more obvious is that we do not know enough of the *hälākâ* of the period to contradict P.Oxy. 840. Even the fact that pigs

²⁶ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 130–134.

²⁷ Ze'ev Safrai & Chana Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," *Halakah in the Light of Epigraphy* (ed. A. I. Baumgarten; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2011), 280, 255–280.

²⁸ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 265.

²⁹ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 268.

³⁰ Stuart S. Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Ritual Purity among the Jews of Roman Galilee* (Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2013).

should not have been found in Second Temple Jerusalem will not detract from the historicity of P.Oxy. 840, as it seems to be a rhetorical exaggeration.

Zelyck suggests that the second or third century synagogue might be what P.Oxy. 840 is referring to when speaking of the temple.³¹ By applying epigraphical evidence he notes that Jewish and Samaritan synagogues are called *iεpόv* (“temple” or “holy place”) at this stage.³² He also shows that priests often play leading roles in the synagogues as early as the first century. Indeed, he makes a valid case that this might be what P.Oxy. 840 is referring to, but it does not necessarily undermine the suggestion that P.Oxy. 840 was composed prior to 150 C.E. or that it reflects familiarity with the Second Temple.³³ Zelyck still thinks P.Oxy. 840 was composed in the second or third century.

Buchinger & Hernitscheck build on Bovon’s thinking and goes on to argue for a fourth century date of composition.³⁴ The odd coupling of baptism with foot washing is equated with the custom of baptismal *pedilavium* that only emerges in the fourth century.³⁵ Parted stairways are only found since the church architecture of the fourth century. White garments are only mentioned for baptizands since the fourth century. Christian liturgical mysteries (possibly explaining P.Oxy. 840’s concern with viewing the holy vessels) were not protected from common sight before the fourth century. Once again attention is drawn to the lexeme *ἀγνευτήριον* that appears to be late – not in Christian literature before the time of Gregory Nazianzen.

2.2 P.Oxy. 840 and Inter-Texts

The language of prostitutes and flute girls reminds Goodspeed of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*,³⁶ so that Goodspeed wonders about connections between these two Gospels. Goodspeed furthermore sees the fragment as consistent with the canonical Gospels and faithful to the teachings of Jesus. Jülicher notes that the importance of purity in P.Oxy. 840 is

³¹ Lorne R. Zelyck, *John among the Gospels* (WUNT 2/347; Tübingen: Mohr, 2013).

³² His epigraphical evidence refers to Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder & Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), §26; 187 and literary evidence is provided by Josephus, *Ap.* 1.209; Philo, *Prob.* 81. For a more detailed discussion of epigraphic evidence, cf. Lorne R. Zelyck, “Recontextualizing Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840,” *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 178–197, 182.

³³ Contra Zelyck, *John among the Gospels*, 75.

³⁴ Harald Buchinger & Elisabeth Hernitscheck, “P.Oxy. 840 and the Rites of Christian Initiation: Dating a Piece of Alleged Anti-Sacramentalistic Polemics,” *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 117–124.

³⁵ Buchinger & Hernitscheck, “P.Oxy. 840 and the Rites of Christian Initiation,” 120.

³⁶ Edgar J. Goodspeed, “The New Gospel Fragment from Oxyrhynchus,” *BW* 31/2 (1908): 142–146.

to be understood in the light of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies containing a whole book on purity.³⁷

Von Harnack is one of the few scholars to say something about the first paragraph, although he concedes that it is not easy. The first pericope is compared to Luke 13:5. Von Harnack is impressed with the similarity of P.Oxy. 840 to the Synoptics.³⁸ Von Harnack also recognizes Johannine features in speaking of the “living water” and “walking about in the temple.”³⁹

Jeremias argues that the living water that Jesus and the disciples are baptized in refers to baptism in the Spirit. It is opposed to the purity Pharisees advocate. This actually deceives them into thinking they are pure, whereas it merely serves to cover up their inner impurity.⁴⁰ Jeremias emphasizes that Jesus is not represented as disrespectful to the temple or the law, but in typically Synoptic fashion opposes scribal enactments, noting the same pun of water baptism and spiritual baptism as is found in Mark 1:8, John 1:33 and Acts 1:5, 11:16.⁴¹

Although Tripp is more concerned with the foot washing in John 13, he connects it with P.Oxy. 840.⁴² In reflecting on the didactic meaning of the foot-washing in John, Tripp views its significance as a metaphor for the cleansing of the believer.⁴³ Although it is not identical with the effect of a prior cleansing, it is a renewal of it. In looking for deeper meaning to John 13, Tripp turns to P.Oxy. 840’s conception of living water. Tripp refers the reader to Exodus 30:17–21; 40:31 (29:4) to explain the necessity of the priests’ foot-washing before administering sacrifice. This enables Tripp to connect foot-washing with ordination to sacerdotal ministry and access to the divine presence, so that foot-washing in John 13 also signifies consecration to office.⁴⁴ We are left with the question of what ordination has to do with P.Oxy. 840.

According to Bultmann’s form critical approach, Kruger classifies the second pericope of P.Oxy. 840 as a so-called Controversy Dialogue, comparing it to Mark 11:27–33.⁴⁵ For Kruger the closest parallels to P.Oxy. 840 are the New Testament Gospels, specifically Mark 7:1–23, Matthew 23:13–22/Luke 11:37–52, John 7:1–52 and, based on

³⁷ Jülicher, “Ein neues Jesuswort?” 204.

³⁸ Von Harnack, “Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück,” 244.

³⁹ καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ιερῷ.

⁴⁰ Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 108.

⁴¹ Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 47.

⁴² David Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing: John 13 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” *ExpTim* 103 (1992): 237–239.

⁴³ Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing,” 238.

⁴⁴ Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing,” 239.

⁴⁵ Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 188–189; Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968).

Tripp's suggestion, John 13:10. Kruger analyses these texts in depth to come to a better understanding of P.Oxy. 840. Kruger builds on the insights of Schwartz regarding the ability of the people to see the holy utensils during *Sukkôt* and connects this to John 7:1–52 as the context where Jesus makes the pronouncement that he is the living water. This inspires Kruger to propose the textual emendation of τοῦ πατρὸς ἔπανω at the end. Indeed, Kruger's reading of P.Oxy. 840 is a thoroughly Johannine reading. Kruger also draws some parallels between the Gospel of Peter, Papyrus Egerton 2, the Jewish-Christian Gospels, the long ending of Mark and the *pericope adulterae*. In connecting John's vertical dualism with P.Oxy. 840, Kruger also suggests that it is physical water that is being attacked by Jesus, and that is opposed to heavenly spiritual water,⁴⁶ the difference being that it is physical water as a means to purification according to the Pharisaic conception that is attacked and not the waters of baptism as it was applied within emerging orthodoxy. This living water is connected with the Holy Spirit as Jeremias has also proposed.

Shellberg builds on Kruger's Johannine understanding of P.Oxy. 840.⁴⁷ She reflects on Selkin's description of John 5:1–18 as the evangelist's commentary on *miqwā'ôt* found in Jeremiah 17:13.⁴⁸ Selkin notes that Hebrew has two references for *miqweh*, that is, “gathering of water” and “hope.” This helps the evangelist in contributing to his replacement theology, namely that Jesus has replaced the *miqweh* which is also a symbol of Jewish cultic institutions. For Shellberg this shows a link between Jesus, the *miqweh* and living water at the time of P.Oxy. 840. Shellberg criticizes the traditional Synoptic interpretation of P.Oxy. 840, in that it would not make sense to have a Jewish in-house debate over purity at such a late period. Shellberg understands Jesus' answer to be directed against people that observe the wrong sequence of bathing. She suggests that Jesus is more concerned with the proper way in which a *miqweh* should be filled.⁴⁹ For her Jesus is taking up a position within the debate about living and drawn water. P.Oxy. 840 should be understood in the light of John, so that the author is critiquing the intra-Jewish conversation about living and drawn water and the use of immersion pools in the first place.

Stewart-Sykes does agree with Kruger's emphasis to identify P.Oxy. 840 with a Johannine trajectory, suggesting that the author must have read the fourth gospel.⁵⁰ He

⁴⁶ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 177.

⁴⁷ Pamela Shellberg, “A Johannine Reading of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artefact and Canon* (ed. H. Z. Daniel & C. A. Evans; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 178–191.

⁴⁸ Carol B. Selkin, “Exegesis and Identity: The Hermeneutics of *miqwā'ôt* in the Greco-Roman Period,” (PhD. diss., Duke University, 1993), 182 quoted in Shellberg, “A Johannine Reading,” 183.

⁴⁹ Shellberg, “A Johannine Reading,” 186.

⁵⁰ Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters,” 284.

opposes the view that this controversy is concerned with purity, suggesting that the cleansing of Levi is merely viewed as an ineffective means of purification.

In commenting on Stewart-Sykes' contribution, Miller notes the irony of his criticizing Bovon's method of analysing the architecture of baptisteries to account for P.Oxy. 840 and then explaining the fragment with a text (*Didascalia Apostolorum*) that is contemporary with it. Miller places the perspective of living water on a continuum from Mesopotamia to the prophets to John and P.Oxy. 840 where water is not just spiritual, but sacramental.⁵¹ In doing so Miller also has a Johannine interpretation of P.Oxy. 840. Although critical of Shellberg, Miller also builds on Jeremiah 17:13 as she has suggested. Miller notes that both Jeremiah and the Rabbis appear to show the same conception that pure water originates from heaven.

While Zelyck agrees with Kruger's analysis of the parallels between the Synoptics and P.Oxy. 840, he is sceptical of Kruger's parallels between John and P.Oxy. 840, noting that the verbal overlap is small and where there in fact is overlap, the meaning of the terms do not agree.⁵² He does not exclude the possibility that P.Oxy. 840 was influenced by John 4: 10–11; 7:38 in speaking of living water. He feels that the primary issue in P.Oxy. 840 is not inside and outside purity, but the efficacy of baptism as opposed to immersion.⁵³

It is noteworthy how little has been said about the first pericope of P.Oxy. 840. Although no one explicitly denies the synoptic character of P.Oxy. 840, a Johannine understanding of it has become a feature of modern scholarship since Tripp, but seems to have been overruled by Zelyck who also undermines Tripp and Kruger's suggestion of the importance of the foot washing in John 13 for P.Oxy. 840. There is scholarly consensus that the purity controversies of the Synoptics are the foundation of P.Oxy. 840's dialogue. Shellberg has proposed that the Johannine Cleansing of the Leper at the Pool of Betzatha is equally important. Various scholars have compared P.Oxy. 840 to the Jewish-Christian Gospels. Bovon is the one scholar that has provided various parallels to documents that are associated with Gnosis.⁵⁴

2.3 Trajectories

2.3.1 Gnosis

⁵¹ Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts*, 123.

⁵² Zelyck, *John among the Gospels*, 80.

⁵³ 79.

⁵⁴ Of course Lagrange wrote almost four decades before the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library.

Grenfell & Hunt are the first to notice that the name used for Jesus throughout the fragment, σωτήρ, reminds them of a Valentinian custom.⁵⁵ Otherwise they are impressed with P.Oxy. 840's orthodoxy. For Jülicher a Gnostic Jesus would have responded by claiming a higher form of purity, whereas P.Oxy. 840 seems to be in line with the Synoptics that portray Jesus as taking liberties with purity legislation.⁵⁶

Tripp sees P.Oxy. 840 as a “sly piece of work,” designed to look like Christian anti-Jewish polemic and an attack on Jewish lustrations while in actual fact all forms of baptism are attacked.⁵⁷ The author of the fragment would then attack mainstream Christians for being too close to Judaism. For Tripp such a Gospel could have originated among the Naassenes, who would also have written *The Gospel according to Thomas*.⁵⁸ It is unfortunate that Tripp does not discuss the Naassenes any further and say whether they did practise baptism or not. Tripp does not see the fragment as a genuine tradition about Jesus. According to Tripp, P.Oxy. 840 understands all physical water to be contaminated by evil. The living water is figurative water.

Bovon sees the high priest as symbolizing a Jewish-Christian (Baptist) Sect like the Elchesaites.⁵⁹ Bovon names various Gnostic and Valentinian sects for whom the σωτήρ can be speaking, by comparing texts that are negative toward baptism with P.Oxy. 840. In the end Bovon mentions that Mani criticizes the Elchesaites for the importance they attach to baptism. He quotes a passage illustrating Mani’s aversion to baptism from the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* where Jesus is also called σωτήρ just like in P.Oxy. 840.

2.3.2 Jewish-Christianity

Von Harnack suggests that P.Oxy. 840 may have originated among Jewish-Christian circles to whom the question of Jesus’ relation to Levitical purity was still important.⁶⁰ He compares it to the embroidering language of the Jewish-Christian Gospels or the Gospel according to the Hebrews as it was called back then. Von Harnack notes that no heretical traces are visible in the Gospel.

⁵⁵ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 2.

⁵⁶ Jülicher, “Ein neues Jesuswort?” 203.

⁵⁷ Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing,” 238.

⁵⁸ Marie-Joseph Lagrange, “Nouveau Fragment non canonique relatif à l’Evangile,” *RB* 5 (1908): 552, 538–553 was the first to propose the *interpretatio gnostica*, also because of the negative view of physical water.

⁵⁹ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 722. Kurt Rudolph, “Antike Baptisten: Zu den Überlieferungen über frühjüdische und frühchristliche Taufsektten,” in *Gnosis und Spätantike Religionsgeschichte* (ed. K. Rudolph; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 569–606 would classify this as well as the Ebionites and Mandaeans mentioned by Bovon as “christliche Baptistensekten.”

⁶⁰ Von Harnack, “Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück,” 244.

Schwartz mentions that the Pharisees championed popular participation in the temple cult while Sadducees opposed it and that the Pharisees denied the priesthood's monopoly on holiness.⁶¹ He views the fragment as a rare instance where Jesus sides with the Pharisees against the Sadducees. After Schwartz's contribution it becomes important to answer the question of what the holy vessels are referring to.

Kruger identifies P.Oxy. 840 as a Jewish-Christian document.⁶² Kruger is even more specific in arguing that P.Oxy. 840 might have been a Nazarene product reflecting polemics with Ebionites.⁶³ The main reason for Kruger's proposal here is that P.Oxy. 840 seems to reflect a vigorous polemic with Jews.⁶⁴ The main issue of P.Oxy. 840 is purity – a distinctively Jewish concern. Such a Jewish Christianity is best represented by the Nazarenes for the following reasons:⁶⁵

- The Nazarenes were a Jewish-Christian community that was close to orthodox Christianity;
- they had an intimate knowledge of the temple cult;
- they were engaged in polemics with Pharisaic or Rabbinic Judaism;
- they opposed the keeping of purity laws as requirement for entering the community.

Conversely the Ebionites represented by the high priest, Levi, are suitable opponents to the Nazarenes, for the following reasons:⁶⁶

- Ebionites are legalistic;
- ritual immersion was still practiced;
- they expected other Christians to uphold the law;
- they rejected Paul's apostolate;
- they may have developed from a split with the Nazarenes.

Although Stewart-Sykes is critical of Bovon's proposals he does agree with Bovon that P.Oxy. 840 addresses the issue of baptism. Bovon's reasoning that unbaptized Christians

⁶¹ Schwartz, "Viewing the Holy Utensils," 156.

⁶² Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 229–238.

⁶³ Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 240.

⁶⁴ Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 212.

⁶⁵ Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 214–223.

⁶⁶ Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 239–242.

would be prohibited from “viewing the holy utensils” or from participating in the sacred meal (cf. *Did.* 9.5) is refuted.⁶⁷ The standpoint of the fluidity between Judaism and Christianity before the Constantinian revolution is applied to P.Oxy. 840.⁶⁸ If P.Oxy. 840 should be seen in the light of attempts by Christianity to forge its own identity as opposed to Judaism with reference to purification rituals, he suggests that the *Didascalia apostolorum* might provide a similar *Sitz im Leben* to P.Oxy. 840.⁶⁹ In this Stewart-Sykes appears to criticize the thesis of Kruger that P.Oxy. 840 is a Jewish-Christian document, as Judaism and Early Christianity are no longer separable.

Because of its interest and insight in the *hălăkă* of the day, Safrai & Safrai propose a first-century date for P.Oxy. 840, but a final redaction in the second third of the second century when the title σωτήρ was added.⁷⁰ It would then be the older first-century layer that is so well-informed about Jewish *hălăkă*.

Along with Stewart-Sykes and Safrai & Safrai, Miller emphasizes that one should not differentiate too strongly between Christians and Jews at the time of P.Oxy. 840.⁷¹

2.3.3 Proto-Orthodoxy

Although the (emerging) orthodox nature of P.Oxy. 840 has not always been identified by authors, it has been assumed by most. Swete feels unsure about the accuracy of the fragment but is struck by the synoptic style, noting that there are no Docetic or Gnostic elements.⁷² He thinks that the fragment is closer to the Synoptic Gospels than the Gospel of Peter, though he is struck by its condescending tone towards prostitutes and flute girls.⁷³

Kazen has recently reflected on the nature of P.Oxy. 840 as a Gospel addressed to a group of churches with a similar outlook rather than a heterodox Gospel being directed at a small group.⁷⁴ He explains P.Oxy. 840’s failure to take the market by power structures beyond its control.

⁶⁷ Alistair Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters: Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840 and Christian Baptism Reconsidered,” ZNW 100 (2009): 280, 278–286. From the *Traditio Apostolica* it appears that catechumens were allowed to be present at the Lord’s Supper, but not on equal footing.

⁶⁸ As advocated especially in Annette Y. Reed & Adam H. Becker, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted* (TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr, 2003).

⁶⁹ Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters,” 282. There we see how certain believers are criticized for withdrawing from the Eucharist at the time of nocturnal emissions and menstruation cycles (they also insist on immersing themselves to become pure).

⁷⁰ Safrai & Safrai, “Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840,” 280.

⁷¹ Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts*, 114.

⁷² Henry B. Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente herausgegeben und erklärt* (Bonn: Marcus, 1908), 3–9.

⁷³ Swete, “Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente,” 4.

⁷⁴ Thomas Kazen, “Sectarian Gospels for Some Christians: Intention and Mirror Reading in the Light of Extra-Canonical Texts,” NTS 51 (2005): 561–578.

For Safrai & Safrai the final redaction imparted a radical Pauline spirit to P.Oxy. 840, the same redactional policy the Fourfold Gospel was subjected to.⁷⁵

Miller classifies P.Oxy. 840 among the likes of John, Justin Martyr and Barnabas (all ultimately dependent on Philo) as Christian authors that also attack Jewish immersion without showing familiarity with the specifics of Jewish purity.⁷⁶

There seems to have been a shift in scholarship, in that Judaism and Christianity are no longer separated strictly from each other before the Constantinian revolution. Here scholars like Baur, Bauer and Daniélou might have influenced others to view Jewish Christianity as an organized sect with a coherent theology.⁷⁷ To a certain extent a category like Jewish Christianity becomes less useful if people would not have been able to separate between the two religions. In such a context it becomes more important to look at the theological development and to place P.Oxy. 840 on its trajectory.

2.4 The Manuscript of P.Oxy. 840

The first editors of P.Oxy. 840 Grenfell & Hunt note that it is a single vellum leaf. They are impressed that most of the leaf is complete with only one lower corner broken off. Most of the lacunae can be restored to satisfaction. The hand of P.Oxy. 840 is described as not being a very regular uncial hand, but round and upright.⁷⁸ Based on this they prefer a dating in the fourth century, although the fifth century is also possible. The manuscripts P.Oxy. 840 were found with are all later than the fifth century. They note the small size of the manuscript. They note that the peculiarity of red ink used to mark punctuation.

Preuschen and Blau are quick to suggest that P.Oxy. might have been an amulet worn around the neck to ward off evil as that spoken of by Chrysostom.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Safrai & Safrai, “Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840,” 280.

⁷⁶ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 149–151.

⁷⁷ Ferdinand C. Baur, *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi: Sein Leben und Wirken, seine Briefe und seine Lehre* (Stuttgart: Becher, 1845); *Kirchengeschichte der Drei Ersten Jahrhunderte* (vol. 1 of *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*; 5 vols.; Tübingen: Fues, 1853); Walter Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934); Jean Daniélou, *The History of Jewish Christianity* (vol. 1 of *History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicea*; London: Darton, 1964, cf. the criticism of such a view of Jewish Christianity in Oskar Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity – Problems of Definition, Method and Sources,” in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 19.

⁷⁸ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 1.

⁷⁹ Preuschen, “Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos,” 1; Blau, “Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos buch- und zaubergeschichtlich betrachtet nebst sonstigen Bemerkungen,” ZNW 9 (1908): 207, 204–215.

In 2002 Kruger looked at the manuscript once more. He shatters the consensus that P.Oxy. 840 was an amulet. For him P.Oxy. 840 was no amulet, but a miniature codex.⁸⁰ He shows how difficult it is to separate between the two.

Kraus opens up the possibility that P.Oxy. 840 might have been a miniature codex used as an amulet later on.⁸¹ According to the methodology of Cavallo & Maehler, Kraus identifies the hand of P.Oxy. 840 as upright oval majuscule.⁸² He compares it to the hands of PSI X 1171, P.Oxy. XI 1352 and P.Flor. III 389.

Kruger calls it the upright pointed majuscule but argues that it represents a later stage of this script on its way to the biblical majuscule (P.Oxy. 1080).⁸³ He publishes enlarged black and white pictures of both sides of P.Oxy. 840. Kruger mentions that full stops are used by P.Oxy. 840 to separate sentences as we do today, though this practice was not yet common at the time.⁸⁴ For full stops P.Oxy. 840 uses the middle point.⁸⁵ P.Oxy. 840 also assists the reader by using paragraphs which are indicated by a break in the line and an enlarged first letter of the sentence in three cases. He notes how striking it is that P.Oxy. 840 uses enlarged letters three times in the text. This was not common in the writing of the time, but seems to have become a Christian practice by the fourth century.⁸⁶ Kruger mentions that accentuation of texts was not common at the time of P.Oxy. 840. Here we only see two words accentuated, i.e. ὁν for the relative pronoun ὁν (line 23) and αὐλητρίδες. P.Oxy. 840 contains some

⁸⁰ Michael J. Kruger, “P.Oxy 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?” *JTS* 53 (2002): 81–94. Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen, “Ein Griechischer Mani-Codex: P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780,” *ZPE* 5 (1970): 100–101 points to Martial encouraging readers to acquire miniature codices of his own works:

Martial, <i>Epigram. 1.2</i>	
<i>Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicunque libellos et comites longae quaeris habere viae, hos eme, quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis: Scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit. Ne tamen ignores ubi sim venalis, et erres urbe vagus tota, me duce certus eris: Libertum docti Lucensis quaere Secundum limina post pacis palladiumque forum.</i>	Those of you who wish my booklets are with you everywhere, and seek companions for a long journey, buy those where the parchment is compressed into small letters: Give boxes to large ones, one hand holds me. Lest you are ignorant where I am for sale, and wander about the whole town in uncertainty, you shall be sure with my guidance: Seek Secundus, a freedman of the learned Lucensis, behind the house of peace and the forum of Pallas.

⁸¹ Thomas J. Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840 Amulett oder Miniaturkodex?” *ZAC* 8 (2005): 492, 485–497.

⁸² Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840 Amulett oder Miniaturkodex?” 489. Guglielmo Cavallo & Herwig Mahler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period AD 300–800* (Bulletin Supplement 47; London: University of London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 4. This is not different from Grenfell & Hunt’s judgement.

⁸³ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 45. Cavallo, “Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri,” 135 notes that the upright ogival majuscule also starts using uneven strokes similar to that of the biblical majuscule and that this becomes the normal form of the script. This is reflected by manuscripts like *P.Cair.* 43227 (5th cent.), *P.Oxy.* XV 1817–1818 (6th cent.) and *PSI XIII* 1296 (7th cent.) and *P.Ness.* 6 (8th cent.).

⁸⁴ Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 8.

⁸⁵ It also has other functions in P.Oxy. 840.

⁸⁶ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 46–47.

features that have been highlighted with red ink: most of the middle points, the lines above the nomina sacra and the enlarged letters of lines 7 and 30.⁸⁷

No one has disputed the original dating of the manuscript by Grenfell & Hunt or that it is upright oval majuscule. It remains controversial what the function of the manuscript was. Kruger has noted some of the features of the manuscript that were not known before. For Kruger P.Oxy. 840 appears to be part of a growing Christian writing culture that emerges at this time.

2.5 The Text of P.Oxy. 840

Although the text of P.Oxy. 840 has not attracted as much controversy as the issues mentioned above, it is as important. The fragment has been reedited a few times.⁸⁸ As there is only one manuscript of P.Oxy. 840 there are no variants, only a variety of different emendations. The following is a full transcript of P.Oxy. with the proposed emendations in the footnotes:⁸⁹

πρότερον πρὸ ἀδικῆσαι⁹⁰ πάντα σοφί-
ζεται. ἀλλὰ προσέχετε μὴ πως καὶ
ἡμεῖς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς πάθητε. οὐ γὰρ
ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς⁹¹ μόνοις ἀπολαμβάνου-
σιν οἱ κακοῦργοι τῶν ἀν<θρώπ>ων ἀλλὰ [κ]αὶ
κόλασιν ὑπομένουσιν⁹² καὶ πολ[λ]ὴν
βάσανον. Καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς
εἰσήγαγεν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγνευτήριον
καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. καὶ προε[λ]-
θὼν⁹³ Φαρισαῖος τις ἀρχιερεὺς Λευ[εις]
τὸ ὄνομα συνέτυχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ε[ἶπεν]

⁸⁷ Text of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 48.

⁸⁸ Charles Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrit sur papyrus* (PO 18:3; Paris: Firmen-Didot, 1924), 488–490; Giuseppe Bonaccorsi, *Vangeli Apocrifi* (Florence: Fiorentina, 1948), 37–39. Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1963), 78–82.

⁸⁹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 66–68.

⁹⁰ πρὸ (τοῦ) ἀδικῆσαι Grenfell & Hunt, Wessely, Jeremias.

⁹¹ ζῷοις Swete, Wessely.

⁹² ὑπομένουσιν; ὑπομενοῦσιν Grenfell & Hunt, Swete, Bonaccorsi.

⁹³ προε[λ]θὼν; προσε[λ]θὼν Grenfell & Hunt, Lagrange, Swete, Wessely, Bonaccorsi, Jeremias, Otero.

τῷ σ<ωτ>ῆρι· τίς ἐπέτρεψεν σοι πατ[εῖν]
 τοῦτο τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ ιδεῖν [ταῦ]-
 τα τὰ ἄγια σκεύη μήτε λουσα[μ]έν[φ] μ-
 [ή]τε μὴν τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς π[όδας
 βα]πτισθέντων; ἀλλὰ μεμολυ[μένος]
 ἐπάτησας τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν τ[όπον ὅν]-
 τα καθαρὸν δὲν οὐδεὶς ἄ[λλος εἰ μὴ]
 λουσάμενος καὶ ἀλλά[ξας τὰ ἐνδύ-
 ματα πατεῖ οὐδεὶς ὁ[ρᾶν τολμᾶ ταῦτα
 τὰ ἄγια σκεύη. καὶ σ[ταθεὶς εὐθὺς ὁ σ<ωτ>ῆρ]
 σ[ὺν τ]οῖς⁹⁴ μαθήται[ς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ]⁹⁵
 συ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ὃν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθα-
 ρεύεις; λέγει ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ καθαρεύω. ἐλουσά-
 μην γὰρ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δ<αν>δ καὶ δι' ἔτέ-
 ρας κλείμακος κατελθὼν καὶ δι' ἔτέρας
 ἀ[v]ῆλθον καὶ λευκὰ ἐνδύματα ἐνε
 δυσάμην καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ τότε ἦλθον
 καὶ προσέβλεψα τούτοις τοῖς ἀγίοις
 σκεύεσιν. 'Ο σ<ωτ>ῆρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπο-
 [κρι]θεὶς εἶπεν οὐαὶ τυφλοὶ μὴ ὄρῶν-
 τ[ε]ς . συ ἐλούσω τούτοις τοῖς χεομένοις
 ὕ[δ]ασιν ἐν οἷς κύνες καὶ χοῖροι βέβλην-
 [ται] νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νιψάμε-
 [ν]ος τὸ ἐκτὸς δέρμα ἐσμήξω ὅπερ
 [κα]ὶ αἱ πόρναι καὶ αὐλητρίδες μυρί-
 [ζ]ου[σιν καὶ]⁹⁶ λούσουσιν καὶ σμήχουσι
 [καὶ κ]αλλωπίζουσι πρὸς ἐπιθυμί-
 [αν τ]ῶν ἀν<θρώπ>ων ἐνδοθεν δὲ ἐκεί-
 γων⁹⁷ πεπλήρωται⁹⁸ σκορπίων καὶ

⁹⁴ σταθεὶς εὐθὺς; στὰς εὐθέως Grenfell & Hunt, Lagrange, Wessely, Otero.

⁹⁵ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ; αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρίθη Swete, Bonaccorsi, Jeremias.

⁹⁶ μυρίζουσιν; μυρίζουσαι Swete, Bonaccorsi.

⁹⁷ ἐκείνων; ἐκεῖναι Grenfell & Hunt, Swete, Wessely, Bonaccorsi.

⁹⁸ πεπλήρωται; πεπλήρω(v)ται Grenfell & Hunt, Swete, Wessely, Bonaccorsi, Jeremias.

πάσης κακίας.⁹⁹ Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ
 [μαθηταὶ μου] οὓς λέγεις μὴ βεβα-
 [πτίσθαι]¹⁰⁰ βεβά] μιμεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζῶ-
 [σιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] ¹⁰¹ ἐλθοῦσιν ἀπὸ [τοὺ
 πατρὸς ἔπανω.¹⁰² ἀλλὰ οὐαὶ [τοῖς [...]]

2.6 The Style of P.Oxy. 840

Without going into detail, Preuschen mentions that despite many Semitic elements, the Greek style of our present author is smoother than that of the canonical gospels.¹⁰³ Von Harnack notes the strong Semitic flavour of the language.¹⁰⁴ Convinced of P.Oxy. 840's Semitic language, Jeremias suggests a few new interpretations based on this understanding. He suggests in the first pericope the expression ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς (among the living **ζῶα**) might go back to a misvocalization of **ζῶα** instead of ἐν ζωῇ (in life). In another example Jesus' statement that pigs and dogs lie about in *this* flowing water should be understood as a gratuitous Aramaic demonstrative that should be ignored in translation.¹⁰⁵ The implication is that Jesus is speaking of water in general and not specifically about the Pool of David.

Safrai & Safrai note that the quality of the language does not show that it was translated from a Hebrew *vorlage*.¹⁰⁶

2.7 Conclusion

P.Oxy. 840 is historically plausible. In recent years the Johannine interpretation of P.Oxy. 840 has become established. Various different trajectories have been proposed to identify the community behind P.Oxy. 840, including Gnostic, Jewish-Christian and (Proto-)Orthodox. The dating of the manuscript and its handwriting is not disputed. The punctuation of P.Oxy.

⁹⁹ κακίας; ἀδικίας Swete, Bonaccorsi, Jeremias.

¹⁰⁰ βεβαπτίσθαι; βεβαμένους Swete, Bonaccorsi.

¹⁰¹ ζῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐλθοῦσιν; ζωῆς αἰώνιου τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι, Grenfell & Hunt, Lagrange, Wessely, Otero; ζῶσι καὶ καθαροῖς τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν Jeremias; ζωῆς αἰώνιου τοῖς κατελθοῦσιν Swete, Bonaccorsi.

¹⁰² τοὺς πατρὸς ἔπανω; θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Swete, Bonaccorsi; no suggestions made Grenfell & Hunt, Lagrange, Wessely, Jeremias, Otero.

¹⁰³ Preuschen, "Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos," 11.

¹⁰⁴ Von Harnack, "Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück," 239.

¹⁰⁵ Jeremias, "Der Zusammenstoß," 105.

¹⁰⁶ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 256.

840 seems to be at the forefront of a developing trend within writing culture. The emendations proposed by Kruger seem to be more Johannine than the rest of P.Oxy. 840 justifies. Scholars do not entirely agree in their judgement on the style of P.Oxy. 840.

3 METHOD

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Reiteration of the Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to look at how P.Oxy. 840 should be classified within Christianity. This will be looked at in a textual comparative study where representative inter-texts from the trajectories of Gnosis, Jewish Christianity and Proto-Orthodoxy are to be compared with it.

3.1.2 Results the Method Is Designed to Provide

It has been noted that scholars have suggested a wide range of possible trajectories to explain P.Oxy. 840, but that their theoretical assumptions are often not made explicit. The method of this dissertation is designed so as to place these different phenomena within a proper theoretical framework.

Careful attention needs to be paid to the characteristic diversity within Early Christianity. The methodology used to understand Early Christianity needs to be explicated. In addition theoretical summaries on Gnosis, Jewish Christianity and Proto-Orthodoxy are required.

The analysable theological standpoints of P.Oxy. 840 are very important. If P.Oxy. 840 is to be contextualized within the development of Christian anti-Judaism it can go a long way in determining its trajectory. This has to be one leg of the historical framework. Related to anti-Judaism is P.Oxy. 840's view on **purity**. According to this dissertation it is the central issue of P.Oxy. 840 and that the purification of the law is no longer required after Jesus. Seeing that purity is a concept not readily understood today, it also has to be a leg on which the theoretical framework is built.

P.Oxy. 840's use of the title σωτήρ has to be placed within its historical development from the New Testament to the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

The comparative key for analysing inter-texts unique to this dissertation is to be explained. Form criticism also plays an important role to keep the structure of the dissertation tight and to ensure that the comparison is valid.

3.1.3 Overview of Chapter

The following represents a detailed outline of the whole chapter:

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Research Designs Used

3.2.2 Research Design Not Used

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Research Instruments

3.3.2 Data

3.3.2.1 Appropriate Inter-Texts to Compare with P.Oxy. 840

I) Similar Position on Purity as Displayed in P.Oxy. 840

- a) Basic Theory on Purity
- b) Immersion as Means to Remedy Impurity
- c) Contribution of Social-Scientific Criticism to the Theory on Purity
 - i) Maps of Spaces
 - ii) Maps of People
 - iii) Maps of Time
 - iv) Maps of Things (Dietary Regulations)

II) Similar Anti-Jewish Rhetoric as That Found in P.Oxy. 840

III) Similar Forms as That Found in P.Oxy. 840

- a) Proprium of Berger's Form Criticism
- b) Sentence
- c) Gnome
- d) Chria
- e) Dialogue
- f) Determining the Form of a Pericope

3.3.3 Analysis

3.3.3.1 Comparative Key for Analysing Texts

3.3.3.2 The Colour Grid

3.3.3.3 Making Sense of the Diversity within Early Christianity

3.3.3.4 Understanding Early Christian Diversity with the Help of Social-Scientific Criticism

3.3.3.5 Gnosis

3.3.3.6 Manichaeism

3.3.3.7 Jewish Christianity

I) Understanding the Term Jewish Christianity

- a) Non-Typological Application of the Term Jewish-Christianity
- b) Typological Approach to Jewish-Christianity
- c) Luomanen's Self-Consciously Polythetic Approach to Jewish-Christianity

II) Understanding Jewish-Christian Groups

- a) Ebionites

i) Irenaeus' Ebionites

ii) Epiphanius' Ebionites

b) Nazarenes

3.3.3.8 The Three Gospel Hypothesis

3.3.3.9 Description of Proto-Orthodoxy

I) A Receding Eschatological Hope

II) A Receding Importance of Prophecy

III) Increasing Institutionalization

IV) Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms

V) The Propaganda of Martyrdom

VI) A Claim to the Apostolic Succession of Leaders (not unique to Proto-Orthodoxy)

VII) The Primacy of Peter

VIII) Anti-Judaism

IX) The Doctrine That Jesus Is Both Fully God and Fully Man (anachronistic for early in the second century)

X) Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)

XI) It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel

XII) The Doctrine That the Trinity Is One God in Three Persons, Distinct in Number but Equal in Substance (anachronistic for early in the second century)

XIII) No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak

XIV) Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy

XV) Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel

XVI) The Tanak Is Interpreted from a Christological Perspective

XVII) Jesus Was Born of a Virgin

XVIII) Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible

XIX) The Resurrection of the Flesh (not unique to Proto-Orthodoxy)

XX) Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving

XXI) Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity

3.3.3.10 The Use of Σωτήρ instead of Κύριος

I) Classical Use of the Word Σωτήρ

II) Hellenistic Use of the Word Σωτήρ

III) The Concept Σωτήρ under Roman Control

IV) Hebrew Conception behind "Saviour"

V) Later Jewish Literature

VI) Use of the Word in the New Testament

VII) Use of the Word with the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists

VIII) Use of the Word in Gnosis and the Reaction of the Ante-Nicene Fathers

3.3.3.11 Relative Periodization of Rabbinic Literature

3.4 Limitations

3.5 Ethical Considerations

3.6 Conclusion

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Research Designs Used

Underlying this dissertation is the research design of Comparative Analysis with elements from historical studies and content analysis. A Comparative Analysis is a focused and systematic comparison of a few items and seeks to find the reasons for difference or similarity.¹ Dangers with Comparative Analysis are that the researcher has to make his own choice on the cases to be compared. Different backgrounds lead to different cases, so that many variables can intrude that can complicate drawing conclusions. Comparative studies can lose focus unless the topic is tightly focused and the method is not applied rigorously. Because of the short sample of text P.Oxy. 840 constitutes, Comparative Analysis might be a good technique to apply, as the analysis can remain more easily focused. We would not know anything about the diversity within Early Christianity if it were not for the literary texts. Therefore, Comparative Analysis at the micro-level could be a powerful tool to solve the research problem.

In studying ancient literature one cannot contextualize without applying Historical Studies. Historical Studies is not just concerned with people and events, but also with ideas, science and the environment, to name but a few.² Historical Studies is a very helpful research design to combine with others. One danger with Historical Studies is that it depends on interpretation, so that concrete connections between the past and the present can become difficult. Bias can easily cloud a researcher's judgement. The sources for doing Historical Studies are written documents. Historical Studies are usually qualitative, though combinations are also found of qualitative and quantitative data. The dissertation is not trying to prove the historicity of P.Oxy. 840, as the scholarly debate has already shown that it is historically possible.³

¹ Erik Hofstee, *Constructing a Good Dissertation: A Practical Guide to Finalizing a Masters, MBA, or PhD on Schedule* (Sandton: EPE, 2006), 124.

² Hofstee, *Constructing a Good Dissertation*, 125.

³ Against Bernard P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (70 vols; Egypt Exploration Fund; Oxford: Hart, 1908), 5: 1–10; Adolf Jülicher, “Ein neues Jesuswort?” *Christliche Welt* 8 (1908): 201–204; David Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing: John 13 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” *ExpTim* 103 (1992): 237–239; Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 722; and Miller, *At the Intersection*, the authors David Smith, *Unwritten Sayings of Our Lord* (Hodder, 1913), 143; Adolf Von Harnack, “Ein neues

Content Analysis examines the content of preserved records – usually in the form of written documents.⁴ Content Analysis can apply various different techniques, but the goal always remains discovering the non-obvious meaning contained in the record. Drawbacks of Content Analysis are that sources might not be sufficient (quality and quantity) and bias. Quantitative methods are usually more important in Content Analysis than qualitative. It seems impossible to determine the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840 without understanding the meaning thereof.

3.2.2 Research Design Not Used

Critical Theory is characterized by a highly critical perspective on society and seeks to move past superficial descriptions of reality to the structures underlying it.⁵ Questions about power, whose interests are served and hidden assumptions, are central to this design. Dangers associated with this design are that it can easily become one-sided and polemical. At the same time an advantage is that it can change the way people react to the world. For P.Oxy. 840 this design could provide a mechanism to analyse the power relations between Jesus and the high priest, but that will not help in determining P.Oxy. 840's trajectory. The same is true of feminist scholarship that might analyse the author's sexual objectification of women.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Research Instruments

For literary research the most important research instruments are primary texts. Ancient literature is further complicated by the fact that it pre-dates the printing revolution, so that all texts that survive from antiquity survived through manual copying by scribes.

Evangelienbruchstück,” in *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben* 2 (ed. A. von Harnack; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911), 246, 239–250; Adolf Büchler, “The New Fragment of an Unknown Gospel,” *JQR* 20 (1908): 330–346; W. W. Davies, “A Fragment of Another Gospel,” *Methodist Review* 90 (1908): 815–818; Hans Lietzmann, “Das neugefundene Evangelienfragment und seine Vorgänger,” *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung* 31 (1908): 662–672; Arthur Marmorstein, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Evangelienfragment in Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol V n. 840, 1907,” *ZNW* 15 (1914): 337, 336–338; Preuschen, “Das neue Evangelienfragment,” 8; Ludwig Blau, “Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos buch- und zaubergeschichtlich betrachtet nebst sonstigen Bemerkungen,” *ZNW* 9 (1908): 207, 204–215; Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß Jesu,” 55; Roderick Dunkerley, *The Unwritten Gospel* (London: Allen, 1925), 113–117; Daniel R. Schwartz, “Viewing the Holy Utensils (P.Ox. V.840),” *NTS* 32 (1986): 153–159; Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior* argue for its plausibility if not historicity.

⁴ Hofstee, *Constructing a Good Dissertation*, 124.

⁵ Hofstee, *Constructing a Good Dissertation*, 125.

This means that if more than one manuscript of a text is available, they never correspond word for word, giving rise to the necessity of textual criticism to determine the best available text, if not to reconstruct an eclectic edition.⁶ Central to this undertaking is the *apparatus criticus* which criticizes the text and compares it with readings from other versions if they are available, or records conjectures if the text is corrupt. Some of the texts looked at in this Comparative Analysis were preserved by the smallest possible thread, for example, P.Oxy. 840 itself. Only one version of it is available. For the purpose of this dissertation the text of Kruger has been used. The texts from the Nag Hammadi Library were lost to humanity for about 1500 years till 1948.⁷ That means that the texts to be compared to P.Oxy. 840, *The Trimorphic Protynnoia*, *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Zostrianos*, *The Testimony of Truth* and *The Paraphrase of Shem* were unknown till this time. For the Nag Hammadi Library, the text found in the *Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* series (formerly just *Nag Hammadi Studies*) have been used.⁸ The text of the Greek New Testament is that of the 28th edition of the Nestle-Aland-text.⁹ For the Septuagint the editions of the Academia Scientiarum Gottingensis have been used.¹⁰ For the Tanak, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* has been used which is not an eclectic text, but the text of an old manuscript, the *Leningradensis*, with an *apparatus criticus*.¹¹ Where available the text of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* has been used that provides much easier access to the variants from other versions.¹² The last mentioned series reconstructs a hypothetical Hebrew *Vorlage* behind the variants. This series also prints the text of the *Leningradensis*. For the handful of references to the Coptic New Testament the antiquated version of Horner has been compared with that of Quecke.¹³ As editor Quecke

⁶ In reflecting on the science of editing, Boda Plachta, “Wie International ist die Editionswissenschaft: Ein Blick in ihrer Geschichte,” *Editio* 26 (2012): 24, 13–29 refers approvingly to the example of Joseph Bédier and points to the futility of constructing one critical text like the original.

⁷ James Brashler, “The Nag Hammadi Library,” in *Ten Top Biblical Archaeological Discoveries* (ed. J. Corbett; Washington DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2011), 2, 1–11.

⁸ E.g. Alexander Böhlig & Frederik Wisse, eds., *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)* (NHS 4; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

⁹ Barbara & Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini & Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28th rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

¹⁰ Joseph Siegler, ed. “Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae,” vol. 15 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (3d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2006). Cf. my bibliography for details.

¹¹ Karl Elliger & Wilhelm Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (5th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997), xii.

¹² Adrian Schenker et al., eds., “General Introduction,” in *General Introduction and Megilloth* (vol. 13 of *BHQ*; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007). This series is not complete yet.

¹³ George W. Horner, ed., *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect* (7 Vols; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1911–1924). For Luke and John recourse has been taken to Hans Quecke, ed., *Das Lukasevangelium Saidisch : Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der*

does not reconstruct an eclectic text, but uses the oldest respective manuscript on Mark, Luke and John, *PPalau Rib. Inv.-No. 181–183* as an exemplary text. His *apparatus criticus* provides readings from other old manuscripts.¹⁴ For the purpose of this dissertation eclectic versions are presented for the sake of clarity. Citing Coptic witnesses is complicated by the number of dialects, although the dialects are more divergent in orthography than grammar.¹⁵ For the purpose of this dissertation other dialects than Sahidic have not been brought into consideration, as this evidence is only presented to show the similarity of Sahidic Gnostic texts to the Fourfold Gospel. All Gnostic material looked at in this dissertation are written in Sahidic Coptic.

For other patristic texts *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* and *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* have been consulted to find critical editions of a high standard.¹⁶ These works list the best editions and note if they can be improved by manuscripts that have been discovered in the meantime. For Latin authors this process has been simplified by the Library of Latin Texts – Online.¹⁷ References to these volumes are provided in my footnotes, for example:

Footnote	Meaning
CCCPG 3495	<i>Notitia 3495</i> on Eusebius, <i>Hist. Eccl.</i> in <i>Corpus Christianorum Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
CPL 616	<i>Notitia 616</i> on Jerome, <i>Vir. Ill.</i> in <i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i>

Further details are provided in the section on primary literature in the Bibliography.

Handschrift M 569 (PapyCast 6; Barcelona, 1977); *Das Johannesevangelium Saidisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183 mit den Varianten der Handschriften 813 und 814 der Chester Beatty Library und der Handschrift M 569* (PapyCast 11; Barcelona, 1984). Cf. also J. Warren Wells, *Sahidica: A New Edition of the New Testament in Sahidic Coptic*. Cited 8 August 2016. Online: <https://www.stepbible.org/version.jsp?version=CopSahidicMSS> Although Well's project does not contain an *apparatus criticus*, his eclectic text considers manuscripts that were not available at the time of Horner. Wells' project is gaining recognition, cf. Joseph E. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt: Text, Typology and Theory* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2014), 74. Christian Askeland, "The Coptic Versions of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaeationis* (ed. B. D. Ehrman & M. W. Holmes; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 221 fn. 67, 201–229 is more reserved.

¹⁴ One reference for Matthew is checked against the fourth to fifth-century Middle Egyptian Codex Scheide (M144) published by Hans-Martin Schenke, ed., *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide)* (TUGAL 127; Berlin: Akademie, 1981).

¹⁵ Antonio Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10.

¹⁶ Mauritii Geerard et al, eds., *Corpus Christianorum Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (6 Vols; Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1998); Eligius Dekkers, ed., *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).

¹⁷ Bart Janssens, publishing manager, *Library of Latin Texts - Online* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016) unfortunately this is a commercial database.

The ancient texts were of course composed in different languages than those current today, so that the Nag Hammadi Library is extent only in Coptic. At the same time P.Oxy. 840, the New Testament, the Apologists and many Church Fathers' were originally composed in Greek. Some Latin Fathers are quoted. Of course the Tanak and the rabbinic material the dissertation is referring to is originally written in Hebrew. When referring to the Tanak the dissertation prefers to quote the Hebrew, unless the language of the Greek Septuagint seems to have exerted a particular influence on a text under discussion. Especially among Christians the Septuagint was more familiar than the Hebrew.¹⁸ All translations from Coptic, Greek, Hebrew and Latin are the author's own work (unless otherwise indicated). A very literal translation technique has been followed, so that the texts are not presented in literary English. This seems more historically accurate as most of the material from Early Christianity has been written in non-literary Greek. For the Ge'ez of the *Epistula Apostolorum* a translation has been used, although the Ge'ez text and transliteration have been recorded and the christological titles noted.¹⁹

All referencing is done according to the traditional documentation style using footnotes and bibliographies as based on the *Chicago Manual of Style* as it is applied in *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Early Christian Studies*.²⁰ Abbreviations in the footnotes are done accordingly, but are also spelt out in the bibliography under the relevant authors. The only other abbreviations apply to comments on the text of the New Testament which are familiar from *Novum Testamentum Graece*.²¹ Other abbreviations that have been used in the text are the following:

Mark^R Markan Redactor

Lk^S Material unique to Luke (*Sondergut des Lukasevangeliums*)

Mt^S Material unique to Matthew (*Sondergut des Matthäusevangeliums*)

Q Logienquelle (this abbreviation is sometimes used to indicate that something is found both in Matthew and Luke, citations from Q follow the versification of

¹⁸ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 46–47.

¹⁹ Transliterated according to the traditional pronunciation in Stefan Weninger, *Gə እዝ: Classical Ethiopic* (Languages of the World 1; Munich: Lincom Europa, 1998), 7–8.

²⁰ *Chicago Manual of Style* (14th ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Patrick H. Alexander, John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, Shirley Decker-Lucke & David L. Petersen, eds., *SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999), 40.

²¹ Barbara & Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini & Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28th rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

Luke, so that Q 11:2 would mean Luke 11:2 and the parallel passage in Matthew)

In text Semitic words have been consistently transliterated according to the ISO 259-standard as endorsed by the Society of Biblical Literature (called “Academic Style” by SBL).²²

3.3.2 Data

Whereas other sciences can use questionnaires, interviews, experiments, speech recordings, etc. as sources for data analysis, one is significantly limited in ancient literature studies.²³ In a Comparative Analysis concerned with P.Oxy. 840 one would be limited to the text thereof – itself fragmentary – the inter-texts selected, the secondary literature available on both, and some theory. Therefore the inter-texts play an important role in providing data for analysis. As a Comparative Analysis the dissertation has more of a qualitative focus although the sample is broad as literary comparisons go with 22 inter-texts being compared to P.Oxy. 840 (9 Gnostic texts, 7 Jewish-Christian texts, 6 Proto-Orthodox texts).

3.3.2.1 Appropriate Inter-Texts to Compare with P.Oxy. 840

In any Comparative Analysis one needs to be able to justify the material that is used for comparison. Scholars like Tripp, Bovon, Kruger, Stewart-Sykes and Miller have compared P.Oxy. 840 with different materials ranging from John’s Gospel to Mesopotamian materials.²⁴ This will be brought in where relevant. The parameters for comparative material in this dissertation are influenced by three factors:

- Similar position on purity as displayed in P.Oxy. 840
- Similar anti-Jewish rhetoric as that found in P.Oxy. 840
- Similar forms as that found in P.Oxy. 840

²² Alexander et al., *SBL Handbook of Style*, 25–27.

²³ Hofstee, *Constructing a Good Dissertation*, 137.

²⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 87; Miller, *At the Intersection*, 78.

I) Similar Position on Purity as Displayed in P.Oxy. 840

a) Basic Theory on Purity

Purity was important for all groups within Judaism during the first century.²⁵ The first time we come across the word pair *tāhar* and *tāmā'* they do not have any ethical value.²⁶ There are certain things that someone that is impure is not allowed to do and other things he must do to return to a state of purity. If a man, for example, woke up from a nocturnal emission, it did not mean that he was morally in the wrong. The concern of the priestly law code on purity is cultic acceptability.²⁷ The priestly code is careful to keep sin and impurity separated from each other.²⁸ Neusner postulates that impurity was originally connected to loathing: reptiles, dead bodies, menstrual blood, other genital excretions, insects, et cetera.²⁹ The prophets and Writings often emphasize that purity is not as important as is purity of the heart.³⁰ Impurity symbolizes rejection by God.³¹ Purity was able to play such an important part in Jewish life because of the temple.³² The temple testified to God's favour and the temple cult was the bond that connected the people to God. Purity was the guarantee of God's favour toward the people and the people's loyalty to God. The temple was the one point in Israelite life upon which lines of cosmic and social structure converged.³³ To gain moral authority, social values had to have a place within the symbolism of the temple. The priestly ideology behind purity is succinctly expressed in the following:

²⁵ Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 1 points out how unsatisfactory it is to speak of "ritual purity" when reconstructing Ancient Judaism as this implies that there is some kind of other purity, i.e. "substantive," "real," or even "moral purity."

²⁶ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 11. Neusner (25) does later concede that ethical terminology related to issues of purity may be "fossils from an earlier time when all offenses produced impurities and all impurities were offenses." Perhaps the priestly redactors are at pains to deny the ethical dimension to purity. Or otherwise his historical reconstruction is wrong in the postulation that this word pair did not have an ethical dimension at first.

²⁷ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 20. The so-called *neuere Urkundenhypothese* or Documentary Hypothesis as it is known in the English world proposed by Wellhausen has never been able to convince scholars entirely, though one often hears about it. Today little is left standing of the hypothesis concerning the *Jhwist* and the *Elohist* Sources, yet the Priestly Source (P) has established itself as the most plausible identifiable layer within the Law. Cf. Erich Zenger *et al.*, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (7th ed.; Studienbücher Theologie 1,1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 96.

²⁸ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 21 is able to make this conclusion based on Lev 16:16 and 19, impurity is like sin but the two remain separate. The priestly code comes close to using impurity as a metaphor for sin but refrains from going that far. Other authors will do that, like Philo of Alexandria (and Gnostics) who contrasts purity and wickedness, cf. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 45.

²⁹ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 12.

³⁰ Prov 22:11; 30:12; Ezek 36:33, cf. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 12.

³¹ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 13; Isa 35:8; Jer 33:8; Hag 2:11–14.

³² Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 15.

³³ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 29.

Lev 15:31	
וְהַרְפָּם אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִטְמָאתָם וְלֹא יִמְתֹּת בְּטֻמְאָתָם בְּטֻמְאָם אֶת־מִשְׁכְּנִי אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְם: (BHS)	Separate the children of Israel from their impurity. Then they will not die in their impurity when they defile my tent which is in their midst.

The Sadducees only applied the rules of purity to priests. Pharisees and Essenes applied them to all believers.³⁴ It is unclear to what extent the masses or the ‘am hā’āres honoured these laws.³⁵ Although the Sadducees were closer to the meaning of the text one must also remember that these laws on purity are also found in the priestly layer of the Law.³⁶ Neusner points out the obvious priestly bias in this layer. Nevertheless, the laws on purity are on very mundane matters as opposed to what you would expect of purely priestly matters.³⁷ It is also important to understand that even according to the (written) Law lay people were supposed to uphold the purity laws when visiting the temple.³⁸ Normally this opportunity would of course only be afforded to people living near Jerusalem and to other Palestinian pilgrims during festivals. Yet we should remember that the dietary laws on clean and unclean animals applied to lay people as well – at all times.³⁹ Also the menstrual taboos were observed by all lay people. Sadducean and Essene *hälakā* on purity was much more rigorous than that of the Pharisees. Obviously the Pharisees were catering for mainstream believers. Schaper sees the main difference between Pharisees and Sadducees in their “conduct of life” or *hälakā* as opposed to dogmatic differences.⁴⁰ The following list reflects the main reasons for ritual impurity and its means of purification as found in the law:

³⁴ Here it is assumed that the Qumran writings were used by an Essene sect and that Qumran was not the only residence of Essenes, cf. Schaper, “The Pharisees,” 406 and Otto Betz, “The Essenes,” in *The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies & J. Sturdy; vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 446–447. The identity of the Qumranites seems to have been settled ever since Y. Sussman, “The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma’ase ha-Torah* (ed. E. Qimron & J. Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 192–196. Though there is not scholarly consensus as yet, as Botha, “Judaism in the Graeco-Roman World,” 67 points out.

³⁵ On this point we have maximalists like Milgrom who thinks the ‘am hā’āres did honour the purity laws and minimalists like Neusner who vehemently deny this. In the light of Neusner’s later concession that Josephus probably was right in alleging that the Pharisees were the biggest Jewish sect even before 70 C.E. one would probably have to conclude that even the ‘am hā’āres had to aspire to purity, but we have no way of determining to what extent.

³⁶ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 26, 29.

³⁷ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 29.

³⁸ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 113.

³⁹ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 30.

⁴⁰ Schaper, “The Pharisees,” 407.

Ground	Purification
1. Sex	Bath, but no purity before the next sunset ⁴¹
2. Touching the carcass of impure animals	No purity before next sunset ⁴²
3. A flux (from men or women)	Impure for another 7 days after disappearance of symptoms after which sacrifice had to be made (at least 2 doves). No sacrifice in the case of a woman's period. ⁴³
4. Childbirth	During the first week after it was a boy and two weeks after it was a girl sex would be forbidden. ⁴⁴ For the next 33 days if it were a boy and 66 days if it were a girl she would be forbidden to touch holy things. This pollution ended at the set time with the presentation of a lamb as a burnt offering and a bird as a sin offering.
5.1 Skin eruption ⁴⁵	Impure for 7 days, sacrifice had to be made with a purification rite ⁴⁶
5.2. Mildew on the walls ⁴⁷	The house was to be shut up and resurveyed after 7 days. If the mildew was still there after that the affected stones had to be removed. If it would break out again, the house had to be destroyed.

⁴¹ Lev 15:16–18; Deut 22:10–12.

⁴² Lev 11:24–28. Jacob Milgrom quoted in Taylor, *The Immerser*, 59 with reference to Lev 17:15; 22:5–6 notes that an immersion was implied even when the means of purification was a simple waiting period till the next sunset.

⁴³ Lev 15:1–32; 12:1–8.

⁴⁴ Markus Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity: Reconstructing Judean Ethnicity in Q* (Eugene, Oreg.: Cascade, 2007), 187.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lev 14:1. According to William L. Holladay, “עַלְצָה,” *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 310 this is a more accurate translation for the verb עָלַץ (“to have a skin eruption”). Holladay proposes leucoderma. For this reason clothes (Lev 13:47) and walls (Lev 14:44) can also contract עַלְצָה. Since the time of the Septuagint the Hebrew has been translated with “to have leprosy” (*λεπρός* someone who has *λέπτα*). The problem is that this translation tradition has been followed to our day because the accurate lexical meaning of the word has been forgotten. For a detailed medical discussion of what עַלְצָה is, cf. John J. Pilch, “Understanding Biblical Healing: Selecting the Appropriate Model,” *BTB* 18 (1988): 60–66. Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark’s Story of Jesus*, 316 describes NT leprosy as people with a skin condition making it impossible to discern orifice from surface.

⁴⁶ Lev 13–14.

⁴⁷ Lev 14:33–57. Lev 13:47–59 discusses a similar problem on clothes. The same word, עַלְצָה, is used in Hebrew to express all three concepts. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 19 separates leprosy from mildew on walls, but according to the language of the author they do refer to the same thing.

6. Contact with a corpse	Cleansable with water mingled with the ashes of the red heifer. ⁴⁸ This mixture was administered on the 3 rd and the 7 th day after the event. Only after the 7 th day's administration the person would be pure. The room in which the person died and the objects inside were also defiled and was sprinkled with the same mixture. ⁴⁹
7. Meat from the sacrificial cult may not come into contact with impurity	The meat has to be burned, so it cannot be purified ⁵⁰

This list is based on the written law and was agreed upon by all the Jewish sects. In Pharisaic thinking it was thought that if somebody touched a person who was impure because of the offences above he incurred a minor impurity which could be purified by simple immersion.⁵¹

Clothes, wooden utensils, pottery, leather receptacles and sacks were also susceptible to impurity.⁵² This could, for instance, have happened if one of these things touched a dead lizard.⁵³ So if someone touched a carcass he and his clothes became defiled and had to be purified. Only stone utensils were immune. Once contaminated, these things had to be purified in the same way as humans. If pottery was defiled it was a hopeless case. It had to be either broken or used for impure food till the end. Food was also susceptible to ritual impurity, especially liquid separated from a fountain or a *miqweh*. Liquid used to purify utensils was considered impure and anything it touched became impure in turn (Lev 11:34). If a carcass fell into a *miqweh* or into a fountain, the water was still pure, but the person that removed it, would become impure (Lev 11:36). This means nothing could defile either a *miqweh* or a fountain.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Num 19:11–19.

⁴⁹ Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity*, 187.

⁵⁰ Lev 7:19–21, cf. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 18.

⁵¹ Shmuel Saffrai, “Religion in Everyday Life,” in *The Jewish People of the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life* (vol. 2 of CRINT; ed. S. Saffrai & M. Stern; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 829.

⁵² Saffrai, “Religion in Everyday Life,” 830.

⁵³ The animals that could pollute people are listed in Lev 11:26–30.

⁵⁴ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 38. Miller is very sceptical that the cisterns of Leviticus can be associated with the *miqwā’ot* of the Mišnâ.

b) Immersion as Means to Remedy Impurity

For purification total immersion was required.⁵⁵ The actual principle (Lev 11:36) was that someone be immersed in living water (*mayīm hayyīm*) which is running water as opposed to stagnant water.⁵⁶ Pure water is life sustaining because it is provided by God.⁵⁷ Miller emphasizes the idea that the water had to be natural: provided by God and not by human culture. Things that were manipulated by humans were thought to be more susceptible to impurity.⁵⁸ If the water was not actually running it must originally have been running water. Natural springs or lakes could also be used. Another way of purifying oneself was by using the *miqwā'ot* usually found in proximity to the temple and synagogues in Palestine dating to the Second Temple Period. These *miqwā'ot* could hold rain water or water from a spring or a stream, but usually no drawn or pumped water.⁵⁹

For immersion ideally one had to be naked.⁶⁰ This was because clothes and jewelry were also carriers of impurity.⁶¹ Typical Jewish thinking was rather uncomfortable with nudity even after the coming of Hellenism.⁶² So this could probably

⁵⁵ The tractate *m. Miqwa'ot* 1 lists the six grades of acceptable *miqwā'ot* at the time of the Tannaim, cf. Miller, *At the Intersection*, 33.

⁵⁶ Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity*, 185–186.

⁵⁷ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 36.

⁵⁸ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 37.

⁵⁹ Saffrai, “Religion in Everyday Life,” 830. Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity*, 186 adds that the water of a *מִקְדָּשׁ* could be replenished by drawn water but only in small quantities, since water from a *מִקְדָּשׁ* had power to purify through contact, cf. Miller, *At the Intersection*, 70.

⁶⁰ Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity*, 186 notes that immersion was usually performed naked.

⁶¹ Taylor, *The Immerser*, 55.

⁶² Jub. 3:31; 1 Macc. 1:14–15; 2 Macc. 4:12–15, cf. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 55. Even today the concept of *צניעות* (modesty) is still in force in orthodox Judaism. For an argument for a more nuanced Jewish conception of nudity at the time, cf. Michael Poliakoff, “They Should Cover Their Shame: Attitudes toward Nudity in Greco-Roman Judaism,” *Source: Notes on the History of Art* 12/2 (1993): 57 who emphasizes that the attitude toward both the male and the female body is one of great modesty not scorn. This is clear from rabbinic literature (57) including *Nid.* 31a; *Sojāh* 17a; *Yebam.* 63b; *y. Katovot* 5.6; *Lev. Rab.* 34.3. Interestingly *b. Pesachim* 112b enjoins that marital relations should take place without light which was also the practice of Romans according to Plutarch, *Moralia* 279e–f. Art from synagogues during the Roman Principate prove that many Jews were quite comfortable with nudity in art, e.g. at Hammath-Tiberias (59) in the 4th century, Dura Europos (60) in the 3rd century. A reserved attitude is displayed from the earliest Jewish literature. Sharon R. Keller, “Aspects of Nudity in the Old Testament,” *Source: Notes on the History of Art* 12/2 (1993): 32 feels that the attitude of the Tanak can be summed up after looking at the story of Adam and Eve “inappropriate exposure of the naked body is shameful whether or not one is aware of it.” Even after covering themselves with fig tree leaves it is still not enough – man and woman are still ashamed of their nudity. The story implies that covering the genitalia is not enough, even when semi-clothed one is still naked. What is also telling is that the Tanak preserves the legend of Ham’s inappropriate behaviour towards his father, Noah. Keller notes how many cultures of the Ancient Near East preserved a flood myth, but this particular legend is unique to the flood myth of Genesis (36). The reserve of the Tanak is shown by the use of euphemisms to refer to genitalia and the modesty sexual acts are described with – almost as if to spare the reader the details (34).

only happen where the sexes could be separated.⁶³ In practice other arrangements were therefore to be made like the Essenes using linen (or wool) loin cloths for immersion.⁶⁴ Rabbi Judah stated that wool and items made of hair would do because the water can enter through them (*m. Miqw.* 9.1).⁶⁵ This might also explain why John the Baptist was known for wearing a cloth of camel hair and a belt from skin (Mark 1:6; Matt 3:4).⁶⁶

Neusner notes the oft repeated criticism in Judaism that “Purity without morality is contrary to God’s will.”⁶⁷ He provides the following examples from Judeo-Christian literature that emphasize this conviction:

- The Community Rule (1 QS 3.3–9) is adamant that Jews converting to their movement from other sects must be baptized as their purification rituals are invalid: Only through humble submission to God’s precepts will his body be purified by water. The heart cannot be purified by water. The text 4Q174 also says that righteousness is that which cleanses the flesh.
- Philo, a Grecized Jew, living in Alexandria, remarks that without self-control a man may submit to sprinklings with holy water and to purifications, befouling his understanding while cleansing his body (*Det.* 20). He also notes “For it is absurd that a man should be forbidden to enter the temples save after bathing and cleansing his body, and yet should attempt to pray and sacrifice with a heart still soiled and spotted” (*Deus* 7–8).⁶⁸ Philo also remarks “For the unjust and impious man is in the truest sense unclean” (*Spec.* 3.209).⁶⁹
- John the Baptist criticizes Pharisees for their over-emphasis on outer purity and refuses to baptize them (Luke 3:7–8). This is also clear from Josephus’ testimony (*Ant.* 18.116–119) that John feels the baptizand’s soul had to be purified by righteousness beforehand.
- Christian ideas like Jesus’ criticism of hypocritical Pharisees that they clean only the outside of the cup while they are full of extortion and intemperance on the

⁶³ Taylor, *The Immerser*, 55.

⁶⁴ Josephus, *B.J.* 2.161, cf. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 55.

⁶⁵ Taylor, *The Immerser*, 55.

⁶⁶ Taylor, *The Immerser*, 35.

⁶⁷ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 78.

⁶⁸ καὶ γὰρ εὑνθες εἰς μὲν τὰ ιερὰ μὴ ἔξειναι βαδίζειν, ὃς ἀν μὴ πρότερον λουσάμενος φαιδρύνηται τὸ σῶμα, εὐχεσθαι δὲ καὶ θύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι κεκηλιδωμένη καὶ πεφυρμένη διανοίᾳ (Cohn & Wendland).

⁶⁹ ὁκάθαρτος γάρ κυρίως ὁ ἄδικος καὶ ἀσεβῆς (Cohn). On Philo’s view of purity, cf. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 45–48.

inside (Matt 23:25–26)⁷⁰ and that one does not become defiled because of what goes into the body as much as what goes out of it (Mark 7:1–23) are considered to be central to Jesus' teaching. It has become associated almost entirely with Him so that one can easily forget the long tradition of criticism towards an over-emphasis on outer purity in Jewish thought which preceded Him.⁷¹

- The Tosefta contains an interesting story which is quoted almost in its entirety below as it is not that well known:⁷²

A. The story is told of two priests of equal rank, who were running up the ramp. One pushed the other when he was within the four cubits [of the altar]. The other took a knife and stabbed him in the heart.

C. And afterward the father of the youth came and said to them, “My brethren, I am your atonement. His [my] son is still writhing, and the knife is therefore not unclean.”

D. This teaches you that the uncleanness of the knife was more disturbing to Israel than the shedding of blood.

E. And so Scripture says, “And also Manasseh shed very much innocent blood, until he had filled the whole of Jerusalem from one end to another” (1 Kings 21:16).

F. On this basis it was said that for the sin of bloodshed the Presence of God departed, and the sanctuary was made unclean.

(*t. Kippurim* 1:12)⁷³

- Mani also criticizes the Elchesaites for the same thing at his trial (*CMC*).

The other culture that might influence P.Oxy. 840's perspective on purity is Greek culture. Chaniotis argues that Greek religion makes a transition from an emphasis on external purity to an emphasis on inner and intellectual purity and piety. Purity was important in Greek religion, so much so that there were ritual experts that ensured rituals were carried out properly.⁷⁴ He explains this development by the influence of the law and the afterlife.⁷⁵ The idea of individual responsibility first occurred in secular law. Early Greek religion was indifferent to this. From the late sixth century onwards the idea

⁷⁰ From an historical point of view it is perhaps more significant to note this tradition hails back to Q 11.

⁷¹ Cf. also Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 87.

⁷² At least not among Neutestamentler.

⁷³ Quoted in Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 77.

⁷⁴ Angelos Chaniotis, “Greek Ritual Purity: From Automatisms to Moral Distinctions,” in *How Purity is Made* (ed. P. Rösch & U. Simon; Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2012), 125, 123–139.

⁷⁵ Chaniotis, “Greek Ritual Purity,” 127.

developed that an individual's moral conduct on earth determines his fate in the afterlife.⁷⁶ Especially the Pythagoreans respected traditional views on purity, but also emphasized the importance of purity of the mind. Only after a considerable delay did sacred regulations start including the idea of a more moral purity. The earliest evidence for this according to Chaniotis is an inscription in a temple of Asclepius in Epidaurus:

Clement, Strom. 5.1.13.3	
<p>καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὁ ἡνίξατο ὄστις ἄρα ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐπιγράψας τῇ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ νεώ· ἀγνὸν χρὴ νησὶ θυάδεος ἐντὸς ιόντα ἔμμεναι· ἀγνείη δὲ ἐστὶ φρονεῖν ὄσια. (GCS 52)⁷⁷</p>	<p>And this is what he disclosed, whoever that one was who on the entrance of the temple in Epidaurus inscribed: The one going into the temple smelling of incense must be pure. Purity means to think pious things.</p>

Chaniotis sees this as a criticism of other sanctuaries that only demanded pure hands.⁷⁸ From the second century B.C.E. such ideas become more common around the Greek world.⁷⁹ Chaniotis notes that in the first century C.E. the language of inner purity starts to become more formulaic reflecting maturity. He quotes a Serapis Oracle to the following effect:

Serapis Oracle p147 §61 ⁸⁰	
<p>Σαράπιδος χρησμὸς τιμαινέτω· ἀγνὰς χεῖρας ἔχων καὶ νοῦν καὶ γλῶτταν ἀληθῆ εἴσ<ι>θι, μὴ λοετροῖς, ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρός· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ θ' ὄστις ρανὶς ὑδατος· ἄνδρα δὲ φαῦλον οὐδὲ ἂν ὁ πᾶς λούσαι χεύμασιν ὠκεανός.</p>	<p>Let the oracle honour Serapis: Come hither with clean hands and with a true mind and tongue, being pure not through washings, but in mind. For the pious one drop of water is enough; but an evil man cannot be washed by the entire ocean with all its waves.⁸¹</p>

It is striking that stereotypes exist where both Egyptians and Jews are thought to be the purest of nations, but at the same time the vilest (morally φαυλότατος).⁸²

⁷⁶ Chaniotis, "Greek Ritual Purity," 128.

⁷⁷ CCCPG 1377

⁷⁸ Chaniotis, "Greek Ritual Purity," 129.

⁷⁹ Chaniotis, "Greek Ritual Purity," 130.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Maria Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (Subsidia Epigraphica: Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik 12; Hildesheim: Olms, 1985).

⁸¹ In using the passive construction for English like Chaniotis, one is able to keep the word order of the Greek more faithfully.

⁸² Chaniotis, "Greek Ritual Purity," 139.

c) Contribution of Social-Scientific Criticism to the Theory on Purity

Prior to Anthropologist, Douglas, scholars were not aware of the social ramifications of purity and pollution.⁸³ In her studies of tribal societies Douglas recognized how concepts of purity and pollution are used to bring conceptual and social order to a chaotic world. “Dirt” is matter thought to be out of place.⁸⁴ “Dirt” and “out-of-placeness” imply some overall system where things, persons, times and places are classified as clean or unclean, holy or profane, pure or polluted, life-enhancing or death-promoting. Purity and pollution beliefs can uphold or even substitute for a lagging moral code.⁸⁵ Behind these elaborate systems is the desire to create order and to reinforce codes of belonging and behaviour. It shows concern to maintain the wholeness of the personal and social body and to relate the individual to the design of the cosmos. Douglas was able to successfully apply this model to Israelite religion.

Malina has illustrated how Douglas’ work contextualizes the arrangements of the Second Temple period, its social stratification based on genealogical purity lines and its classification of holy and unholy space based on proximity or distance to the temple.⁸⁶ These systems form an orderly system. “Map” is used to describe these systems and means “the concrete and systematic patterns of organizing, locating and classifying persons, places, time and actions according to some notion of ‘purity’ or order.”⁸⁷ Four different maps are described in Second Temple Judaism: A Map of Spaces, People, Things and Times.

i) Maps of Spaces

In Israel during the Second Temple Period there were ten progressive degrees of holiness.⁸⁸ The navel of the world was constituted by the Holy of Holies of the temple in Jerusalem.⁸⁹ From this centre outwards the degree of holiness diminished.

⁸³ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Conceptions of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966).

⁸⁴ Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 5.

⁸⁵ Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 133.

⁸⁶ Bruce J. Malina, *The World of the New Testament: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (1st ed.; Louisville: Westminster, 1981).

⁸⁷ Neyrey, “The Symbolic Universe of Luke-Acts,” 278.

⁸⁸ For a succinct description of these ten degrees of holiness regarding maps of spaces, cf. m. *Kelim* 1.6–9; Ernest van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark’s Story of Jesus: A Narratological and Social Scientific Reading* (HvTStSup 1995/7; Pretoria, 1995), 199.

⁸⁹ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark’s Story of Jesus*, 200.

Space	Limited to which people
The Holy of Holies	The high priest could enter the Holy of Holies only once a year on <i>Yôm Kippûr</i>
The Holy or the Sanctuary	Priests with washed hands and feet
Space between the porch and the altar	Priests without blemish and whose hair was bound could enter
The Court of Priests	Priests who would perform the laying on of hands, slaughtering and wave offerings
The Court of Israelites	Men of the house of Israel who were pure
The Court of Women	Women of the house of Israel
Rampart	<i>Tēbûl yôm</i>
Temple Mount	Gentiles
Within the walls of Jerusalem	Men and women that have flux, menstruants, women after childbirth and corpses
Within the walls of other cities	Men and women that have flux, menstruants, women after childbirth and corpses
The land of Israel	Lepers (prostitutes?)

The temple was the space where the sphere of human interaction intersected with the sphere of God's realm.⁹⁰ Although it was well-known that God does not inhabit a building made by human hands, people thought God was accessible in a special and immediate way in the temple. The sense of power and danger emanating from the temple is difficult to understand for secularized readers today. The encroacher who overstepped his mark was thought to be liable for divine wroth. The Roman Consuls Pompey (63 B.C.E. cf. Josephus, *B.J.* 1.152) and later Crassus (54 B.C.E. cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.105) entered the Holy of Holies.⁹¹ Such encroachment by Gentiles is often reflected in the literature of the time.⁹² The epigraphic record also bears witness to the warnings aimed at Gentiles regarding encroachment. These inscriptions were found on the stone wall separating the Court of Gentiles from the Court of Women⁹³: (*CII* 2.1400; Josephus, *BJ.*

⁹⁰ DeSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 258.

⁹¹ Heinz-Martin Döpp, "Der Jerusalemer Tempel," in *Weltauffassung, Kult, Ethos* (ed. J. Zangenberg; vol. 3 of *Neues Testament und Antike Kultur*; ed. K. Erlemann, K. L. Noethlichs. K. Scherberich & J. Zangenberg; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005), 188. Apparently Alexander the Great obeyed the wishes of the master of the gate, cf. Elias J. Bickerman, "The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple," *JQR* 37/4 (1947): 401 fn. 75, 387–405. Though some think Alexander never entered Jerusalem, cf. Hans Lewy, "Aristotle and the Jewish Sage according to Clearchus of Soli," *HTR* 31/3 (1938): 205–235.

⁹² 2 Macc 3: 5:15–20; 9:1–28; 3 Macc 1:8–2:24; 4 Macc 3:20–4:14; deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 259.

⁹³ Sometimes called the Balustrade Inscriptions, cf. Appendix for a picture thereof.

5.193 f.; *Ant.* 15.417).⁹⁴ We know that the priests avoided entering the temple through the praetorium (Fort Antonina), lest they would come into contact with Gentiles, so that they could still eat of their sacral portions at the Passover.⁹⁵

CII 2.1400	
μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ πορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὃς δ' ἂν ληφθῇ, ἔστω αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἔξακολουθεῖν θάνατον.	No Gentile may enter within the stone barrier and the wall around the temple. Whoever shall be caught (doing so) shall be responsible for his own death which follows.

It seems that the house of Israel honoured these rules except during revolutions like during the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the utter chaos of the last days of the temple during the Zealots' control of the city in 70 C.E.⁹⁶ One sees the accusation made against Paul that he brought Gentiles into the temple, leading to his final imprisonment and death according to Acts.

The Essenes were stricter in this regard, in that they expected everyone that enters Jerusalem to be in a state of purity. The Pharisees thought one only needed to be pure once one crossed the bar outside of the Court of Women.⁹⁷

ii) Maps of People

Among the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Ancient Near East purity was important for all priests serving the temples.⁹⁸ Israel was the only nation where such a large part of the population submitted to the requirements of purity. While it was possible for all pure people to look on the idol of Greek temples, the cultures of the Ancient Near East showed more reserve in that this was the privilege of the priests alone. Here the laity was typically restricted to the fore-court of the temple. People were not to mix with the priests

⁹⁴ Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 22; Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Judaism: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 65. Gentiles could enter the temple mount but were prohibited from entering the actual temple precincts marked off by a low bar (balustrade or Aram. *sôreg*).

⁹⁵ This seems to have been in order to prevent potential corpse pollution (lasting seven days), seeing that Gentiles were thought to dispose of abortions down their drains and to bury children in their homes. Cf. *m. 'Ohal.* 18.7; *Jub* 22:16; *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a) 48.11; deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 286 fn. 6.

⁹⁶ Cf. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 87 for the utter chaos during the last days of the temple.

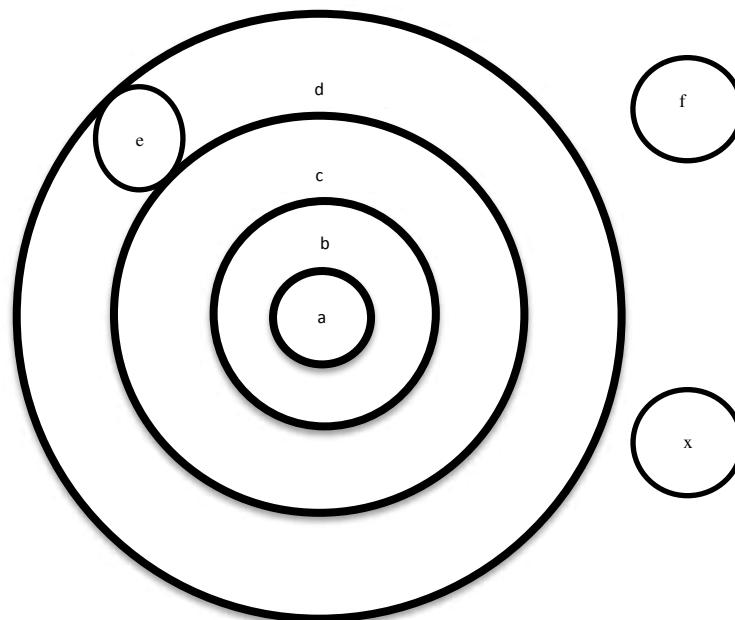
⁹⁷ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 269.

⁹⁸ Bickerman, "The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple," 392 – especially those of Pharisaic and Essene persuasion.

– called the pure ones in Egyptian. Although there were temples in the first century Mediterranean that did exclude certain foreigners,⁹⁹ the temple in Jerusalem is quite unique in excluding all foreigners from participation in the cult. The ideology underlying this was that all Israel must be a kingdom of priests (Exod 19:6).

In terms of purity legislation there was a difference between Israelites and non-Israelites. This system fails to include Gentiles, so that they are in fact an abomination. In the end this system has seven categories for Malina¹⁰⁰:

- a Priests fit for the temple and the altar
- b Levites: people fit for temple service but lacking the qualities to fit them into A
- c Israelites by birth
- d Israelites by ritual birth (i.e. proselytes) that can marry Israelites by birth under certain conditions
- e Those fitting dubiously into the category of Israel with questionable inherited status
- f Those that are always unclean for marriage
- x Gentiles



⁹⁹ Bickerman, “The Warning Inscriptions of Herod’s Temple,” 390 mentions the exclusion of Dorians from a (Ionian) sanctuary of Persephone in Paros at the time of the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century B.C.E. Obviously this was for political reasons.

¹⁰⁰ Malina, *The World of the New Testament*, 174–175.

Van Eck notes that the most complete list of classifying people according to holiness in Israel can be found in *Talmud Megillah* 2.7¹⁰¹:

1. Priests
2. Levites
3. Israelites
4. Converts
5. Freed slaves
6. Disqualified priests (illegitimate children of priests)
7. *Netzins* (temple slaves)
8. *Mamzers* (bastards)
9. Eunuchs
10. Men with damaged testicles
11. Men without a penis

There was a prevailing perception in Israel that non-Israelites or Gentiles practiced abominations like the Canaanites did.¹⁰² In terms of the purity legislation found in Leviticus God vomited them out (**נִקְרָא**) of the land on account of their defilement and abominations (Lev 18:24–30).¹⁰³ As long as Gentiles practice idolatry they are not taken account of on the purity map.¹⁰⁴ This is the reason for the strong boundary line drawn between Israel and the nations. DeSilva remarks that this distinctiveness from the Gentiles was inscribed onto the body of the Israelite man through circumcision.¹⁰⁵ Gentiles are not excluded absolutely from the people of God, but have to go through ritual circumcision in addition to abandoning all other gods to enter the fold.

In Israel holiness was determined by your access to the divine presence associated with the temple more than anything else, so that the high priest was right at the top. After him came other priests and then the Levites who were responsible for providing music in services. The lay Israelites were holy to the Lord as part of the people of God but were not seen to be as holy as the priests were. As long as the non-priest did not carry any pollution on him, priests did not become contaminated upon touching non-priests. After

¹⁰¹ In that case Malina's a=1, b=2, c=3, d=4–5, e=6–8, f=9–11.

¹⁰² DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 256.

¹⁰³ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 256.

¹⁰⁴ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 257.

¹⁰⁵ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 257.

Israelite men came Israelite women that were not menstruating at the time.¹⁰⁶ Relegated to the outer margins of Israel's purity map were Gentiles, illegitimate children and males with damaged genitalia. The boundary between Israelites and Gentiles is important to maintain, so as to protect the holiness of the Israelite people.

This list follows two principles of classification: holiness means wholeness and this ranking of people corresponds to the map of spaces.¹⁰⁷ Therefore people with damaged body parts are ranked last as their lacking wholeness signals lacking holiness. People with damaged family lines are also at the bottom. The lay Israelites constitute “an undifferentiated block of people.” Nevertheless, this block could be broken down further through a map of uncleanness: there were more religiously observant and less religiously observant Israelites. Those living in Jerusalem were thought to be more observant than the “people of the land” (*'am hā'āres*). The unobservant would again be classified in terms of public sinners like publicans and prostitutes and unclean people like lepers, the blind and the lame. All these last mentioned were barred from the temple. All Israelites passed through stages of purity and impurity, therefore one had to be conscious of his own status of purity at all times giving rise to the map of impurities.¹⁰⁸ Finally the impurity of a man is exceeded by that of a woman, while the impurity of a leper exceed the woman’s, but was exceeded still by that of a corpse.

Regarding the organization of people the only purity lines that remain valid in the post-Jesus groups are those between in-group members and out-group members.¹⁰⁹ Lines between social status, gender roles and ethnicity become leveled, but not in such a way as to bring shame on the group (distinctions between male and female, married and unmarried observed). Baptism replaces circumcision as the rite of passage from outside to inside.

iii) Maps of Time

One of the most distinguishing marks in the religion of Israel was the honouring of the Sabbath as a day of rest.¹¹⁰ Disregarding the Sabbath was seen in such a serious light that one could incur death (Exod 31:12–17).¹¹¹ One reason for keeping the Sabbath is

¹⁰⁶ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 258.

¹⁰⁷ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark's Story of Jesus*, 201.

¹⁰⁸ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark's Story of Jesus*, 202.

¹⁰⁹ Malina, *The World of the New Testament*, 192.

¹¹⁰ Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4f; 5.8f short description of *Iudeai* repeats the xenophobic stereotype that they did not work on the seventh day because of their laziness.

¹¹¹ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 259–260.

provided in Israel's charter myths.¹¹² According to the (Priestly) account of creation in Genesis (1:1–2:3) God completes creation on the seventh day, rests and makes the day holy (2:2–3).¹¹³ DeSilva notes that keeping the Sabbath is a witness to the world that Israel's God created the earth. It is an opportunity for Israel to fall in line with God's order and rhythm.

Important for the maps of time in Israel's purity code are also the festivals: *Roš haŠana*, *Pesah*, *Yōm Kippūr* and *Sukkōt*.

iv) *Maps of Things (Dietary Regulations)*¹¹⁴

Food would have been something an Israelite would have encountered every day, so that this would have been one of the strongest markers of Israelite identity to outsiders.¹¹⁵ Israel had a strong prohibition on eating the blood of the animal (Lev 17:10–14), thinking it binding on all humanity, so that this was one of the abominations Gentiles typically made themselves guilty of. Before Noah it was only proper to follow a vegetarian diet. After him this has been modified so as to include eating animals that are vegetarian only (herbivores in our language).¹¹⁶ Animals are classified based on their use for the temple cult, as is the case with humans. Based on Leviticus 11 Malina classifies animals as follows¹¹⁷:

- a Unblemished clean domesticated animals fit for the altar according to age and being the first-born (Lev 22:20)
- b Unblemished clean domesticated animals that are not fit for the altar due to age or not being the first-born
- c Animals with parted hooves and that chew the cud
- d Animals with parted hooves or that chew the cud
- e Animals that do not both have parted hooves and chew the cud¹¹⁸

¹¹² John W. Rogerson, "Myth in the Old Testament," *Myth and Scripture: Contemporary Perspectives on Religion, Language & Imagination* (ed. D. E. Callender Jr; SBLRBS 78; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 20.

¹¹³ Erich Zenger et al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (7th ed.; Studienbücher Theologie 1,1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 104, 157.

¹¹⁴ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark's Story of Jesus*, 297 discusses dietary regulations under Maps of Things while deSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 260 simply speaks of Dietary Regulations.

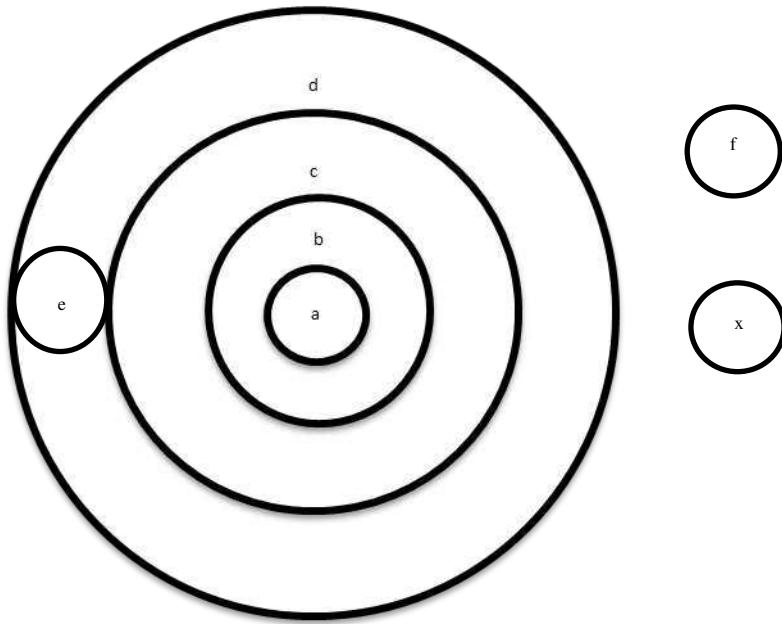
¹¹⁵ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship & Purity*, 260.

¹¹⁶ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 261.

¹¹⁷ Malina, *The World of the New Testament*, 177–178.

¹¹⁸ It is difficult see what the difference is between D and E.

- f Always unclean for the purpose of eating: undomesticated animals that do not have parted hooves, do not chew the cud as well as predators and carrion-eaters
- x Any land animal that swarms is an abomination



The Israelites could only eat the meat of animals that chewed the cud *and* had split hooves. This meant camels,¹¹⁹ rock badgers and rabbits were excluded, for although they chewed the cud, they did not have split hooves. Conversely pigs were excluded, for although their hooves were split, they did not chew the cud. Of the fish in the sea Israelites could only eat fish with fins *and* scales, so that eel and shellfish were excluded. Of the birds in the air they could not eat birds of prey. Of the insects they could only eat insects with enlarged hind legs like grasshoppers and locusts. Furthermore the law was very strict against eating something that has “died on its own.” Very important for the purity map of things (dietary regulations) is the assignment of certain portions of sacrifices to God, to priests and in the case of well-being sacrifices to laypersons.¹²⁰ God’s portion was too holy for any human to eat and the priests’ portions were too holy for laypersons to eat (Lev 22:10). When eating these portions one had to be pure of course. Obviously this ruling would have reinforced the social structures within Israel.

¹¹⁹ In Islam camels are judged to be *halāl*.

¹²⁰ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 261.

Finally this map includes utensils that could be defiled by contact with rodents and lizards.¹²¹ The use of such utensils would pass on defilement (Lev 11:29–35). Food stored in open containers could easily be defiled.

II) Similar Anti-Jewish Rhetoric as That Found in P.Oxy. 840

Although anti-Judaism is hardly a topic one finds in handbooks of Systematic Theology it appears to be something that is specifically related to Proto-Orthodox Christianity.¹²² All Christian factions had to be able to give an account of their Jewish identity. The Jewish-Christian groups embraced this identity more than the others with some groups labeling Paul as apostate and insisting that Gentile believers should also obey the full law. At the opposite end of the spectrum were the Gnostics and the Marcionites who not only rejected the whole Hebrew Bible, but also some Gospels and Epistles that were deemed to be too Jewish. The creator of Genesis was viewed as an evil craftsman separate from the transcendent God and Father of Jesus. Taking the so-called via media were the Proto-Orthodox that formally acknowledged the translated books of the *Tanak* along with the deuterocanonical literature.

Bibliowicz describes the anti-Jewish strand within Proto-Orthodoxy from the time of Paul to Melito (first two centuries C.E.), but also includes a chapter on John Chrysostom (after Nicaea).¹²³ Bibliowicz differentiates between the anti-Judaism of appropriation-substitution as exemplified by the Proto-Orthodox (Pauline-Lukan faction in his words), as opposed to the anti-Judaism of rejection by the Pauline-Marcionites and Gnostics.¹²⁴ For Bibliowicz the anti-Jewish trajectory of this period goes through three phases, from the embryonic tension found in the Gospels and Paul to the supersessionism of Hebrews and Barnabas, to the viciousness displayed by Melito and Chrysostom.¹²⁵ A comprehensive list of New Testament verses with anti-Jewish bias is provided.¹²⁶ Very important for Bibliowicz' argument is the thesis of the Revised Paul as proposed by

¹²¹ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 264 includes defilement of utensils under maps of the body.

¹²² Bart D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 133–134.

¹²³ Abel M. Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles in the Early Jesus Movement: An Unintended Journey* (New York: Palgrave, 2013).

¹²⁴ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 150.

¹²⁵ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 136–137, 179.

¹²⁶ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 4–10. Verses from Q, and material unique to Matthew and Luke are also provided.

scholars like Stendahl, Sanders, Davies, Gaston and Gager.¹²⁷ Accordingly the opponents of Paul are not Jews in general, but a Jewish faction within Christianity. This means Paul is not anti-Jewish and anti-law as he has been understood all these centuries. This same identity of opponents is applied to all the works analysed in the study, from Mark to Chrysostom. This Jewish faction includes the three pillars and Jesus' other disciples. Again and again Bibliowicz speaks of the way Jesus' disciples are denigrated by the Pauline-Lukan faction. The Pauline-Lukan faction would also include books like Mark, Luke-Acts, the Johannine literature, Hebrews, the Epistle of Barnabas, Ignatius, Justin, Melito and Chrysostom. Even Matthew is viewed as having had a Pauline-Lukan redactor that usurped the text of Proto-Matthew from the Jewish faction that had originally authored it. Bibliowicz concludes that there is no confrontation between Paul and mainstream Judaism, as much as there is between Paul and the Jewish leadership of emergent Christianity.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, in retrospect, Paul's ministry was the beginning of a new religion with a strong anti-Jewish bent. Paul's most lasting contribution to the anti-Jewish strand is his dualistic pairs:

Jewish belief	Torah/law	Sinful	Flesh	Works	Darkness	Superseded
Pauline belief	Faith/belief	Saved	Spirit	Belief	Light	Supersedes

Another dualism missed by Bilbiowicz that is relevant for the anti-Jewish strand in Christianity is old/new found for the first time in 2 Corinthians 3. Bibliowicz sees **Mark** as a legitimating foundational discourse intended to reassure the Pauline-Lukan faction that they are rightful followers of Jesus despite their rejection of the beliefs of Jesus and his disciples chosen to be the custodians of his legacy.¹²⁹ Mark's strategy to accomplish this is firstly to denigrate the disciples by showing their failure to understand Jesus correctly. Secondly he presents a Jesus that keeps transgressing the traditions of the

¹²⁷ Krister Stendahl, "Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West;" *Paul among the Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976); Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 120; *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*; William D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (London: SPCK, 1954); "Paul and the People of Israel," *NTS* 24 (1977): "Paul and the People of Israel," *NTS* 24 (1977): 4–39; Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹²⁸ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 36.

¹²⁹ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 40.

Jewish faction. Thirdly Mark invents the rumor of the Jewish authorities as instigators of Jesus' death, so that the Romans are exonerated ("the Jewish culpability theme").

Contrary to the almost universal veneration of the disciples of the founder in other world religions, Mark (and the Synoptics that stand on his work) is unique in his denigration and belittling of the first disciples, those that Jesus chose as custodians and guardians of his legacy.¹³⁰

The abandonment of Jesus by his disciples is contrasted with the (Gentile) Roman centurion that is willing to acknowledge that this truly was the Son of God. Bibliowicz identifies a strong anti-temple rhetoric in Mark and Jesus' action in the temple in the context of the cursing of the fig tree seems to imply a divine verdict against the temple, so that the temple is no longer the cultic centre and dwelling of God.¹³¹ According to Bibliowicz Jesus' criticism of table fellowship, purity laws and Sabbath observance would not have been seen as a rejection of the law, as much as a radical critique of the traditions of the elders. Bibliowicz takes issue with the idea that anybody other than the Romans should be held responsible for Jesus' death.¹³² He emphasizes how the Romans were known for mercilessly eliminating any threat to their occupation and how they persecuted any messianic groups. Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem "staged to create messianic resonances" could not but trigger a Roman response. Mark makes the contradictory claim that Jesus' messianic claim was not the cause of his death by Roman sedition charges, as much as a conspiracy by wicked priests and scribes. The ruthless and notoriously cruel Pilate is presented as indecisive and subject to the influence of those in his power. The main culprits in Mark's narration are the chief priests and the scribes, but the Jewish people are also implicated in that they ask for Jesus' crucifixion (Mark 15:12–14). Bibliowicz speculates as to the motive behind such a Markan misrepresentation of the facts, concluding that it may have been intended to show that Jesus' followers were not a threat to Roman society, which would alienate potential Roman converts, if not to alleviate persecution by the authorities.

Important for our purposes Bibliowicz notes how the Jewish culpability theme was only central in one of the strands of Early Christianity, that is, in the Pauline-Lukan faction. This points to a factional origin of the tradition. Bibliowicz concedes that in all

¹³⁰ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 41.

¹³¹ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 42.

¹³² Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 43.

factions within Christianity Jesus' death was a matter of record, but notes that it was not the pivotal focus of belief in all factions. The founding faction focused on keeping the law would not have considered Jesus' death as the focal point of their belief. Gnostics saw Jesus' death as a positive event ending his suffering in a world under the dominion of evil. For Marcion, Jesus' death was divinely ordained. His death should be blamed on the creator and evil principalities. Jesus' rejection by the Jews was understandable since he was an alien and unprecedented figure not fitting messianic expectations. Bibliowicz notes that Mark does not yet portray Christians as the new favourites of YHWH, and Israel is not labeled as apostate.

Bibliowicz has some **striking insights**. There is no reason to suppose that Christians would have been banned from the synagogues on a global scale. Synagogues could also gather in houses as was the case with the early Christian movement.¹³³ If Christians were ill-treated in one synagogue they could simply start their own one. Bibliowicz notes how both Qumranites and Christians share a proclivity for the pesher-hermeneutic where typology is used, though this was not practiced by mainstream Judaism. Biliowicz regrets how Christians appropriated Jewish self-criticism like that of the prophets and notes that when this criticism had been stripped of its context anti-Semitism and Jewish persecution were unavoidable, especially after Constantine.

What is important is Bibliowicz recognition that the Pauline-Lukan faction had an idea of appropriation-substitution with regard to ideas from the Jewish faction as opposed to the Marcionite-Gnostic total rejection of Jewish ideas.¹³⁴ The Pauline-Lukan faction emerges as a compromise group between the other Christianities, insisting on a dual nature of Christ, fully human with the Jewish faction *and* fully God with the Docetic faction. A problem with Bibliowicz' approach is the separation between Pauline-Marcionites and Gnostics. Although Marcionites do not betray all the indicators of the Gnostic typical categorization used in this dissertation, there is significant overlap, especially regarding their doctrine of God and Bibliology. Bibliowicz also assumes too early a date for Gnostics, preferring the history of religions-approach, so that Gnostic factions appear to have exerted an influence on Christianity from the start. Bibliowicz' idea of proto-Matthean priority builds on the Griesbach-hypothesis.¹³⁵

¹³³ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 71–72.

¹³⁴ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 150, 155.

¹³⁵ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 458.

III) Similar Forms as That Found in P.Oxy. 840

a) *Proprium of Berger's Form Criticism*

When analysing P.Oxy. 840 form criticism is indeed a very useful method as it is able to focus in on single isolated pericopae like that found in P.Oxy. 840. For the purpose of the thesis the new form criticism proposed by Berger has been found to be the most useful.¹³⁶ This methodology is quite a departure from the traditional “romantic” form criticism championed by Dibelius and Bultmann.¹³⁷ Berger advocates a strict separation of form criticism from tradition criticism as opposed to the old form criticism. Berger’s form criticism is more of a *Gattungsgeschichte* than a *Formgeschichte*.¹³⁸ Berger points out how critical concepts like “Form” and “Gemeinde” were stretched beyond breaking point by the old school. In applying “Form” strictly in the sense of “Gattung” as opposed to Overbeck,¹³⁹ Berger significantly expands the number of forms, for example, differentiating between dialogue and chria.¹⁴⁰ Another important difference between the methodology of Berger and that of the old form criticism is the possibility of multiple forms for a single pericope. According to Berger this is done so as not to miss any potentially useful analytical tool.

Whereas the old form critical school was more concerned with classifying sayings as truly spoken by Jesus, or originating with the “Gemeinde,” or “Tradition,” the basic division of Berger’s classification is deliberative, demonstrative and judicial.¹⁴¹ This last mentioned classification is well-familiar from rhetorical criticism. This underpins the idea of judging the literature of Early Christianity according to the standards of its own time. The old form critical school had more of an intuitive descriptive approach often indulging in anachronistic categories like “miracle stories” and “visions and auditions.”¹⁴² Berger divides these two genres into many other more specific ones.¹⁴³ In

¹³⁶ Klaus Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle, 1984); *Einführung in die Formgeschichte* (UTB 1444; Tübingen: Francke, 1987). It is unfortunate that Berger’s forms are nowhere translated into English, so that this thesis has to suggest its own translations. For a review of Berger’s Form Criticism, cf. David E. Aune, “Form Criticism,” in *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament* (ed. D. E. Aune; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2010), 152, 140–155.

¹³⁷ Berger, *Einführung*, 67. Berger notes that this romanticism goes back to publications of Johann G. Herder from 1783–1797.

¹³⁸ Berger, *Einführung*, 177.

¹³⁹ Berger, *Einführung*, 28 notes that Franz Overbeck, *Über die Anfänge der patristischen Literatur* (Darmstadt: Darmstadt Wissenschaftliche Buchgemeinschaft, 1954). understands the word in the modern sense of Composition Criticism.

¹⁴⁰ Klaus Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle, 1984), 82–84, 250.

¹⁴¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 6–7 prefers the originally Greek concepts “Symbuleutische,” “epideiktische” and “dikanische Gattungen.”

¹⁴² “Wundererzählung ist kein Gattungsbegriff, sondern moderne Beschreibung eines antiken Wirklichkeitsverständnisses,” cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 305,

contrast to the old form criticism Berger's methodology has a focus on rhetoric and language.¹⁴⁴ Berger is very sceptical about speculative attempts by the old form critical school of determining the *Sitz im Leben* of Gospel accounts.¹⁴⁵ The axioms underlying the old form criticism, that the *Sitz im Leben* is institutionalized and that it is therefore repeatable, are critically flawed, in that so little is in fact known about Early Christian institutions. This has obligated the older form criticism to use circular argumentation. Berger argues that it would be more responsible to conjecture typical situations in which a form would fit. Relevant to such a quest would be the following:

1. A situation should be assumed where a later text composer would learn the formal laws of a genre (by means of e.g. school, reading or listening) for putting them into practice later on.
2. It is possible to think of a situation in which a text would have been invented and presented orally, but some texts are exclusively oral and others exclusively written. Nevertheless little that is concrete can be said about oral Sitze im Leben, for example, it is evident from some epistles that they were read for the congregation.
3. It is equally possible that a written text might be modelled on an oral text and an oral text on a written genre.
4. The text has an application to reality that is different from the situation of the composition with reference to time: in reaching the addressees the text has a specific purpose. The intended effect is to take place in a more or less typical situation within Early Christianity.
5. There is a situation in which the written document arrived and was read and had its first reception and there were certain effects of this reception. The point of contact between text and reality is difficult to get a hold of.
6. Finally there are further receptions of a text (whether oral or written) in new situations for which it was never even intended.

¹⁴³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 85, 305 prefers the categorization of “dramatische chrie” as opposed to Bultmann’s “Wundererzählung” (miracle story) as he notes “Wundererzählung ist kein Gattungsbegriff, sondern moderne Beschreibung eines antiken Wirklichkeitverständnisses.”

¹⁴⁴ Before Berger, *Einführung*, 173 Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913) was one of the few old form critics to take the language of the forms seriously.

¹⁴⁵ Berger, *Einführung*, 156–158. For P.Oxy. 840 Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters,” 285 has applied such a speculative attempt at determining P.Oxy. 840’s *Sitz im Leben*.

For Berger the quest for the *Sitz im Leben* is less important than explaining the function of a text within the history of Christianity.¹⁴⁶

For the analysis of P.Oxy. 840 the following forms are especially important:

b) Sentence

In the form critical sense a sentence is a proverb describing general experience in compact form (e.g. “the healthy do not have need of a doctor,” Mark 2:17).¹⁴⁷ This endows sentences with an affinity to orality and dissemination through wandering missionaries. Sentences have such a general character, that they needn’t be attributed to an authority to be legitimate. This multi-functionality often seems to disturb the context and makes it possible for sentences to function as parables. The word “sentences” is often used in this thesis and one should take note that this is usually in this form-critical sense. Sentences should be understood in opposition to gnomes.

c) Gnomes

Gnomes are strictly focussed on deliberative genres. Gnomes cannot function as parables. Gnomes are the building blocks of admonition¹⁴⁸ and *parainesis* (e.g. “the root of education is bitter, but the fruit sweet,” meaning “go to school!”).¹⁴⁹

d) Chria (χρεία)

Chria means “application [of a gnome to a specific case].”¹⁵⁰ The shortest form of a chria (an apophthegm) can be described as “x (name) is asked y (object) and says z (sentence or gnome).”¹⁵¹ Whereas the chriae of the New Testament appear to be longer than contemporary chriae, the dialogues are much shorter than with other authors like Plato. Berger notes the difference in how chriae and dialogues function:

¹⁴⁶ This new form criticism of Berger, *Einführung*, 166 led him to attempt charting the development of Christian theology in Klaus Berger, *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums* (2d ed.; UTB; Stuttgart: Francke, 1995).

¹⁴⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 62.

¹⁴⁸ “Mahnung” in Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 157.

¹⁴⁹ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 3; cf. Kennedy, *A New History*, 204.

¹⁵⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 83. In the light of the highly specific location of the word in its Greek (and later) environment, it seems desirable to leave it untranslated.

¹⁵¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 82. Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 3 provides another example of a chria “Isocrates said that the root of education is bitter, but the fruit sweet.” Cf. Kennedy, *A New History*, 204. Here Aphthonius’ definition would only apply to z of Berger’s formula. Berger’s definition is closer to the theory set out in Quintillian, *Inst. 1.9.4*.

1. The purpose of dialogues is to teach
2. Dialogues often develop from chriae
3. Chriae are shorter and make only one point
4. The protagonist in chriae are characterized by wit
5. Chriae are very critical
6. Chriae are rational and free of miraculous elements¹⁵²
7. Chriae have a regulatory function within society

Berger divides chriae into expanded chriae, dramatic chriae (including miracle stories and calls to ministry, cf. Jesus healing the paralytic on the Sabbath, Mark 2:1–12).¹⁵³ Miraculous elements are as a rule not associated with chriae and Berger notes that this is characteristic only of the chriae around Jesus. Nevertheless, controversies, doubt and proof of miraculous events are often part of these chriae.

e) Dialogues

Berger shows that chriae easily evolve into dialogues. This is done by means of an additional question from an opponent, an answer from a partner in praise or in most cases by means of stringing more than one chria together. Berger suggests the example from Luke 10:25–28, 29–37:

Chria 1	²⁵ And behold, a lawyer stood up to put him to the test, saying, “Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?”	Question from opponent
	²⁶ He said to him, “What is written in the law? How do you read?”	Counter Question
	²⁷ And he answered, “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself.”	Answer by opponent
	²⁸ And he said to him, “You have answered right; do this, and you will live.”	Application to Original Question
Chria 2	²⁹ But he, desiring to justify himself, said to Jesus, “And who is my neighbor?”	Question

¹⁵² This is another area where the chriae of the NT are unconventional, as many chriae become “dramatic chriae” or miracle stories in Bultmann’s language.

¹⁵³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 85.

	<p>³⁰Jesus replied, “A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and he fell among robbers, who stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. ³¹Now by chance a priest was going down that road; and when he saw him he passed by on the other side. ³²So likewise a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, passed by on the other side. ³³But a Samaritan, as he journeyed, came to where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion, ³⁴and went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine; then he set him on his own beast and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. ³⁵And the next day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper, saying, ‘Take care of him; and whatever more you spend, I will repay you when I come back.’</p>	Answer in the Form of a Parable
	<p>³⁶Which of these three, do you think, proved neighbor to the man who fell among the robbers?”</p>	Counter Question
	<p>³⁷He said, “The one who showed mercy on him.”</p>	Answer
	<p>And Jesus said to him, “Go and do likewise.” (RSV)</p>	Application of Parable

Inevitably there seems to be some artificiality in separating chriae and dialogues too strictly. Berger divides dialogues into instructional dialogues and revelatory discourses.¹⁵⁴ In instructional dialogues one finds one partner that is more knowledgeable than another (Luke 10:25–28, 29–37 above) and in revelatory discourses one sees a) how a puzzling pronouncement is made, followed by b) expression of the interlocutor’s failure to understand and c) further revelation (e.g. Jesus explaining being born again to Nicodemus, John 3:1–13).

f) Determining the Form of a Pericope

Berger also suggests a chronological plan of action for determining the genre of any pericope.¹⁵⁵ Attention must be paid to the following:

1. Aspect of the dominant verbs (imperative for Admonitions and warnings; consistent Aorist for narrations)

¹⁵⁴ “Lehrdialoge” und “Offenbarungsdialoge.”

¹⁵⁵ Berger, *Einführung*, 168–171; *Formgeschichte*, 19–22.

2. Which grammatical person dominates (first person speech point to apology;¹⁵⁶ second person plural associated with epistolary address; the “royal we” typical of travel itineraries)¹⁵⁷
3. Tempus of the dominant verbs (future points to prophecy; past tense with direct address of someone might point to rebuke¹⁵⁸)
4. Syntax and kind of sentence (rhetorical questions point to rebuke or to argumentation; short sentences and *deductio ad absurdum* point to argumentation; conditional sentences to warnings in terms of deeds and rewards; direct speech points to dialogue)
5. Semantics (certain words clearly point to a genre, i.e. “blessed” at the start of the sentence must be a beatitude; conversely “woe” points to a statement of woe, verbs of seeing feature prominently in visions; insulting nicknames play an important role in warning and rebuke, as well as verbs with a negative association in the second person)
6. Formulaic expressions “what do you think?” and “what will he do?” point to a paradigmatic judgment.¹⁵⁹ An introduction with “Amen, I say unto you” is especially related to revelatory knowledge from Jesus and in deliberative argumentation.¹⁶⁰
7. Combination of semantics and structure (an asyndetic list where representatives of households are mentioned in succession is a *Haustafel*; in the opposition of two partners one can find *deesis/petitio* or request and permission; if the last sentence of a section starts with “now” it should signify argumentation)
8. Combination of verbal aspect and structure (three separate person groups, e.g. Paul-Timothy-congregation with second person imperatives) indicate the *Paideutikon* (instruction of the teacher) or *mandata principis*
9. Structure as analogy of relationship (the genre of “example” is obvious from the structure, e.g. birds do not sow, God takes care of them, so likewise, you do not sow, God takes care of you)
10. The length of a text (brevity might indicate sentences, if not letters)

¹⁵⁶ The genre of “Ich-Worte” are translated here as “first person speech.”

¹⁵⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 271,

¹⁵⁸ “Rebuke” is the suggested translation for the German “Schelte” found in Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 194 which he understands especially as criticism against future actions.

¹⁵⁹ Gleichniserzählung> Urteil> Paradigmatischer Rechtsentscheid, cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 52.

¹⁶⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 98.

11. Intention usually associated with a particular form (Warnings in Terms of Deeds and Rewards appear to belong to the demonstrative genre, but have an admonitory intention; the demonstrative sentence that “no prophet is honoured in his own village” has an apologetic function too)
12. Literary context (the function of the curious parable of the Tenants in the Vineyard in Mark 12:1–9 is made clear from Mark 11:27 [chief priests, scribes and elders approach Jesus in temple]; 12:12 [they know the parable is directed against them])
13. Pragmatic and historical context (the situation of the addressees in their immediate historical context should not be neglected)

3.3.3 Analysis

3.3.3.1 Comparative Key for Analysing Texts

This study makes a comparison between P.Oxy. 840 and inter-texts from other trajectories. This makes Smith’s criticism of a comparative approach to religion quite useful. Like King his thought has been influenced by the younger science of Cognitive Psychology. Smith lays down many important principles of valuable comparisons which many will take for granted, but are nevertheless often neglected in scholarship. There should be a principle of parity between the religions compared.¹⁶¹ There must be a rich notion of myth so that mythological elements should be conceded in both religions that are compared. In drawing comparisons there must always be a third point of reference (triadic comparison), for example, Christianity can be compared to solar religions (like Amun-Re) with reference to their seasonal patterns or to the figure of the solar deity.¹⁶² The formula underlying such comparison is: “x resembles y more than z with respect to...” if not “x resembles y more than w resembles z with respect to.”¹⁶³ Many scholars use Judaism in order to insulate Christianity from its environment. If a phenomenon has a proven Jewish pedigree then it is pure and undefiled by its Pagan environment.¹⁶⁴ A matured comparative method is as much concerned with determining where comparisons should not be made as it is with drawing conclusions from comparisons.¹⁶⁵ Comparison

¹⁶¹ Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion 14; London: University of London, 1990), 87.

¹⁶² Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 33.

¹⁶³ Johanthan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 23.

¹⁶⁴ Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 81.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 28.

must be undertaken in a cognitive and not in an apologetic fashion.¹⁶⁶ Whereas Smith's methodology is applied to different religions it is also useful for looking at different trajectories within Christianity. Very influential on scholarship has also been Smith's advocacy for a self-consciously polythetic mode of classification which is "a mode of classification which surrendered the idea of perfect, unique, single *differentia* – a taxonomy which retained the notion of necessary but abandoned the notion of sufficient criteria for admission to a class."¹⁶⁷ Smith draws a distinction between the enterprise of classification and definition: "Definition is an essentially atemporal procedure that requires the specification of a unique principle of division thus resembling traditional, logical monothetic classification. Classification in the sense I intend, is a polythetic grouping or clustering procedure which requires temporal specificity."¹⁶⁸

P.Oxy. 840 is not an easy document to classify. This shows from the fact that it has been categorized almost across the whole spectrum of Christian diversity – from Gnosis to Jewish Christianity.

P.Oxy. 840 will be compared to the inter-texts according to the following model:

- Dating
- Genre
- Christological Titles
- Sources
- Anti-Jewish Rhetoric (if applicable)
- Theology

¹⁶⁶ Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 143.

¹⁶⁷ Jonathan Z. Smith, "Fences and Neighbours: Some Contours of Early Judaism," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 1–18, 135–139, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 23; Leiden: Brill, 1978), ix fn. 2. Cf. the more recent Jonathan Z. Smith, "Classification," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* (ed. W. Braun & R. McCutcheon; London: Castell, 2000), 35–45. On the topic of definition Smith seems to be misunderstood sometimes leading to scholarship that abandons limiting criteria altogether. Such scholarship can easily lead to "a religion without borders" as David Brakke, *The Gnostics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 21 has put it. Smith has always been deeply concerned with classifying religions and finding the best criteria to do so, but he does cast suspicion on scholarship that uncritically accepts its own definitions. Cf. Smith, "Fences and Neighbours," 18:

What has animated these reflections and explorations is the conviction that students of religion need to abandon the notion of 'essence' of a unique *differentium* for early Judaism... The cartography appears far messier. We need to map the variety of Judaisms, each of which appears as a shifting cluster of characteristics which vary over time.

As the anthropologist has begun to abandon a functionalist view of culture as a well-articulated, highly integrated mechanism... so we in Religious Studies must set about an analogous dismantling of the old theological and imperialistic impulses toward totalization, unification and integration.

- Reason for Text’s Identification with Its Trajectory
- Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840
- Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840
- Jewish Institutions Superseded (if applicable)

The theology of the inter-texts will be compared to that of the fragment. Similar phrases, concepts and argumentation must be noted. The inter-texts will be grouped according to their theology.

Texts have been chosen which exhibit either a similar theology or use the same characteristic Christological title, that is, σωτήρ (Saviour). This title was not so popular in early Christianity, but there are certain schools that did like to use it instead of using Jesus as is common in the canonized Gospels. Every text under discussion has been polished off by looking at the Christological titles used. Important in the context of P.Oxy. 840 is the theme of anti-Jewish polemic, so that texts engaging in such a polemic are looked at. With the Gnostic inter-texts in chapter 5 of this thesis constant reference is made to Bovon’s suggested parallels with P.Oxy. 840.¹⁶⁹ With chapter 6 on Jewish-Christian texts, almost all the Jewish-Christian fragments of the traditional Three Gospel Hypothesis will be looked at. In chapter 7 of this study Proto-Orthodox Gospels with comparable theologies to P.Oxy. 840 are compared.

During the course of the study it has become ever more important to ask what sources lie behind the literary works under discussion and what sources lie behind P.Oxy. 840. Here elements of redaction criticism have come into play.¹⁷⁰ Therefore constant reference will be made to the oldest and most popular Gospels in the early church. This includes not only the canonized Gospels, Q, Mark, Matthew, Luke and John, but also *The Gospel of Thomas* and the *Protovangelium Iacobi*. It should be noted that with sources only Gospel sources will be considered, not the Septuagint or other literary sources. With the Gnostic texts this has been made easier by the study of Tuckett on the relationship of the Nag Hammadi Library and the Synoptic tradition.¹⁷¹ In the case of clear parallels a colour grid has been used for easy access.

¹⁶⁹ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840.”

¹⁷⁰ For the most painstaking methodology in redaction criticism, cf. Helmut Koester, “Written Gospels or Oral History,” *JBL* 113 (1994): 293–297; *Synoptische Überlieferungen bei den apostolischen Vätern* (TU 65; Berlin: Akademie, 1957).

¹⁷¹ Christopher Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition: Synoptic Tradition in the Nag Hammadi Library* (ed. J. Riches; Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 1986).

Some insights from Social Scientific Criticism will be brought to bear in order to avoid anachronistic thinking.

Translations of primary sources in Hebrew, Greek and Latin reflects my own work unless indicated otherwise. For Coptic and Ge'ez texts recourse has been taken to literal translations. Insights gained from Social-Scientific Criticism and the younger science of Linguistics (literary criticism) have also been brought into the equation where relevant. This study is multi-disciplinary because of the brevity of the text of P.Oxy. 840.

A large part of the study is concerned with defining the trajectories properly before the comparisons are drawn with inter-texts.¹⁷²

3.3.3.2 The Colour Grid

Often during the dissertation it is useful for interpretation to indicate what Gospel sources lie behind certain passages as well as other stylistic features. For this a colour chart is used with the following key:

Key

Mark	
Matthew	
Luke	
Mark and Luke	
Matthew and Mark	
All Synoptics/redundancy ¹⁷³	
John	
Unique material	
Commentary by editor ¹⁷⁴	

¹⁷² This is because of the legitimate remark by James M. Robinson, “The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship,” in *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (ed. J. M. Robinson & H. Koester; Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf, 1971), 13 that is quoted on my next page.

¹⁷³ The criterion “All Synoptics” will only apply where Gospel sources are specifically addressed, e.g. with the gospel harmony, *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. Usually grey indicates redundancy.

¹⁷⁴ Commentary by editor applies, e.g., when Epiphanius adds something to what he quotes from *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. This is an important indicator, as the comments are not part of the quoted author’s words. Yellow is usually the most difficult colour to read and is applied as the comments are less important than the quotation itself.

3.3.3.3 Making Sense of the Diversity within Early Christianity

There are different models attempting to understand early Christianity.¹⁷⁵ In response to Bauer's reconstruction of early Christianity, Robinson & Koester have proposed **the trajectory model.**¹⁷⁶ Robinson feels their model represents a departure from the "background" approach where there was thought to be a "Jewish, Hellenistic or Gnostic background" for every Christian phenomenon.¹⁷⁷ The categories proposed by these backgrounds proved to be inadequate especially after the publication of the finds at Qumran and Nag Hammadi. These categories were too static and the research up to that time could not differentiate between different layers of tradition.¹⁷⁸ When scholars became aware of this, they tended to back away from generalization. Robinson makes the following remark:

The vacuum created by the experienced inadequacy of the given table of categories is not merely the liberation of scholarship from prejudice, but its end as intellectual enterprise.¹⁷⁹

The advantage of a trajectory approach is that it can refer to the "most embracing movement in which a culture is caught up" and to more "specific streams" and get an overview over the course of a whole movement.¹⁸⁰ Robinson is careful to concede that the term "trajectory" might imply too much control at the point of departure like in a predestined plan, but auxiliary guidance systems and retrorockets can rectify the trajectory of a missile if misdirected at the outset or misled by climactic conditions.¹⁸¹ This approach is more flexible and keeps the field open for the future. When trajectory is understood in this sense there is no problem with it. This can be seen, for example, in looking at Manichaeism and Gnosis as one trajectory. Gnosis is clearly the mother, but Manichaeism develops from Gnosis with the teaching of Mani.¹⁸²

Nevertheless, the trajectory methodology has not been without criticism. Scholars like King focus more on normative identity formation and criticize models that are too

¹⁷⁵ Larry W. Hurtado, "Interactive Diversity: A Proposed Model of Early Christian Origins," *JTS* 64/2 (2013): 462.

¹⁷⁶ James M. Robinson & Helmut Koester, eds., *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf, 1971).

¹⁷⁷ James M. Robinson, "The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship," 12.

¹⁷⁸ Robinson, "The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship," 12.

¹⁷⁹ Robinson, "The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship," 13.

¹⁸⁰ Robinson, "The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship," 13.

¹⁸¹ Robinson, "The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship," 14.

¹⁸² Ferdinand C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem: Nach den Quellen neu untersucht und erklärt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; 1831), 111.

essentialist.¹⁸³ She speaks of the “hybridity” existing in early Christianity and makes the point that there was often entanglement between one trajectory and another. One of the most important points she makes is that one should not reify rhetorical categories used by heresiologists.

More criticism has emerged from Hurtado who feels that the trajectory model makes too little of the interactive diversity displayed within early Christianity.¹⁸⁴ He points out that “trajectory” may imply too much predictability in its course as well as the initial factors of control and direction.¹⁸⁵

This dissertation follows the trajectory approach, but has to keep the above mentioned criticisms in mind.

3.3.3.4 Understanding Early Christian Diversity with the Help of Social-Scientific Criticism

According to Malina there are four basic social institutions in any society¹⁸⁶: kinship, religion, politics and economics.¹⁸⁷ According to Malina one of these institutions usually holds primacy over the others.¹⁸⁸ Scholars are not agreed on which one dominated Palestine at the time of Jesus.¹⁸⁹ In the Islamic world politics, economics and kinship are dominated by religion. In capitalistic societies like the U.S.A. politics, kinship and religion are dominated by economics.¹⁹⁰ In the communistic world, like China, kinship, religion, and economics are dominated by politics. In the modern Mediterranean, Africa and Latin America religion, economics and politics are dominated by kinship. According to Malina’s judgement in first century Palestine politics, economics and religion were dominated by kinship as well. Malina adds the second most important institution was

¹⁸³ Karen L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2003).

¹⁸⁴ Hurtado, “Interactive Diversity: A Proposed Model of Early Christian Origins,” 460.

¹⁸⁵ Hurtado, “Interactive Diversity: A Proposed Model of Early Christian Origins,” 447. This is exactly what Robinson, “The Dismantling and Reassembling of the Categories of New Testament Scholarship,” 14 was afraid of.

¹⁸⁶ In the sociological sense institutions are “social associations or processes which are highly organized, systematized in terms of roles, relationships and responsibilities, and stable over time.” Cf. John H. Elliot, “Temple versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions,” in *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (ed. J. H. Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991), 212, 211–240.

¹⁸⁷ Bruce Malina, “Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World,” *Int* (1987) 41: 358, 354–367.

¹⁸⁸ Malina, “Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World,” 360.

¹⁸⁹ Ernest van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark’s Story of Jesus: A Narratological and Social Scientific Reading* (HvTStSup 7; Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1995), 208 notes scholars like Hollenbach, Pilch and Oakman, “The Ancient Economy in the Bible,” insist both kinship and politics dominated religion and economics. Malina and Horsley, “Jesus and the Spiral of Violence,” give kinship primacy.

¹⁹⁰ Malina, “Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World,” 360.

politics.¹⁹¹ Building on this insight observation economics and religion did not function independently of kinship and politics in the first century Mediterranean world.¹⁹² In another context Malina proposes how other institutions are sometimes involved by Mediterraneans where modern westerners would have involved religion, for example, kinship obligations as inducing ancestral merit and political obligations urging sacrifice at some lesser or more central shrine.¹⁹³ Politically embedded religions are prone to police the behaviour of members.¹⁹⁴

Focusing on the weakness of religion as institution at the time of Jesus Malina points out that not only was there no separation between church and state, but also no separation between church and family.¹⁹⁵ Today Westerners are more familiar with **unicentric** differentiated religion which is all-purpose, inter-related and tends to homogenize all denominations and sects as opposed to **multi-centric** Mediterranean religion where kinship and reciprocity, and politics and redistribution had to fulfil many functions. This can be seen in how functions like education, insurance, social services, public prayer, protest against public policy, food distribution and counselling are distributed among the different institutions. Unicentric religion is able to take over all these functions on its own. Whereas religion in the West today is **formal**, differentiated religion in Ancient Palestine was **substantive** and embedded in politics and kinship.¹⁹⁶ Viewing the progression of Christianity from Jesus to Constantine, Malina divides Christianity into four quadrants:

Jesus: particular substantive religion embedded in politics	Pharisees, Jewish Christians and Judaizers: particular substantive religion embedded in fictive kinship
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¹⁹¹ Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3d ed.; Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 83; *Windows on the World of Jesus: Time Travel Ancient Judea* (Louisville: Westminster, 1993), 149; “Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World,” 359.

¹⁹² David A. deSilva, *Despising Shame: Honour Discourse and Community Maintenance in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SBL Studies of Biblical Literature 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 16 criticizes Malina’s general application of the lexeme “Mediterranean.” Anthony J. Blasi quoted in deSilva, *Despising Shame* , 17 notes “when vastly different language groups, religions, systems of productive relations, nationalities, political structures, etc. are lumped together, the hypothetical unit (‘Mediterranean culture’) is a geographical prejudice in the eye of the beholder, not a scientific object.” Although the language of Malina cannot be accepted without objection, his contrast between religion of the first century world and that of today seems justified.

¹⁹³ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 95.

¹⁹⁴ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 213.

¹⁹⁵ This is not that difficult to understand today, if one considers how often pastors are succeeded by their sons. It shows that even in our society religion can struggle to maintain itself as an institution in competition with kinship and politics.

¹⁹⁶ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 95.

Constantine and Justinian: catholic religion embedded in politics	Paul, Mark, (Matthew borderline with the group above, Luke with that on the left): catholic substantive religion embedded in fictive kinship
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In discussing Christian factions Malina divides ancient Christianity into three phases or loops: Jesus groups, post-Jesus groups and the Christendom after Constantine.¹⁹⁷ After Constantine's reforms around 325 C.E. Christendom changes from being a fictive-kinship group and is embedded into politics. Similarly the Jesus groups-loop ends ("adjourns") with the crucifixion of Jesus. The new loop starts with the proclamation of the Risen Lord.

The Jesus group is a social movement as it is intent on changing elements or rewards distribution of a society.¹⁹⁸ As a political group the Jesus movement's space is the road, amid the crowd and in the temple. The Jesus group was an ephemeral group (as opposed to an enduring group).

Post-Jesus groups are not a social movement, but are concerned with cosmic salvation of persons and collectives. As a fictive-kinship group the Post-Jesus groups' space is the household. Therefore during this loop of Christianity one can only really speak of "church" when the members are gathered.¹⁹⁹ Post-Jesus groups take on a structure reminiscent of elective associations (*θίασοι; collegia*) where every association is independent of the others. This structure was capable of accommodating fictive-kinship values. Similar elective groupings at the time include trade-guilds, municipalities, and Palestinian parties such as the Pharisees and Sadducees. Operative in many associations of the time was an egalitarian principle especially in associations meeting in households like churches.²⁰⁰ Egalitarianism and hierarchy do not always exclude each other. This means that anybody could join such an association, from slaves to masters. The Post-Jesus groups formed an enduring group that needs structural features that assure continuance, for example, a name, membership requirements, a charter and officers.

For this reason modern Western concepts like doctrine, church, scripture and tolerance are applied anachronistically to the New Testament.²⁰¹ Importantly for our

¹⁹⁷ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 207. The chapter on "How Jesus Groups Evolved: Understanding Group Development" is only found in the third edition of this book.

¹⁹⁸ Malina, *The New Testament Word*, 212.

¹⁹⁹ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 216.

²⁰⁰ Markus Öhler, "Die Jerusalemer Urgemeinde im Spiegel des antiken Vereinswesen," *NTS* 51 (2005): 411–412, 393–415.

²⁰¹ Malina, "Religion in the World of Paul," 95.

purposes is Malina's insight that during the first century there were no social group formed for religious activities.²⁰² There were no denominations, churches, sects and cults. Therefore Malina goes as far as saying:

To explain any first-century AD embedded religion in terms of church and sect typology is like explaining first-century carts in terms of internal combustion vehicles or automobile typologies. It was at the incipient norming stages that persons in several of these associations, labelled Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, drew up their stories of Jesus with their descriptions of the formation of the Jesus movement group.²⁰³

There were voluntary associations that were concerned more with kinship and political affairs. Accordingly what we would term “believers” and “co-religionists” would have been viewed in terms of relationships other than religion (e.g. in terms of politics as Israelites and in terms of kinship as “brothers and sisters in Christ”). The implication is that people converted to Christianity often because of non-religious reasons like to be healed, to share in power, to find patrons or clients, to have a proper funeral, or to participate in the meals. Compared to the independent religious institutions of today, substantive religious groups are limited in three important ways²⁰⁴:

1. The sorts of personnel they can recruit

Recruits had to be ethnics or fictive ethnics, males had to be invited to join

2. The symbolic effect to have influence on others

Power and commitment were quite out of proportion during the Roman occupation, so that, people were concerned to be treated according to their social rank (cf. the guard slapping Jesus because of his disrespectful answer in John 18:22 and the young rich man not being prepared to abandon his status in Mark 10:17–22)

3. The way in which world views could be propagated

Proclamation took place individually or publically and the honour of the people had to be respected while the in-group's reputation was also itself important

²⁰² Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 97.

²⁰³ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 217. Malina (2008) explains that small groups go through five stages: forming, storming, norming, performing before adjourning. The first adjourning takes place with Jesus' crucifixion.

²⁰⁴ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 97–98.

First-century substantive religion was quite inflexible.²⁰⁵ People were ignorant of available options. The social structure of the group was localite, meaning they were suspicious and critical of everything different from the usual and customary. Therefore substantive religion precluded the possibility of theological development and innovations in social structure. A measure of flexibility was provided by wandering preachers and missionaries.

All of this implies that in the first-century Mediterranean world the close calculation of truth, credo, dogma and ideological deviance was often impossible and unimportant.

Generalized belief in a single, focal deity, such as a belief in the God of Israel and his future Messiah, Jesus, sufficed to meet the fundamental, henotheistic requirement that replicated group commitment. Everything else was debatable, either because not obligatory for group membership or because of the general lack of harmony of socially shared values and ordinary human experience.²⁰⁶

Concern for an abstraction like the truth was only important in so far as it convertible to a more socially significant symbol.

In general, people concerned about the “truth” would be unable to estimate and articulate the total “truth” with any consistency anyway, if only because of the inflated influence and commitment concerns that marked the general social fabric of the first-century Mediterranean world.

It is important to maintain a level of equality in substantive religion, so that there were some levelling mechanisms to keep people from gaining ascendency in the group.²⁰⁷ Malina provides the following examples:

- Service to lower level fictive kin;
- disparagement of large amounts of valuable abilities, for example, speaking in tongues;

²⁰⁵ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 98.

²⁰⁶ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 98.

²⁰⁷ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 99.

- ritual levels on office holding, for example, offering one's house for a meeting place;
- monetary support of the organization;
- redistribution of goods by giving alms.

This picture of Early Christian as a voluntary association can also be complemented by understanding Early Christianity as a school. Coming from the perspective of identity formation Norris argues that to outsiders Christianity looked like an association, but that insiders thought more of it as a school.²⁰⁸ Norris warns that Early Christianity was not an organization, but a loose collection of local communities whose interchanges with one another were necessarily occasional.²⁰⁹ Therefore the Christian movement of the second century lacked procedural rationality and decisiveness associated with clear chains of command. This is the context in which one should understand Justin Martyr's description of Christianity as a "philosophy" (*2 Apol.* 13).²¹⁰ Philosophical schools, like the Pythagoreans and the Stoics practiced a certain way of life based on their characteristic teachings (δόγματα). Justin set up such a school in Rome and the same thing happens in Alexandria where Clement teaches Christian philosophy.²¹¹ The shadowy figure of Pantaenus, formerly a Stoic, is thought to have had a catechetical school in Alexandria.²¹² Against this background Norris emphasizes the importance of catechesis. Within churches it is the bishop that is the main catechist.²¹³ In Irenaeus' struggle against the Gnostics he would also emphasize the superiority of the ordinary catechesis as opposed to the esoteric teaching of the Gnostics, because it was handed on in apostolically founded churches from teacher to teacher in the succession of elders and bishops.²¹⁴

Norris sees the second century crisis of the church's identity as occasioned by two challenges: Marcionites and Gnostics. Against the Marcionites the mainstream church determined to include in their literary canon the whole of the Tanak (in the form of the

²⁰⁸ Richard A. Norris Jr., "Articulating Identity," in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Identity* (ed. F. Young, L. Ayres, A. Louth & A. Casiday; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 82, 71–90.

²⁰⁹ Norris, "Articulating Identity," 80.

²¹⁰ Hunt, *Second Century Christianity*, 63.

²¹¹ Doris Meyer, "T. Flavius Clemens Christian philosopher, c. AD 200," *Der Neue Pauly*. Online Edition. Meyer doubts whether Clement was head of an episcopal school in Alexandria (as alleged by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.6), but does not doubt that he taught Christian philosophy in Alexandria.

²¹² The assumption that Pantaenus was Clement's teacher is disputed. Certainly Clement does quote him as a reputable Christian teacher. Cf. Martin Heimgartner, "Pantainos," *Der Neue Pauly*. Online Edition.

²¹³ Norris, "Articulating Identity," 85.

²¹⁴ Norris, "Articulating Identity," 88.

Septuagint) as opposed to Marcion's insistent rejection thereof.²¹⁵ Against the Valentinians the mainstream church decided that there was no difference between the Creator of Genesis and the Father of Jesus.²¹⁶ Irenaeus, more than anyone else, articulated this. His argument was supported by the apostolic tradition and the writings of the apostles: *the regula fidei* and the (emerging) canon.²¹⁷

The identity crisis of the second century, considered from the point of view of doctrine, was focused on a very narrow, if fairly basic, range of issues and “orthodoxy” itself, as it came to be defined, could embrace a wide range of ideologies.²¹⁸

For the analysis of P.Oxy. 840, it is important to remember that it fits into the phase of Post-Jesus groups before the time of Constantine's centralized and official religion that tended to police its members. At the same time one should also keep in mind that within the Jesus movements the religion of Christianity would by the time of Constantine already have started to assert itself through the abstract literature of the Apologists and the Church Fathers. This had given Christianity a structure the Roman State could work with. Thought became ever more abstract and a concept of truth became more important. On the one hand the church was seen as a voluntary association, but on the other hand it was also thought of as a school. There was no clear chain of command that could enforce its decisions.

In churches as we call them the authority lay in the hands of the apostles at the time of Acts.²¹⁹ In Acts 12 we have an example of one church in Jerusalem taking charge over another in Antioch with the Council in Jerusalem and the subsequent letter. After the Jewish War ended in 70 C.E. the church in Jerusalem would have struggled to maintain this authority.²²⁰ The next time we are aware of one church subjecting another

²¹⁵ Based upon Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora*, Norris, “Articulating Identity,” 88 argues that Valentinians had more of a critical attitude towards YHWH than Marcion's outright rejection. But Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora* seems to be the exception rather than the rule – especially within the frameworks of Marksches, *Gnosis*, 17–19 and Williams, “Was There a Gnostic Religion,” 79, so that it seems better to formulate this as “Against the Marcionites the mainstream church determined to include in their literary canon the whole of the Tanak (in the form of the Septuagint) as opposed to Marcion and most Gnostics' rejection thereof.”

²¹⁶ Norris adds that secondly the church parted from the Valentinians in determining that salvation was necessary not just for the soul, but also for the body. But Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 51 shows that Clement's presentation of the Valentinians' eschatology as including a spiritual and psychic body is preferable to Irenaeus'.

²¹⁷ There never was one single *regula fidei*.

²¹⁸ Norris, “Articulating Identity,” 90.

²¹⁹ Öhler, “Die Jerusalemer Urgemeinde,” 410.

²²⁰ Even if the flight to Pella did take place, there must have been Christians remaining in Jerusalem. Gert Lüdemann, “The Successors of Pre-70 Jerusalem Christianity: A Critical Evaluation of the Pella-

to its authority is the First Epistle of Clement where the secretary of the church in Rome advises Corinth. It still has to use persuasive argumentation to convince the church of the proper course of action. With the Easter Controversy Victor, Bishop of Rome, tries to assert himself by excommunicating the Asian churches, but is overruled by letters of other bishops like Irenaeus (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.24). The same Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.3.2) and especially Cyprian (*Unit. Eccl.* 4) submit to Rome as the principal church because of the Petrine succession.

Matthew and Ignatius are early authors that appear concerned that there must be an overarching unity between these various churches with Matthew often speaking of “the church” and Ignatius speaking of the “catholic church” as if it were one organism. The power of the state under Constantine gave a new meaning to such a unity, which often stands in our way when contemplating unity in Christianity before this period.

3.3.3.5 *Gnosis*

“Gnostic” Christianity is not so easy to define. Scholars use different terms to refer to this movement. It is important to note that scholars have been calling a lot of different schools interested in γνῶστις (Knowledge), Gnostics (γνωστικοί “Knowers”).²²¹ This has caused considerable confusion as there was one particular school interested in this Knowledge that did in actual fact call themselves Γνωστικοί.²²²

Scholars have reconstructed Gnosis differently.²²³ In short there have been three methods of investigating the phenomenon of Gnosticism²²⁴:

1. Heresiological
2. Typological
3. Self Designation Approach

Tradition,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* (vol. 1 of *The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries* (ed. E. P. Sanders; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 161–173 has deconstructed the myth of the Jerusalem Church’s flight to Pella. Cf. Reed & Becker, introduction, 6.

²²¹ Christoph Marksches, *Gnosis: An Introduction* (trans. J. Bowden; London: T & T Clark, 2003), 17–18.

²²² The school Layton and Brakke is trying to reconstruct.

²²³ Antti Marjanen, “What is Gnosticism? From the Pastorals to Rudolph” in *Was There a Gnostic Religion?* (ed. A. Marjanen; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2005), 1–53. A short version is available in Antti Marjanen, “Gnosticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (ed. S. A. Harvey & D. G. Hunter; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 204–210. Another very clear presentation is also available in Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 19–28.

²²⁴ That is according to the analysis of Marjanen, “Gnosticism,” 204–208 which seems quite reasonable.

The Heresiological method is exemplified by Church Fathers like Irenaeus, Clement Hippolytus, Tertullian and Epiphanius. This approach is more concerned with discrediting Gnosticism than about understanding it for the sake of historical reconstruction. These Church Fathers launched a rhetorical campaign against “heresies” like the Gnostics and could not remain above slandering²²⁵ their opponents to discredit their teaching.²²⁶ This approach is usually confined to antiquity.

The typological²²⁷ approach is by far the most common approach in the modern period. A typological approach implies “quite intentionally constructing groupings that are in principle independent of whatever self-definitions might have been insisted upon by the insiders in question.”²²⁸ According to this approach Gnosticism would not be a single organization or religion,²²⁹ but a way of thinking shared by more than one group or sect.

The Self Designation (or Nominalist) approach is applied by Layton and his former student, Brakke. According to them Gnosticism must be reconstructed on the basis of people that identify themselves as Gnostics, or are identified as Gnostics by their contemporaries (especially Porphyry). This idea is based on the testimonies of Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.11.1; on the Carpocratians *Haer.* 1.25.6, on the Barbelognostics *Haer.* 1.29), Porphyry (*Vit. Plot.* 16), Celsus (Origen, *Cels.* 5.61) and Prodicus (Clement, *Strom.*

²²⁵ One should not look at the Church Fathers’ rhetoric in isolation here. Few ancient orators (especially lawyers) could resist slander. Worth mentioning is Socrates complaining about Meletus (Plato, *Apol.* 19b) and Cicero’s famous case *in Verrem*.

²²⁶ The word αἵρεσις did not initially have the severely negative associative meaning of “excommunication by the Catholic Church” we assume today upon hearing the word “heresy.” Before Irenaeus’ time it simply meant “philosophy; school” without any judgement of right or wrong on the part of the speaker. An important turning point for the future of the word may have arrived with Paul in Gal 5:19–20 φανερὰ δέ ἔστιν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἄτινά ἔστιν πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἢ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς προεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν ([NA²⁸]) Clear are the works of the flesh, which are fornication, impurity, unrestraint, idolatry, magic, hostility, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, factions, envy, drunkenness, revelry and things similar to that, which I tell you in advance as I have told you before that those doing similar things will not inherit the kingdom of God). 1 Cor 11:19 is still quite neutral, but at a later stage we have 2 Pet 2:1 ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπώλειας, καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι, ἐπάγοντες ἔαντοις ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν ([NA²⁸]) There were false prophets among the people, as there will also be false teachers among you, who will smuggle in factions of destruction after having denied the Lord that bought them, so mounting up for themselves swift destruction). Here the surrounding context is very negative, but note the author still has to qualify the lexeme by an Attributive Genitive to make his point.

²²⁷ Merriam Webster, “typology,” n.p. [Cited 9 September 2014]. Online: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/typology>.

²²⁸ Michael L. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1996), 29–30. Williams discusses two basic strategies of analysing a religious movement: By using self-definition as in index and by using typological classification.

²²⁹ James M. Robinson & Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf, 1971), 13–14.

2.117.5).²³⁰ This idea can be broadened by encompassing writings with similar theology. Eventually texts like *The Apocryphon of John* are also included so that their category of Gnostics correspond to what Schenke and many scholars call Sethians.²³¹ The writings belonging to these Gnostics are to be found in the segment “Classic Gnostic Scripture” in Layton’s translation of the Gnostic writings.²³² It is important to note that Layton and Brakke describe a single group of Gnostics, whereas the typological method describes various groups collectively. Therefore one has to keep these methodologies separated when studying Gnosis.²³³ Brakke supplies his list of Gnostic scriptures which will be useful for our study.²³⁴ His list corresponds for the most part to that of his teacher, Layton.

The historiography of Gnosticism has been plagued by a failure to limit the category’s parameters. The phenomenon is often described too vaguely, so that it comes close to modern ideals.²³⁵

The biggest crisis in the field of Gnosticism has come with the study of Williams published in 1996.²³⁶ Williams analyses four texts typically labelled Gnostic and shows what distortion is required to categorize them into any sub-category of Christianity.²³⁷ Williams has shown what a slippery term “Gnosticism” is. Firstly the sects discussed by Irenaeus are often taken to represent Gnostics, because of the name of the work *Exposure and Refutation of the Knowledge Falsely So-Called*.²³⁸ Yet among these sects Irenaeus discusses are also found the Ebionites and Encratites. Few scholars would associate them with Gnosticism nowadays.²³⁹ Irenaeus probably did not group these sects together because of common theology, but because of a common deficiency in truth.²⁴⁰ Secondly typological definitions have not achieved any clarity in the classification of Gnostic

²³⁰ Marjanen, “Gnosticism,” 207.

²³¹ Hans-Martin Schenke, “Das Sethiansche System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften,” in *Studia Coptica* (ed. P. Nagel; Berlin: Akademie, 1974), 165–174. Cf. also John D. Turner, “Sethian Gnosticism: A Literary History,” in *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (ed. C. W. Hedrick & R. Hodgson, Jr.; Peabody: Mass.: Hendrickson, 1986), 55–86.

²³² Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday), 5–216.

²³³ This will not always be possible as Layton’s Gnostics are also included in the typological model of Gnosis.

²³⁴ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 50–51.

²³⁵ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 43.

²³⁶ Michael L. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1996).

²³⁷ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 7–28; 49.

²³⁸ Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως called *Adversus Haereses* in the rest of the dissertation.

²³⁹ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 44.

²⁴⁰ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 45.

literature.²⁴¹ Finally typological definitions have not helped us to understand the texts.²⁴² Williams points out that typological definitions are not applied consistently and that scholars like Jonas assume a Gnostic religion despite working with a typological definition (mixing the two methodologies).²⁴³ Williams' work is not only deconstructive but also makes suggestions on how better typological definitions can be framed without confusing them with traditiohistorical and sociohistorical identity.²⁴⁴ He proposes that the name "Gnosticism" should be abandoned and that "biblical demiurgical" be used.²⁴⁵ As Brakke points out, this category is interpretive rather than social, functioning in much the same way as "apocalyptic."²⁴⁶ Williams has laid two foundation stones for a typological definition of biblical demiurgical traditions:

1. A belief in an evil or ignorant creator separate from the highest divinity
2. A belief in an origin in a transcendental world for the human soul, this soul can potentially return there if it becomes aware of this²⁴⁷

Williams points out that there is no direct evidence for any Gnostic writer using the self-designation of γνωστικός.²⁴⁸ Only in one instance does Irenaeus explicitly state that someone called themselves γνωστικοί, that is, in the case of Marcellina (*Haer.* 1.25.6).

King supports the abandonment of the term Gnosticism as there never was such a religious entity.²⁴⁹ She understands the term in the context of normative identity formation. "Gnostic" was simply something people called varieties within Christianity that did not show enough respect to the Jewish roots of the faith. Gnosticism is simply a rhetorical concept that scholars have confused with an historical entity. She doubts the

²⁴¹ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 46. Especially as regards the Nag Hammadi Library.

²⁴² Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 49.

²⁴³ Hans Jonas, *Wissenschaft als persönliches Erlebnis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1987).

²⁴⁴ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 51.

²⁴⁵ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 52.

²⁴⁶ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 22. Not that Brakke is convinced by this category as he also says this is true of all Jews and Christians that thought the word/wisdom had created the world.

²⁴⁷ The second foundation is from a later writing of him, Michael L. Williams, "Was There a Gnostic Religion? Strategies for Clearer Analysis" in *Was There a Gnostic Religion?* (ed. A. Marjanen; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2005), 79.

²⁴⁸ Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism*, 32.

²⁴⁹ Karen King, "Esoterism and Mysticism: Gnosticism," in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2004), 653.

validity of essentializing groups into fixed things which can subtract from the hybrid notion of early Christianity.²⁵⁰

Building on Williams' argumentation Marksches has set out to fine-tune a typological definition.²⁵¹ Marksches is not concerned to use the concept Gnosticism or Gnostics, but rather tries to define the concept of γνῶσις in as interpretive terms as possible. His definition builds on the foundations of Williams and adds some other elements. An important difference between Marksches' system and that of Layton and Brakke is that the Valentinians slot into his typological construction of γνῶσις. Marksches' definition is sometimes criticized for being too elaborate, as it has eight characteristics as compared to Williams' two.²⁵² Yet this objection has to be qualified to the extent that Marksches' definition tries to break up the condensed definition of Williams into its constituent elements. The advantages of Marksches' definition are its clarity and the simple chronology. The first characteristic of Marksches' definition is too general. After the acceptance of the doctrine of the Logos it became part of the mainstream church as well. Instead of Gnosis being characterized by "The experience of a completely otherworldly, distant, supreme God" it needs to be modified to be brought more in line with William's first characteristic, so that Gnostics separate between the creator of the world and the Father of Jesus.²⁵³

For the purpose of this study this modified version of the typological definition as set out by Marksches will be used to determine whether texts are Gnostic or not.²⁵⁴

Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak
The introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God

²⁵⁰ Karen King, *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala: Jesus and the First Woman Apostle* (Santa Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge, 2003), 1.

²⁵¹ Christoph Marksches, *Gnosis: An Introduction* (trans. J. Bowden; London: T & T Clark, 2003). The English translation was based on the first edition of Marksches' book (2001). The latest version is Christoph Marksches, *Die Gnosis* (3d ed.; Munich: Beck, 2010) which seems to have been changed in only a few places, like in the description of the *Apocryphon of John*. References to the English version of Marksches' book is marked as "Marksches, *Gnosis*." Those to the German 3rd edition are marked as "Marksches, *Die Gnosis*." Marksches' book has been reviewed favourably by critics; cf. Margaret Lane, *JTS* (2004) 55/2: 706–708; D. Jeffrey Bingham, *JECS* (2005) 13/3: 387–388; Alastair H. B. Logan, *ExpTim* (2004) 115/7: 246; James Carleton Paget, *JEH* (2004) 55: 746–747.

²⁵² Marjanen, "Gnosticism," 204–210.

²⁵³ Norris, "Articulating Identity," 88.

²⁵⁴ Christoph Marksches, *Gnosis: An Introduction* (trans. J. Bowden; London: T & T Clark, 2003), 16–17. The last eight characteristics are identical with that of Marksches' model.

The estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world
The introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the Platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil
The explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this
Knowledge ($\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\zeta$) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again
The redemption of human beings through the Knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them” ²⁵⁵
A tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology. ²⁵⁶

From here on the dissertation applies the word Gnosis, but the reader should remember that it simply means “knowledge.” Among Gnostics, those that had the view expressed in this typological model were the elite group. They sometimes called themselves “the fourth kind (of religion)” in much the same way as Christians referred to themselves as the third kind of religion with reference to the Israelites as the second kind and the Greeks as the first (*Orig. World* NHC XIII,2 125.6).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Cf. *Testim. Truth*, NHC IX,3 56.15–20

²⁵⁶ As already mentioned, characteristics 2 and 8 are unique to Marksches’ definition. The definition of Roelof van den Broek, “Gnosticism and Hermeticism in Antiquity: Two Roads to Salvation,” in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times* (ed. R. van den Broek and W. J. Hanegraaff; New York: SUNY), 1–20, 4 is not much different except that nos. 1, 2 and 8 are omitted.

²⁵⁷ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 19. Michael Wolter, “‘Ein Neues Geschlecht?’ Das frühe Christentum auf der Suche nach seiner Identität,” in *Ein neues Geschlecht: Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Selbstbewusstseins* (ed. M. Lang; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2014), 283, 282–300 emphasizes that $\tau\pi\tau\sigma\tau$ $\gamma\acute{e}\nu\sigma$ in the *Kerygma Petri* (quoted in Clement, *Strom.* 6.5.41.4–6) and Diognetus (1.1) should be understood as “third kind” with reference to religious observance and not “third kind of people” as it is found in Aristides (*Apol.* 2.2). Ironically by Tertullian’s time (*Scorp.* 10) this had become an insult used by non-Christians, as *genus* could also refer to “gender,” so that it could refer to a third and deviant gender, like eunuchs. I thank Prof. Wolter for sending me this chapter. The Syriac version of Aristides’ Apology also speaks of four peoples, Barbarians, Greeks, Jews and Christians, so that the Gnostic claim need not be polemically aimed at other Christians.

Knowledge was a very important concept among the Greeks in antiquity. The emphasis on Knowledge started with the Athenian, Plato.²⁵⁸ Knowledge stands central to Plato's philosophy. In the Greek world Plato was one of the most popular authors. Gnosis is unthinkable without Plato. Plato unashamedly uses myths to describe the indescribable.²⁵⁹ Although mythological language is also found in other trajectories it is especially charter myths that are particularly characteristic of Gnostics.

3.3.3.6 Manichaeism

Manichaean Christianity has been shown by Baur to be the culmination and end of Gnosis.²⁶⁰ In Manichaeism we have “an implementation of the Gnostic principle carried through with great consistency.”²⁶¹ Mani attempted to bring together three great world religions, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism and to offer one religion for the Persian Sassanid Empire.²⁶² It is “an attempt at a deliberate synthesis of previous religion.”²⁶³ Unlike the founders of other Gnostic schools in the 2nd century like

²⁵⁸ Marksches, *Gnosis*, 1–2.

²⁵⁹ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 86. Important is the so-called “unwritten doctrine” of Plato, *Ep.* 7.344cd “διὸ δὴ πᾶς ἀνὴρ σπουδαῖος τῶν ὄντων σπουδαίων πέρι πολλοῦ δεῖ μὴ γράψας ποτὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰς φθόνον καὶ ἀπορίαν καταβαλεῖ. ἐνὶ δὴ ἐκ τούτων δεῖ γιγνώσκειν λόγῳ, ὅταν ἵδη τίς του συγγράμματα γεγραμμένα εἴτε ἐν νόμοις νομοθέτου εἴτε ἐν ἄλλοις τισιν ἄττ’ οὖν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν τούτῳ ταῦτα σπουδαιότατα, εἴπερ ἔστ’ αὐτὸς σπουδαῖος, κεῖται δέ που ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν τούτου· εἰ δὲ ὄντως αὐτῷ ταῦτ’ ἐσπουδασμένα ἐν γράμμασιν ἐτέθη, «ἔξ ἄρα δή τοι ἔπειτα, θεοὶ μὲν οὐ, βροτοὶ δὲ φρένας ὠλεσσαν αὐτοί.» ⁴τούτῳ δὴ τῷ μύθῳ τε καὶ πλάνῳ ὁ συνεπισόμενος εὗ̄ εἰσεται, εἴτ’ οὖν Διονύσιος ἔγραψεν τι τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἄκρων καὶ πρώτων εἴτε τις ἐλάττων εἴτε μείζων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀκηκοώς οὐδὲ μεμαθηκώς ἦν ὑγιές ὃν ἔγραψεν κατὰ τὸν ἔμοιν λόγον: ὅμοιώς γάρ ἂν αὐτὰ ἐσέβετο ἐμοί, καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτὰ ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ἀναρμοστίαν καὶ ἀπρέπειαν ἐκβάλλειν. ([OCT] “Therefore every man serious about truly serious thoughts should not be writing prose, at some time he shall bring [it] down to envy and confusion among people. With one argument it is necessary to know (from these matters) consequently whenever someone sees another man’s written prose either in laws of a lawmaker, or in something else, whatsoever then, that these were not the most serious thoughts of that man, if at least this man himself is serious, these things find themselves in his fairest place for such things [in his mind]. If these serious efforts of him are really cast in letters: “consequently then not the gods but mortals themselves have destroyed your wits.” ⁴He then that has accompanied [me] both on this myth and this digression will know full well whether Dionysius wrote something in prose about the highest and primary things about nature, or someone smaller or even someone bigger, that according to my argument nothing he heard or learnt of the prose he had written was sound. Similar to me he would have honoured these things and would not have cast them into disharmony and impropriety). In interpreting this passage it is important to remember what the semantics of γράφω and (σύ)γραμμα involve as opposed to ποιέω and ποίημα respectively. Linguistically speaking they all constitute one cluster; cf. Wendland & Nida, “Lexicography and Bible Translation,” 21. If one wants to look at their semantic function (naming class) they are events though two are verbs and the other two nouns; cf. Wendland & Nida, “Lexicography and Bible Translation,” 5–6. Γράφω and (σύ)γραμμα refer to prose and ποιέω and ποίημα to poetry; cf. “γράφω,” *LSJ*, 360 and “ποιέω,” *LSJ*, 1428. Even more explicit is the disciple of Plato, Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 1.2 διὸ καὶ ὁ φιλόμυθος φιλόσοφος πώς ἔστιν. (Therefore the lover of myth is somehow a philosopher).

²⁶⁰ Ferdinand C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem: Nach den Quellen neu untersucht und erklärt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; 1831).

²⁶¹ Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, quoted in Marksches, *Gnosis*, 22.

²⁶² Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, quoted in Marksches, *Gnosis*, 22.

²⁶³ Marksches, *Gnosis*, 101.

Valentinus, much is known about the founder of Manichaeism, Mani. He was born in 216 C.E. in Seleucia-Ctesiphon and spoke Aramaic and Persian.²⁶⁴ His family belonged to the Elchesaites. His heavenly consort is reported to have appeared to him one day to prepare him by visions for his role as revealer. After another vision Mani left the Elchesaites behind and accepted his call as “apostle of the light” to go on a mission to Mesopotamia, Persia, Media, Azerbaijan and India. Mani’s missionary journey includes reports of healing miracles, a journey through the air, and a conversion of a king. He was called back to Persia from India by king Shapuhr I.²⁶⁵ At first his religion enjoyed great freedom in the Sassanid Empire, yet, priests from the Zoroastrian religion became uneasy with his success. A new king, Vahram I, arrested Mani and after a long time in prison he was executed in 277. His body was mutilated and put on show so that his followers saw his end as a passion similar to that of Jesus.

Mani was a theologian who tried to offer a rational explanation for his faith, so that even the young philosopher, St. Augustine, was a Manichaean for a time.²⁶⁶ In Mani’s mythological drama there was a fundamental dualism between a good and an evil principle, neither was derived from the other, everything did not come forth from a unity. God the Father rules over the Light. He is surrounded by an incalculable number of αἰῶνες which are gods in their own right.²⁶⁷ It is unclear whether the realm of Darkness is ruled by some monster or by impersonal matter (ὕλη). The two principles do battle and at first the Light (the good principle) succumbs to the Darkness for tactical reasons and is imprisoned in evil matter so that a mixture of good and evil comes about. The Father of Light has the world created from the bodies of the evil demons that are now mixed with good parts. The world is a mixture of good and evil, it is a place of purification. The task now is to restore everything as it was so that good is set over against evil, Light against Darkness, by reversing the process of mixing. The world needs apostles of Light of which Mani is the last in the line that includes Adam, the patriarchs, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus and Paul. The primordial man is redeemed from matter. The same should apply to the rest of the particles of light, so that they take their course from the earth, through the

²⁶⁴ Marksches, *Gnosis*, 103. For the location of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, cf. the map “Development of the Roman Provinces in the Levant” in my appendix.

²⁶⁵ Marksches, *Gnosis*, 104.

²⁶⁶ Marksches, *Gnosis*, 105. Cf. Johannes van Oort, “Manichaeism: Its Sources and Influences on Western Christianity,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 30/2 (2012): 2, Art. #362, 5 pages. DOI: 10.4102/ve.v30i2.362. Online: <http://www.ve.org.za>. Cited 15 August 2015.

²⁶⁷ Marksches, *Gnosis*, 106.

Milky Way, to the moon and finally to the sun.²⁶⁸ All followers of this group were subjected to strict ethical rules. Three cardinal virtues were fasting, prayer and almsgiving.²⁶⁹ There were two groups of people in Manichaeism, the elect and the hearers.²⁷⁰ The elect had to abstain from sex, marriage, meat, wine, maltreating plants, and polluting water so that they wouldn't damage the particles of Light within them. They were looked after by the hearers who did all these things for them. Relative to the typological description of Gnosis, the following characteristics are particular to Manichaeism:²⁷¹

<i>There is a good principle that is opposed by an evil principle</i>
The introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than this dualism
<i>The estimation of matter as a mixture of good and evil</i>
<i>Father of light creates the world from bodies of demons that are mixed with good.</i> <i>The world is mixed.</i>
<i>Everybody is a mixture of good and evil.</i>
<i>Mani is the last apostle of the light.</i>
<i>The redemption of human beings through the separation from matter.</i>
A tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.
<i>There were two groups of people in Manichaeism, the elect and the hearers. The elect had to abstain from sex, marriage, meat, wine, maltreating plants, and polluting water so that they wouldn't damage the particles of Light within them. They were looked after by the hearers who did all these things for them.</i>

3.3.3.7 Jewish Christianity

I) Understanding the Term Jewish Christianity

Scholars like Hort thinks it might be more useful to speak of Christian Judaism.²⁷² To a certain extent this is true in that Judaism is primary to Christianity.

²⁶⁸ Originally this was a Stoic idea.

²⁶⁹ These are typical Jewish virtues; cf. *Tob.* 12:8 and *Matt* 6:2–18.

²⁷⁰ St. Augustine was a hearer; cf. Marksches, *Gnosis*, 105.

²⁷¹ Clear modifications of the Gnostic system are italicized.

²⁷² When studying early Christianity this is not such a useful term as Jewish Christianity. Of course the tables would be turned if one were to study the history of Judaism.

a) Maximalist Application of the Term Jewish-Christianity

Since the time of Baur in 1831 the concept of Jewish Christianity has grabbed the attention of the church historical community. Baur's historical reconstructions turned everything on its head. Yet one looks in vain for a definition of the concept in Baur's works.²⁷³ Baur reconstructs a Christianity where there were irreconcilable differences between Paul and the apostles.²⁷⁴ He sees Catholicism as a compromise between Jewish (championed by James) and Hellenistic (championed by Paul) Christianity. Because of Baur's failure to define the concept he is at liberty to decide impressionistically which authors are Jewish-Christian and which Hellenistic. He anachronistically assumes Jewish-Christianity was an organization with clear doctrine.

In 1949 Schoeps tried to write a theology of Jewish Christianity.²⁷⁵ He in effect disregards the definition of scholars like Ritschl and narrows it down to Ebionism. He was criticized for creating a false impression of theological unity among the Jewish-Christian groups. In 1958 Daniélou also wrote a theology of Jewish Christianity and loosened himself from the narrow definition.²⁷⁶ His work has remained quite influential to this day. He spoke of three types of Jewish Christianity: the orthodox kind as exhibited by the Nazarenes, the heterodox kind practiced by the Ebionites, and finally there was a kind of Christianity expressing itself in forms borrowed from Judaism.²⁷⁷ This led to Daniélou eventually calling the period from Jesus to the Bar Kochba revolt, the Jewish-Christian phase of Christianity. Skarsaune criticizes Daniélou that he has with "great erudition" pointed out the huge influence of Judaism on the period but that his title has misled scholars to believe that there ever was a coherent theology of Jewish

²⁷³ For the history of how the word Jewish Christianity has been used over the centuries, cf. J. Carleton Paget, "The Definition of the Terms Jewish Christian and Jewish Christianity in the History of Research," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 22–52.

²⁷⁴ Ferdinand C. Baur, *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi: Sein Leben und Wirken, seine Briefe und seine Lehre* (Stuttgart: Becher, 1845); *Kirchengeschichte der Drei Ersten Jahrhunderte* (vol. 1 of *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*; 5 vols.; Tübingen: Fues, 1853).

²⁷⁵ Hans J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1949). Cf. Paget, "Jewish Christianity," 737.

²⁷⁶ Jean Daniélou, *The History of Jewish Christianity* (vol. 1 of *History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicea*; London: Darton, 1964) originally published in French 1958.

²⁷⁷ The same understanding seems to underlie the hypothesis of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, that P.Oxy. 840 is a Nazarene document.

Christianity.²⁷⁸ Many critics point out that such a theology will never be more than a scholarly construct.²⁷⁹

Scholars like Goulder²⁸⁰ and Lüdemann²⁸¹ have recently reverted to Baur's thesis abandoning a narrow definition.²⁸²

b) Minimalist Approach to Jewish-Christianity

This approach sees Jewish Christianity as a broad description of various groups as an umbrella term. Ritschl makes a departure from the way Baur applied the term in 1857. Jewish Christianity must include Christians who were of Jewish racial origin.²⁸³ Applying Barnabas 4.6, he concludes that the law given to Moses was also the central element in Christianity – not just in Judaism.²⁸⁴ Ritschl is adamant that ongoing Jewish influences on the church should be described by the concepts of *judaistisch* and *Judaismus*. Theoretically such influence could also come from Gentiles. Ritschl differentiates between Christians of Jewish origin who continued to observe the law, yet accepted the law-free Gentile mission associated with Paul, and other Christians who condemned the law-free mission. The successors of the first group of Christians he identified with the Nazarenes and the successors of the second group with the Ebionites. The phenomenon of Jewish Christianity covered a spectrum from mild to strict. Theoretically even Paul could be Judaistic. He was after all racially a Jew.

Scholars like Simon, Mimouni and Paget have emphasized that the most tangible characteristic describing the phenomenon of Jewish Christianity is Torah-based praxis.²⁸⁵ That is what binds the different groups, called Jewish Christians, together. There never was a monolithic entity like Jewish Christianity. Baur drew a picture of an organized sect of Jewish Christianity. Sects like the Ebionites, the Nazarenes and the Elchesaites had

²⁷⁸ Oskar Skarsaune, "Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity – Problems of Definition, Method and Sources," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 19.

²⁷⁹ Skarsaune, "Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity," 19.

²⁸⁰ Micheal D. Goulder, *A Tale of Two Missions* (London: SCM, 1994).

²⁸¹ Gerd Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (Minneapolis, Fortress, 1989).

²⁸² Paget, "The Definition of the Terms Jewish Christian and Jewish Christianity," 43.

²⁸³ Paget, "The Definition of the Terms Jewish Christian and Jewish Christianity," 33–34.

²⁸⁴ "Law" is here a more specific translation of διαθήκη instead of the generic gloss "covenant." The passage is discussed in my chapter 7.

²⁸⁵ Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of Relation between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire AD 135–425* (London: Littman, 1986) originally published in French in 1948; Simon C. Mimouni, "Pour une définition du judéo-christianisme ancien," *NTS* 38 (1992), 161–186; Paget, "The Definition of the Terms Jewish Christian and Jewish Christianity," 33–34.

different theologies, but one is better advised to speak of Jewish Christianities.²⁸⁶ Paget suggests that scholarship should abandon the concept as it is misleading, proposing that we limit ourselves to describing only the sub categories like Nazarenes or use descriptive terms like “Torah-observant” Christians.²⁸⁷ Mimouni defines Jewish Christianity as follows:

...ancient Jewish Christianity is a modern term designating those Jews who recognized Jesus as messiah, who recognized or did not recognize the divinity of Christ, but who, all of them, continued to observe the Torah.²⁸⁸

Mimouni is mistaken to aver that Jewish Christianity is only a modern scholarly construct. Colpe has called it *Metasprache* or *Wissenschaftsprache*, but Skarsaune has been able to find ancient references to a similar concept.²⁸⁹ Though most terms are descriptive, there are two that match our word completely. In Greek we have the word pair Ἰουδαῖοι Χριστιανοί and ἔθνικοι [Χριστιανοί] and in Latin we have *hebraeus* *Christianus*.²⁹⁰ Despite this the book Skarsaune has recently co-edited with Hvalvik prefers to speak of “Jewish Believers in Jesus” or in its abbreviated form “Jewish Believers,” as it might be offensive to some modern-day representatives of similar persuasions.²⁹¹ “Jewish-Christian” is only used as an adjective.²⁹² This dissertation will stick to the term “Jewish Christian” either as substantive or as adjective as its use has finally been given legitimacy by Skarsaune.

Another term that is in the same semantic field and that is also relevant for our study is “Judaize/Judaizer” (ιουδαιζεῖν). Skarsaune discusses it in comparison with other words in its cluster like ἐλληνίζειν (adopt the customs of Greeks), κιλικίζειν (adopt the customs of Cilicians; be cruel and treacherous; cheat someone) φοινικίζειν (adopt the

²⁸⁶ Paget, “Jewish Christianity,” 741.

²⁸⁷ This reminds one of the proposal of Michael L. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1996), 52 to abandon the term “Gnosticism” for the more descriptive “Biblical-Demiurgical.”

²⁸⁸ Translated and quoted in Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity,” 9.

²⁸⁹ Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity,” 5–6.

²⁹⁰ For the Greek cf. *Martyrium Petri et Pauli* 5 and for the Latin cf. *Dialogus Iasonis et Papisci*, prologue.

²⁹¹ Oskar Skarsaune & Reidar Hvalvik, *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007).

²⁹² Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity,” 4–5. Skarsaune also prefers to use “Jewish Believers in Jesus” because most references to the concept are similar descriptive phrases like οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πιστεύοντες (*Cels.* 2.1 “The ones from the Jews believing in Jesus”) and even οἱ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ [Ιησοὶ] Ἰουδαῖοι (John 8:31 “The Jews trusting Jesus,” although Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, ad loc. argues for understanding this as a Plusquamperfect Participle “those that had believed in Jesus and do not do so anymore”).

customs of the Phoenicians).²⁹³ Obviously a Phoenician cannot φοινικίζειν, but only someone who is not a Phoenician. The same is true about ιουδαΐζειν. As a rule only Gentiles can ιουδαΐζειν.

Jackson-McCabe has published a compilation by various scholars, in order to scrutinize the term Jewish Christianity. They illustrate that scholars attach different associative meanings to the concept. The compilation reflects on what Williams has done in deconstructing the concept of Gnosticism and obviously wishes to do the same for Jewish Christianity.²⁹⁴ Even though the authors feel the concept does not have legitimacy, they continue to use it unashamedly in reconstructing the history of Jewish Christianity. Williams' work should not be understood to mean that Gnosis was non-existent. Few scholars have done as much in reconstructing what Gnosis really is. Williams has laid two foundation stones which other scholars like Marjanen have accepted and which Marksches have taken further.²⁹⁵

Coming from the perspective of identity formation Lieu expresses her concern that terms like Jewish-Christian can be deceptive, in that they assume the two entities Judaism and Christianity can be isolated from each other and then combined.²⁹⁶ In reflecting on the debate on the parting of ways she notes that if one takes the Judaism of Early Christianity more serious the usefulness of the term Jewish-Christianity before the fourth century collapses entirely.²⁹⁷ Some Christians did not have a problem with sharing a common identity with Jews.²⁹⁸ Here different Christian groups can be plotted on a spectrum with Jewish Christians on the one side as Christians who experience a continuity and common experience with Jews, Marcion on the other side of the spectrum insisting on discontinuity with regards to Judaism and someone like Justin Martyr in the middle.

²⁹³ Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers of Jesus in Antiquity,” 10. Markus Öhler, “Essen, Ethnos, Identität – der antiochenische Zwischenfall (Gal 2,11–14),” in *Der eine Gott und das gemeinschaftliche Mahl: Inklusion und Exklusion biblischer Vorstellungen von Mahl und Gemeinschaft im Kontext antiker Festkultur* (ed. W. Weiß; BThSt 113; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2011), 182, 158–199.

²⁹⁴ Matt Jackson-McCabe, *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (Augsburg: Fortress, 2007), cf. Michael L. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1996).

²⁹⁵ Marjanen, “Gnosticism,” 204–210; Marksches, *Gnosis: An Introduction* (trans. J. Bowden; London: T & T Clark, 2003), 16–17.

²⁹⁶ Judith M. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 306.

²⁹⁷ Lieu, *Christian Identity*, 2–3.

²⁹⁸ Lieu, *Christian Identity*, 160–161.

c) Luomanen's Self-Consciously Polythetic Approach to Jewish-Christianity

Luomanen is more skeptical of definitions and follows an approach that imagines members of classes as points on a continuum, not as defined through one single definitive trait.²⁹⁹ He applies a self-consciously polythetic mode of classification like Smith has proposed (classification as opposed to definition).³⁰⁰ He tries to follow an approach that allows for different degrees of “Jewishness” and “Christianness” and which focuses on several aspects that are determinative in social relations, for example, ideology, practice, identity and group formation. Luomanen acknowledges the contribution of “the ways that never parted”-paradigm, but is adamant that the ways did at some stage start separating locally. He makes a list of indicators of Jewish-Christian identity (as opposed to a definition):³⁰¹

Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH’s abode, or the Torah, maintained?
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as <i>Kyrios</i> (“Lord”), an equal to God?
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?

Luomanen’s indicator-approach seems able to bring more balance to the typological approach. It is more of a dynamic model, but does provide criteria for determining Jewish Christianity. It should be noted that the list of indicators do not all have to be met like with a definition, but even if only one is ticked, one does have an indicator that a text is Jewish-Christian. If this is understood in a typological fashion as an umbrella term, this approach seems to be the most balanced.

²⁹⁹ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects*, 9–12.

³⁰⁰ Smith, “Fences and Neighbours,” 1–18, 135–139, 4.

³⁰¹ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects*, 11–12.

II) Jewish-Christian Groups

After the revolt of Bar Kochba, Jewish Christianity seems to have existed in at least three different groups, the Ebionites, Nazarenes and Elchesaites.³⁰² For this dissertation the first two are important.

a) *Ebionites*

Luomanen has shown that the Ebionites that Epiphanius describes are quite different from those Irenaeus and other fathers following him describe. It seems prudent to keep them separate for our purposes.³⁰³

i) *Irenaeus' Ebionites*

The Ebionites are described in Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.26.2; 3.21.1) for the first time.³⁰⁴ Their main characteristics are the following:

- The only Gospel they used is that of Matthew;
- they reject Paul as an apostate from the law;³⁰⁵
- they carefully study the prophets – of course in the original language;
- they carefully keep the precepts of the law including circumcision;
- they are proud of living a Jewish way of life and hold Jerusalem in high esteem;
- they believe Jesus became Christ at his baptism (adoptionist christology).

We have fragments preserved of a Greek *Gospel according to the Ebionites*.³⁰⁶ The author identifies his work with that of Matthew as will be discussed in Chapter 6.³⁰⁷ Not only is Paul's apostolate rejected but James is seen as the most important apostle.³⁰⁸ Clearly the Antiochene incident (Gal 2) had an impact that was felt till after the Bar Kochba-period. Interestingly elements of an adoptionist christology can also be gleaned

³⁰² As we have already seen the diversity within Christianity was there from day one, so that we should not assume there was just one form of Jewish Christianity that was split into three by the time of Bar Kochba.

³⁰³ In case Luomanen's objections are undermined in the near future, one can simply combine these two categories into one, but that seems unlikely.

³⁰⁴ That they must have existed for a long time prior to this is obvious.

³⁰⁵ Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 21.12 mentions how Ebionites strike Paul with shameful words as the high priest struck him during his trial (Acts 23:3). Maybe the Ebionites used this as a weapon during polemics against the Proto-Orthodox.

³⁰⁶ Several fragments have been preserved for us by Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.6; 30.13.4; 30.13.7; 30.13.2; 30.14.5; 30.16.4; 30.22.4.

³⁰⁷ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.2 says they have corrupted and amputated the Gospel according to Matthew.

³⁰⁸ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 262.

from traditions preserved in the New Testament (Acts 2:36; 13:33; Rom 1:3f; Heb 5:5; Phil 2:9–11). Neither do the earliest Christian authors Paul and Mark testify to a belief in the virgin birth.³⁰⁹

Origen (*Comm. Matt.* 79; *Cels.* 5.61) seems to be a reliable witness, despite some textual corruptions and he notes the following characteristics:

- They celebrate Easter on the same day as the Jews and eat unleavened bread,³¹⁰
- though Jesus became Christ at his baptism, he is not divine, neither is he the Λόγος, nor is he divine wisdom;
- they do not believe in the virgin birth.³¹¹

The Ebionites exhibit a low christology. The Ebionites emphasized that Jesus was justified by practicing the law. This is the only means for others to become justified before God.³¹² Matthew (11:19; 25–30) is willing to equate Jesus with divine wisdom but not the Ebionites.³¹³ This is probably another passage from Matthew that the Ebionites left out of their Gospel. Certainly the faith of Matthew and that of the Ebionites have much in common but they diverge on significant issues. If one takes all of this into account the closest parallel to the faith practiced by the Ebionites is that of the earliest

³⁰⁹ This is an *argumentum ex silentio*.

³¹⁰ Origen, *Comm. Matt. Ser.* 79. Later (at the time of pope Victor, 189–199 C.E.) with the Easter controversy the only churches that decided to celebrate Easter at the time the Jews did were the churches of Asia Minor, cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.23.4; Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 9.

³¹¹ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.1 confirms the Ebionites' disregard of the virgin birth. Origen, *Cels.* 5.61 actually says that one group of Ebionites did believe in the virgin birth, many scholars have argued that he was probably thinking of the Nazarenes, cf. Paget, "Jewish Christianity," 718. Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish Christian Sects and Gospels*, 19, 28 gives a plausible explanation why Origen could have made this remark. The Latin version of Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.2 seems to be corrupt and a more reliable version may be contained in Hippolytus' plagiarized version (*Haer.* 7.34.1): Ἐβιωνάιοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν <μὲν> κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσιν. If one compares this with Irenaeus' Latin version we see the following (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.2): *Qui autem dicuntur Ebionaei consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum; ea autem, quae sunt erga Dominum, non similiter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur.* According to Luomanen the *non* in front of *similiter* is a textual corruption and Origen must have been confused by two variant text traditions, eventually paving the way for scholars to see Origen as the first witness of two Jewish Christianities: the heretical Ebionites and the orthodox Nazarenes. The following Greek text of Irenaeus is to be reconstructed (based on Hippolytus' and the Latin text): οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι Ἐβιωνάιοι ὁμολογοῦσι μὲν τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν κύριον ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσιν. (SC 264)

³¹² Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.34.1–2 ἔθεσιν Ἰουδαϊκῶς κατὰ νόμον, φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι. καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον· (While living by Jewish customs they say they are justified according to the law. They also say Jesus was justified by doing the law). This is typically Pauline language. Whether it is Hippolytus' or Ebionite polemical language is debatable.

³¹³ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 279 notes Matthew is willing to make concessions that must be difficult for his Jewish roots, whereas the Ebionites were much more non-conformist.

Christian community.³¹⁴ Nevertheless Christians like Matthew were already pioneering a faith that the Ebionites later were not ready to accept.

ii) Epiphanius' Ebionites

What is unique about the Ebionite *hălăkā* according to Epiphanius is their strict vegetarianism.³¹⁵ Even the ascetic lifestyle lived by John the Baptist was not good enough for them so that they changed his diet from honey and locusts to honey and pancakes.³¹⁶ They celebrated the Eucharist annually with unleavened bread and water.³¹⁷ One of the works they read, the *Anabathmoi of James*, is interpreted by Epiphanius so as to reflect opposition against the temple and its sacrifices.³¹⁸ They practiced a communistic lifestyle as was the case in the earliest Christianity reflected in Acts. Epiphanius points out that this must be where their name came from אֶבְיוֹנִים – the poor).³¹⁹ As far as their theology is concerned the Ebionites seem to have opposed the mission to the Gentiles, emphasizing Jesus' words in Matthew (10:6) that He was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.³²⁰ Von Harnack has emphasized that what set Christianity apart from Judaism from the start was its universalistic drive. Evidently the Ebionites did not follow this trend. Within Pharisaism the House of Shammai was also believed to have opposed proselytizing Gentiles. The Ebionite worldview reflects a

³¹⁴ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 263.

³¹⁵ Common to all Judaisms were the restrictions of Lev 10–15. The Essenes seem to have been prohibited from eating live food, be it the larvae from bees, fish or locusts (CD XII 11–15) and they could only eat food if prepared by another member of the sect (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.143), cf. Giza Vermez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3d ed.; London: Penguin, 1987), 49.

³¹⁶ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.4.

³¹⁷ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.16.1. Taylor, *The Immerser*, has emphasized that ascetics like John the Baptist and Bannus would eat what was available in the wilderness. Bread would be one thing that they would not have eaten as it was a product of human culture. The Ebionites evidently did not have a problem with food associated with human culture. The Essenes at Qumran also did not have a problem with eating bread. They are thought to have drunk wine, but Vermez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7 thinks this was unfermented grape juice because of the expression “new wine.” The implication of what Epiphanius says here is that the Ebionites continued the Passover as always had been the case: with unleavened bread. The Elchesaites only ate bread baked by other Elchesaites, cf. CMC 87.19f; 89.13f – perhaps unleavened bread, cf. Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780) περὶ τῆς γέννησι τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ Edition der Seiten 72,8–99,9,” ZPE 32 (1978): 162 fn. 229; 137 fn. 186.

³¹⁸ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.16.7. Nevertheless this must still be reconciled with their adoration of Jerusalem as reflected by Irenaeus. This is perhaps easier to understand in the light of how the Ebionites rejected the cult practiced at Jerusalem, but was still concerned with Jerusalem in their writings.

³¹⁹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.17.2.

³²⁰ Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.8 mentions this. To justify the mission to the Gentiles he has to resort to allegory to explain Jesus' words. This is also reiterated in one of the few fragments preserved of *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.2).

dualism where the devil rules this age and Christ the coming age.³²¹ Christ was born of the Father but was also created as ruler of the archangels.³²²

Early Christianity was a very diverse phenomenon and writings like the Epistles to the Hebrews and that of James and the Gospel according to Matthew could still be accommodated within this acceptable diversity, but by the time of the second and third centuries, groups like the Ebionites were seen to represent unacceptable diversity.³²³ Christianity constituted such a diverse phenomenon till the time of Constantine. Since the time of Justin and Irenaeus and the other Ante-Nicene Fathers following Irenaeus, there seems to be a conscious movement to contain the diversity and to define its borders explicitly. Probably the most important difference between the Jewish-Christian groups after the Bar-Kochba revolt and the earliest Christian community was their openness to change.³²⁴ The earliest Christian community was open to change and had little that was fixed and final and everything was fluid, whereas Ebionism was a self-conscious faith, opposing other forms of faith (like that of Paul) and this faith they clearly articulated.³²⁵

b) Nazarenes

Our only primary sources for the Nazarenes are Epiphanius and Jerome. Before something is said about the Nazarenes it may be prudent to differentiate between two meanings of the term “Nazarene (*Nôṣrî*)” – the general and the specific. The general meaning has been applied to Christians since the beginning of the movement and is still the term used for Christians in the Semitic-speaking world and eastwards to Persia.³²⁶ The same designation seems to occur with the authors Epiphanius and Jerome.

Epiphanius (*Pan.* 29.7.7) mentions the following characteristics of the Nazarenes:

- They lived in the neighbourhood of Coele-Syria and the Decapolis;
- their origins go back to the flight to Pella during the first Jewish revolt;
- they use both the Old and the New Testament;

³²¹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.16.2.

³²² Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.16.4. Yet one must still remember that this Christ did not enter the man perfect in his devotion to the law, Jesus, before his baptism.

³²³ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 281–282.

³²⁴ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 263–264.

³²⁵ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 263.

³²⁶ Wolfram Kinzig, “The Nazoreans,” in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 470 fn. 29.

- they prefer reading the Old Testament in Hebrew and having a Hebrew Gospel;³²⁷
- they believe in the resurrection and in one God and in Jesus Christ;
- they keep the Jewish Law.

According to Luomanen Epiphanius uses the term of a specific sect, whereas Jerome uses it in the generic sense.³²⁸ According to Luomanen there are no sources on the Nazarenes that are independent of Epiphanius and Jerome.³²⁹ Luomanen has convincingly illustrated how the Nazarenes that Epiphanius describes, overlap with Luke's description of the church in Jerusalem in Acts. Nothing is said of the Nazarenes before Epiphanius.³³⁰ After subjecting Epiphanius' report (*Pan. 29*) on the Nazarenes to a source critical analysis, Luomanen has determined that the Epiphanius depends on Eusebius for the following:

<i>Pan. 29</i>	<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	Events
5.4	2.16	Mark's preaching in Egypt
5.1–3	2.17	Philo's description of Therapeutae
4.1–4	2.23	James as the first bishop
7.8	3.5.3	The disciples' flight from Jerusalem

For the following he depends on Acts:

³²⁷ This was most probably a Hebrew translation of Matthew. Papias (quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.8) mentions that Matthew was originally written in the language of the Hebrews, but it seems pretty evident from a philological point of view that Matthew's Greek is based on that of Mark. For many years there has been wide scholarly consensus that Mark must have been the first of the extant Gospels (the so-called *Zweiquellenhypothese*, cf. Pokoný and Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 333–337). This Hebrew translation of Matthew may correspond to the Zion Gospel Edition, s.v. “Zion Gospel Edition,” *ABD*. In that case Papias would have merely assumed that the Hebrew version must have been the original. In the Tannaitic period there is a section of the Tosefta that may be relevant to the question of a Hebrew Matthew, i.e., *t. Sabb.* 13(14): 5 “^AThe Gospels (*gilyōnîm*) and books of heretics (*siprê mînîm*) are not saved but are left where they are to burn, they and their sacred names. ^BRabbi Yose ha-Gelili says: On a weekday one cuts out their sacred names and hides them away and burns the rest” [Alexander]. These *gilyōnîm* which are not worth saving when a fire breaks out were probably copies of this translation of Matthew as only Hebrew texts can be intended if they were to contain the divine name. cf. Alexander, “Jewish Believers in Early Rabbinic Literature,” 681. Not all scholars are convinced of translating *gilyōn* with “gospel,” cf. e.g. Karl G. Kuhn, “Giljonim und Sifrei Minim,” in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift für Joachim Jeremias* (ed. W. Eltester; BZNW 26; Berlin: Topelmann, 1964), 24–61.

³²⁸ Petri Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels* (VCSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 54.

³²⁹ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 54.

³³⁰ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 49.

Pan. 29	Acts	Events
5.6; 6.7	2:22	Jesus was called a Nazarene
8.6	15:28–29	Quote from the apostolic decree
6.2	24:5	Paul as the leader of the Nazarenes
6.4	24:12–14	Paul's Nazarene confession

Luomanen shows that Epiphanius' Nazarenes are a shadow. It is more meaningful to look at the Nazarenes Jerome describes, although they are not to be understood as a sect but as a Christian group with some local flavour.

According to the testimony of Jerome the following characteristics applied to the Nazarenes:

- They were involved in an ongoing dispute with the rabbis/Pharisees;
- they rejected the *hälākā* of the rabbis;
- they approved of the mission to the Gentiles and actively engaged in mission themselves;
- they accepted the apostolate of Paul;
- it is unclear whether they believed in the virgin birth.³³¹

To determine the *hälākā* of the Nazarenes seems easier than for the Essenes. In an interesting passage preserved by Jerome we hear the Nazarenes' reconstruction of the history of the Houses of Shammai and Hillel:

Jerome, <i>Comm. Isa. 3.8.11</i>³³²	
<i>duas domus Nazarei, qui ita Christum recipiunt, ut observationes legis veteris non omittant, duas</i>	As regards the two houses the Nazarenes, who accept Christ in such a way that they do not cease to observe

³³¹ Jerome, *Ep. 112.13*, though this evidence is disputed by Kinzig, "The Nazoraeans," 474, as Jerome might be dependent on the passage from Origen, *Cels. 5.61*. Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish Christian Sects and Gospels*, 69–70 makes a valid point that in the context of Jerome's letter to Augustine (*Ep. 112*) he is just quoting from one of the creeds he knew to make the point that Christians are being cursed in synagogues as *mînîm*, usually as *Nôṣrîm* and that they *credunt in Christum, filium dei, natum de Maria virgine, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus* (believe in Christ, the Son of God, born out of Mary, the virgin, and whom they say suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose, in whom also we believe). Luomanen remarks that this should therefore not be taken as a testimony to the doctrine of the Nazarenes. In Jerome, *Comm. Matt. 13.53–54* it is mentioned that the Nazarenes thought Jesus was "the son of the carpenter" (*fabri filius*), yet, Jerome is obviously referring to the people living in Nazareth at the time of Jesus. Here we have a third sense for the word *Nôṣrîm*. Jerome himself seems to conflate these two references.

³³² On Isa 8:11–15.

<p><i>familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hellel, ex quibus orti sunt scribae et Pharisei, quorum suscepit scholam Akibas, quem magistrum Aquilae proselyti autumat et post eum Meir, cui successit Ioannan filius Zachai, et post eum Eliezer, et per ordinem Telfphon, et rursum Ioseph Galilaeus, et usque ad captivitatem Hierusalem Iosue. Sammai igitur et Hellel non multo priusquam dominus nasceretur, orti sunt in iudea, quorum prior dissipator interpretatur, sequens profanus; eo quod per traditiones et δευτερόσεις suas legis praecepta dissipaverit atque maculaverit. et has esse duas domus, quae salvatorem non receperint, qui factus sit eis in ruinam et scandalum. (CCSL 73)</i></p>	<p>the old Law, understand as the two families of Shammai and Hillel, from whom originated the Scribes and the Pharisees. Akiba who took over their school, whom Meir after him called the master of Aquila the proselyte, whom Jochanan ben Zakkai followed, and after him Eliezer and in order Telphon, and afterwards Joseph the Galilean and Joshua up to the capture of Jerusalem. Shammai then and Hillel were born in Judaea not long before the birth of the Lord. The name of the first means scatterer and of the second unholy, because he scattered and defiled the precepts of the Law by his traditions and conventions. And these are the two houses who did not accept the Saviour who has become to them destruction and shame.</p>
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The contempt with which Nazarenes viewed Pharisees and scribes unwilling to embrace the Gospel can be seen from another passage in Jerome:

Jerome, <i>Comm. Isa. 3.9.1</i> ³³³	
<p><i>Nazaraei, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explanare conantur: adveniente Christo et praedicatione illius coruscante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephthali scribarum et Pharisaeorum est erroribus liberata, et gravissimum traditionum Iudaicarum iugum excussit de cervicibus suis. postea autem per evangelium apostoli Pauli, qui novissimus apostolorum omnium fuit, ingravata est, id est multiplicata praedicatio; et in terminos gentium et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit. denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat vel sedebat in tenebris, et idolatriae ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, clarum evangelii lumen aspexit.</i> (CCSL 73)</p>	<p>The Nazarenes, whose opinion I have set out above, try to explain this passage as follows: With Christ's arrival and preaching and the flashing thereof, the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali were first liberated from the errors of the scribes and Pharisees. He shook off the heaviest yoke of the Jewish traditions from their necks, but afterwards through the Gospel of the apostle, Paul, who was the newest of all the apostles, it got worse, that is the preaching was multiplied. To the ends of the nations and the way of the whole sea did the Gospel of Christ shine. Finally the whole world that was walking or sitting in darkness and idolatry and was bound in deadly chains saw the clear light of the Gospel.</p>

³³³ On Isa 9:1.

This also mentions the aspect that set the Nazarenes apart from the Ebionites: their universalistic drive, something that seems to have been common among all Christians. We can see from the above that the Nazarenes (*Ναζωραῖοι*) often correspond to Orthodox Christianity. They were not a separate trajectory within Christianity but simply Orthodox Christians in the East going well beyond the borders of the Roman world.³³⁴

It is clear that the Nazarenes often got involved in polemics with the Pharisees. But Christian-Jewish polemic was widespread in situations where they lived together, so this is not surprising.

After the Monophysite Schism of 451 C.E., Palestine eventually switched to the Chalcedonian faith in contrast to most of Egypt and Syria.³³⁵ Yet, there were always Monophysites present in Palestine.³³⁶ The bishop of Jerusalem, Juvenal (422–458 C.E.), was rewarded by the emperor for deserting Cyril at the Council of Chalcedon by gaining independence from the Antiochene bishop as well as control over the three chief bishops in Palestine, that is, of Caesarea, Bet Shean and Petra. Brakke suggests that it was monastic influence of people like Euthymius (377–473 C.E.) that tipped the Palestinian population in favour of Chalcedonianism (or dyophysitism).³³⁷ Gil thinks that Jerusalem was somewhat of an anomaly in Palestine at this time and that the majority of the Palestinian population was Monophysite.³³⁸ This is based on two inscriptions found at Nessana at the time speaking of the θεοτόκος – quite characteristic of Monophysitism (though not unique to them). If the Nazarenes did believe in the virgin birth we can imagine that their descendants would have been comfortable with Chalcedonian (Catholic) and Monophysite Christianity, but we do not know for sure what their view of the matter was.

Brown has shown that the Judaism of the Jesus Movement was no single law-observant Jewish Christianity and that Christian attitudes towards the law could not have been determined by ethnicity alone.³³⁹

³³⁴ Kinzig, “The Nazoreans,” 485–486

³³⁵ There was the so-called Monophysite rebellion in Palestine, during which the land was systematically bent to the Monophysite position by the monk, Theodosius, cf. Hinson, *The Early Church*, 321. An end was put to this in 457 C.E. and Juvenal was reinstalled.

³³⁶ Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine: 634–1099* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 432.

³³⁷ David Brakke, “The East (2): Egypt and Palestine,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (ed. S. A. Harvey & D. G. Hunter; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

³³⁸ Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine*, 447.

³³⁹ Reed & Becker, introduction, 132. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, “Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but Types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity,” *CBQ* 45 (1983): 74–79.

Brown argues that in the New Testament one can see at least four different kinds of Jewish/Gentile Christians and that there must have been even more.³⁴⁰ (Circumcision-insistent) Pharisee Christians evidently conduct a mission to the Gentiles in Acts 15:1, 24 (Type 1).³⁴¹ From Acts 15 and Galatians 2 it is evident that both Peter and James championed a Hebrew Christianity without circumcision, though still insisting on some purity regulations (Type 2). Paul is presented as a Hebrew Christian (Type 3), separate from the Hellenist Christians of Acts 6 (Type 4).

From this it seems important not to reduce the diversity existing within Jewish Christianity to Ebionites, Nazarenes and Elchesaites.

3.3.3.8 The Three Gospel Hypothesis

It is not exactly clear what constitutes *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*. As there is no extant copy available. Modern scholarship is completely dependent on fragments gleaned from Church Fathers. Previously it was thought that there was just one Jewish-Christian Gospel. Especially Jerome and Epiphanius' testimonies point to only one Gospel.³⁴² Today most scholars' point of departure is the Three Gospel Hypothesis³⁴³ which holds that there were three Jewish-Christian Gospels, i.e. *The Gospel According to the Hebrews*, *The Gospel According to Nazarenes* and *The Gospel According to the Ebionites*. It should be made clear that the titles of the last two Gospels are a creation of modern scholarship.³⁴⁴

The oldest reference to *The Gospel According to the Hebrews* is made by Clement of Alexandria (d. 215 C.E.)³⁴⁵ who calls it τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον. Origen (185–253 C.E.) follows suit. Eusebius (±260–339 C.E.) talks about “the Gospel come down to us in Hebrew letters.”³⁴⁶ Confusion starts with Epiphanius (±310–403 C.E.) who speaks about “The Gospel named, at least among themselves, according to Matthew” but which “people call the Hebraic Gospel (τὸ Ιουδαικόν).”³⁴⁷ This is compounded by Epiphanius’

³⁴⁰ Brown, “Not Jewish Christianity,” 75.

³⁴¹ Brown, “Not Jewish Christianity,” 76.

³⁴² Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 3; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.2.

³⁴³ Petri Luomanen, “Let Him who Seeks, Continue Seeking: The Relationship between the Jewish Christian Gospels and the Gospel of Thomas,” in *Thomasine Traditions in Antiquity* (ed. J. Ma. Asgeirsson et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 122. Petri Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels* (VCSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2012) opposes it for his modified Two Gospel Hypothesis.

³⁴⁴ William L. Petersen, “Ebionites, Gospel of the,” n.p., *ABD on CD-Rom*. Version 2.0c. 1995. 1996.

³⁴⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.9.45.5. Cf. D. Meyer, “Clemens³,” *DNP*. Online Edition 7 June 2012.

³⁴⁶ Eusebius, *Theoph.* 4.22. Cf. G. F. Chesnut, “Eusebius,” n.p., *ABD on CD-Rom*. Version 2.0c. 1995. 1996.

³⁴⁷ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.2f.

contemporary, Jerome (between 331 and 348–420 C.E.), who says that this Gospel written in Hebrew letters is also called the Gospel According to the Apostles as well as the Gospel According to Matthew. Jerome also takes for granted that Matthew did compose the Gospel in Hebrew letters.³⁴⁸

It remains controversial where to attribute the different fragments. This is the reason why the study of Jewish-Christian Gospels is often called one of the most vexing topics in early Christendom.³⁴⁹ The following characteristics of the Three Gospels have been isolated by scholars:³⁵⁰

With regards to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*:

- *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* is quoted first hand by Egyptian authors only;³⁵¹
- its theology is reminiscent of Wisdom Theology;³⁵²
- it does not seem to have a synoptic *Vorlage*.³⁵³

With regards to *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*:

- *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* seems to have Matthew as a *Vorlage*;³⁵⁴
- it seems to have been an Aramaic Gospel.³⁵⁵

With regards to *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*:

³⁴⁸ Jerome, *Pelag.* 3.2.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Petersen, “Ebionites, Gospel of the,” n.p.

³⁵⁰ This is the model of Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” *ANRW* 25.5:4008, 4010 which is a significantly modified version of that of Weiß.

³⁵¹ I.e. Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Didymus the Blind (even Jerome seems to be dependent on Origen), cf., the convincing case for the Three Gospel Hypothesis by Albertus F. J. Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” *ANRW* 25.5:4008, 4010.

³⁵² Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” *ANRW* 25.5:4015.

³⁵³ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” *ANRW* 25.5:4008.

³⁵⁴ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” *ANRW* 25.5:4019.

³⁵⁵ Of the Proto-Orthodox Christian scholars capable of understanding Hebrew/Aramaic in the first three centuries only Origen, Epiphanius (cf. Jerome, *Ruf.* 2.22; 3.6), Eusebius and Jerome come to mind. Cf. Lawrence Lahey, “Hebrew and Aramaic in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila,” *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Jehuda* (ed. W. Horbury; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 106. Jerome was, of course, the most proficient of them all. According to Lahey’s judgement Jerome was the only one that did not just flash a word or two around every now and then.

- *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* seems to have been composed in Greek;³⁵⁶
- it seems to have been dependent on a synoptic gospel harmony;
- there are no conflicting statements surrounding this Gospel, as only Epiphanius reports on it.³⁵⁷

Only the division of fragments between *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* and *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is debated. The main research problem with the Jewish-Christian Gospels is that Jerome appears to have conflated the two different Gospels: the (Greek) *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the (Aramaic) *Gospel according to the Nazarenes*.³⁵⁸ This problem is intensified by the fact that Jerome, one of the only fathers capable of understanding Hebrew, claims to have translated the *Gospel according to the Nazarenes* into Greek.³⁵⁹ Research has shown that despite his learnedness, Jerome is not a very reliable witness.³⁶⁰ According to the methodology outlined by Klijn to determine to which of the three Jewish-Christian Gospels these fragments belong, it is important to take note that the Alexandrians – Clement, Origen and Didymus – refer to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.³⁶¹ Jerome usually refers to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* – though probably second hand by way of Origen. Only the fragments preserved in his Commentary on Matthew, refer to *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*.³⁶² An exception seems to be the fragment from *Adversus Pelagianos* which also seems to be referring to *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*.

In applying the Three-Gospel Hypothesis we should never fall into the trap of taking the hypothetical names seriously, especially *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*. This dissertation has consistently applied the Three Gospel Hypothesis rather than Luomanen’s Two Gospel Hypothesis as it easier to convert the results into the Two Gospel Hypothesis than vice versa. It seems reasonable to infer that *The Gospel*

³⁵⁶ George Howard, “Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4035.

³⁵⁷ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:3998.

³⁵⁸ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4010.

³⁵⁹ Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 12.13.

³⁶⁰ Stefan Rebenich, “Jerome: The ‘Vir Trilinguis’ and the ‘Hebraica Veritas,’” VC 47/1 (1993), gives an evaluation of Jerome’s life’s work. Jerome simply can not be trusted. In his own time Rufinus (*Apol.* 2.7) mocks his erudition by pointing out Jerome claims to have read Pythagoras though none of his writings are extant any more. This goes to the heart of our current question, as it shows Jerome is in the habit of claiming to have read primary sources, though he often gets his information by secondary means. Therefore one has to be skeptical when Jerome says he is quoting from a Hebrew Gospel.

³⁶¹ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4031.

³⁶² Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4019.

according to the Hebrews as ancients called it actually consisted of more than one work, but beyond that is difficult to prove beyond reasonable doubt.

Luomanen makes a departure from the Three Gospel Hypothesis as it was proposed by Waitz and counters with a Two Gospel Hypothesis, abandoning *the Gospel of the Nazarenes* entirely.³⁶³ He thinks Jerome received reports of writings from a specific group called Nazarenes that did not form part of a gospel and calls it *the Nazarene Collection*. Luomanen does not exclude the possibility that this *Nazarene Collection* was in Aramaic and acknowledges that *the Nazarene Collection* has much in common with Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*. The advantage of Luomanen's Two Gospel Hypothesis is that he is less skeptical about the Church Fathers' assigning the fragments to the Gospel according to the Hebrews than scholars like Waitz. This must be qualified by the following presuppositions:

- The Gospel used by the Ebionites is still different from *the Gospel according to the Hebrews* and Luomanen still calls it *the Gospel according to the Ebionites* as Weitz originally proposed;³⁶⁴
- only Jerome's attribution to a Jewish-Christian Gospel is doubted by Luomanen. His fragments are assigned to either *the Gospel according to the Hebrews* or *the Nazarene Collection*.

He assumes both the *Gospel according to the Ebionites* and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* were composed in Greek. If any fragment in Jerome is introduced by a reference to Greek and the royal-we is used it must have come from the Gospel used by the Nazarenes (the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* for Luomanen).³⁶⁵ Another important factor is the dating of the fragment.³⁶⁶ It seems reasonable that Jerome would

³⁶³ Hans Waitz, “die judenchristliche Evangelien in der altkirchlichen Literatur;” “Ebionäerevangelium oder Evangelium der Zwölfe;” “das Matthäusevangelium der Nazaräer (oder das Nazaräerevangelium;” “das Hebräerevangelium” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (ed. E. Hennecke; Tuebingen, 1924), 10–17, 39–48, 17–32, 48–55; “Neue Untersuchungen über die sogenannte judenchristliche Evangelien,” ZNW 36 (1937): 60–81.

³⁶⁴ Luomanen also implies that Epiphanius has erroneously called the Gospel the Ebionites use *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, cf. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.3.7 καὶ δέχονται [Ἐβιωναῖοι] μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον. καλοῦστι δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ Ἐβραίους, ως τὰ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἐβραϊστὶ καὶ Ἐβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔκθεσίν τε καὶ κήρυγμα (And they [Ebionites] receive the Gospel according to Matthew, but they call it [the Gospel] “according to the Hebrews,” which is to tell the truth because only Matthew composed the exposition and proclamation of the Gospel in Hebrew and in Hebrew letters in the New Testament)

³⁶⁵ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 107, 245–250.

³⁶⁶ Luomanen, 109.

not have come into contact with the Nazarenes before his stay in Berea in 374–377 C.E if not as late as his resettlement in Bethlehem in 386. This only has an impact on the placement of the fragment from Jerome's *Commentary on Ephesians*.³⁶⁷

Not all scholars will be convinced by the assumption that if Jerome mentions the Greek language he must be referring to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and if he is referring to the Hebrew language he must be referring to the Nazarene Material.

This study follows the argumentation of Klijn that all fragments preserved by Epiphanius referring to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* (*Pan. 30.3.7*), *according to Matthew*, or τὸ Ἰουδαικόν (*Pan. 30.13.1*) should be associated with what is called the Gospel according to the Ebionites by the Three Gospel Hypothesis.³⁶⁸ These fragments form a unity in that it comes from a harmony of all the Synoptic Gospels and that its language of composition must have been Greek. The clever puns used in the Gospel presuppose its Greek composition. Less controversy surrounds this Gospel as Epiphanius is the only source that discusses fragments of the Gospel preserved by the Ebionites.³⁶⁹ Luomanen also concurs on the scope of The Gospel according to the Ebionites.³⁷⁰ But what the classical Three-Gospel Hypothesis prefers to separate into a *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and a *Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is seen as a unity by Luomanen.

3.3.3.9 Description of Proto-Orthodoxy

While keeping in mind the insights of Social Scientific Criticism that doctrine was not as important before the time of Constantine, it is still important to look at the development of theology by the time of the second century. It is important to remember that one easily falls into the trap of anachronistically projecting Christianity after Constantine onto this period.

I) A Receding Eschatological Hope

From the New Testament itself it is already evident that the eschatological hope receded from the time of 1 Thessalonians to 2 Peter. In Thessalonica there were some Christians that gave up working to prepare themselves for Christ's return (2 Thess 3:10–12). In the later writings of the New Testament it is evident that the hope upon Christ's return had

³⁶⁷ Luomanen, 107.

³⁶⁸ “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5: 3998 and George Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4035

³⁶⁹ Scholars are much more divided on splitting the fragments between *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* and *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*.

³⁷⁰ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects*, appendix 1.

given way to other concerns. In 2 Peter the author asks: “Where is the promise of his coming?” (3:4)³⁷¹ – answering that the delay shows God’s mercy in giving more time for the repentant (3:9) and that God’s time is different than our time, for “with the Lord one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day” (3:8).³⁷² Perhaps the followers of this trajectory would not have admitted this attitude. A movement that broke away from the emergent Orthodox Churches were the Montanists. Their movement is indeed characterized by a fervent expectation of the Parousia. One of the results of this receding eschatological hope was the receding importance of prophecy.

*II) A Receding Importance of Prophecy*³⁷³

Although it was still acceptable during the time of earliest Christianity to argue based on personal revelation,³⁷⁴ Proto-Orthodox Christians soon came to question this. Clearly some Christians felt that Montanists (emerging around 150 C.E.) had taken the idea of personal revelation to extremes. It became important for Proto-Orthodoxy to eventually distance itself from Montanism, despite the Montanists’ Orthodoxy.³⁷⁵ The author of the Gnostic work, *The Apocryphon of John* also displays a very unprophetic attitude, putting forward the idea that prophecy ended when John the Baptist was beheaded (on the basis of Q 16:16).

III) Increasing Institutionalization

Dunn sees the first steps of Catholicism’s institutionalization in three New Testament authors.³⁷⁶ All of them are from the second Christian generation: the Pastoral Epistles, Luke-Acts and a reaction against it in the Johannine literature. In the Pastoral Epistles three offices seem to be established: deacons, elders and bishops. Both Timothy and Titus appear to be monarchical bishops who have the mandate to make important decisions independently (1 Tim 1:3f; 4:6ff, 11–16; 5:1–16; 6:2, 17; Titus 2:1–10, 15).

³⁷¹ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 383. 2 Pet 3:4 ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ;

³⁷² 2 Pet 3:8 ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ κυρίῳ ως χήλια ἔτη καὶ χήλια ἔτη ως ἡμέρα μία (NA²⁸).

³⁷³ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 148–151.

³⁷⁴ Cf. Ign. Phil. 7, John’s Apocalypse and the Shepherd of Hermas in toto, in Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 148.

³⁷⁵ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 149–150 emphasizes their Orthodoxy. One of the pioneering Orthodox theologians, Tertullian, eventually converted to Montanism. He has the unique honour of being the only heretic whose voluminous oeuvre has been preserved by the Catholic Church almost in its entirety.

³⁷⁶ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 384. Stephen Llewellyn, *New Documents 1982–1983* §3 argues that this institutionalization of the church can already be seen in the letter culture of the New Testament, as it presupposes a fair amount of organization to get letters from Ephesus to Rome when there was no postal system for private use. There are more than 9 000 Christian letters available from antiquity.

Not only are they allowed appointing elders (Titus 1:5), they must also mete out justice to them (1 Tim 5:19ff). This characteristic of Catholicism constitutes a clear departure from first generation Christianity where the priesthood of all believers is emphasized and where Paul takes it for granted that any member may exercise any ministry depending on the work of the Spirit.³⁷⁷

Dunn elsewhere mentions that Catholicism was probably influenced by the hierarchy within the Jerusalem church before they formed their own.³⁷⁸ The structure of the Jerusalem church was probably simply taken over from the synagogue (during the time of James).³⁷⁹ Therefore institutionalization seems to have been a broad tendency within Christianity in general (since the time of the first Christian generation). One finds three models for churches in Early Christianity:³⁸⁰

- congregational pattern (Pauline churches)
- presbyter pattern (Jerusalem church, Johannine churches, Valentinians)
- episcopal pattern (developing from the Pastorals, 1 Clement and Ignatius)

The episcopal pattern would eventually dominate Christianity. It is crucial to Irenaeus' apostolic succession argument.³⁸¹

IV) Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms

Dunn believes that there was not much concern to accurately preserve the traditions concerning Jesus among the earliest Christians. This can be seen in the freedom with which the Gospel authors often treat Jesus' sayings, for example, Matthew's redaction of Jesus' teaching on divorce as he found it in Mark 10:2–12 (cf. Matt 19:3–12).³⁸² Tradition starts to play a more important role with the Pastoral Epistles.³⁸³ For the authors of the Pastoral Epistles enthusiasm should be subordinated to office.³⁸⁴ As Dunn

³⁷⁷ 1 Pet 2:5, 9; 1 Cor 12:14–27 and Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 123, 126.

³⁷⁸ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 124.

³⁷⁹ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 118.

³⁸⁰ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 115.

³⁸¹ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.2.2; 4.26.2.

³⁸² Cf. the detailed analysis of Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 267 where Matthew tries to place Jesus' view into the context of the divorce debate of Hillel and Shamai. This is made especially clear by the results of the form-critical school.

³⁸³ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 74, cf. 2 Tim 1:12–14 where Paul is presented as the keeper of tradition and not its author, and the Spirit is not the re-creator of tradition but the power that preserves this heritage.

³⁸⁴ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 212.

puts it: “If in Paul’s letters enthusiasm was contained, in the Pastorals it was wholly excluded.”³⁸⁵

With the crystallization of the faith into set forms the question as to the importance of the *regula fidei* is raised. If one compares the *regulae fidei*³⁸⁶ with the Apostles’ Creed and the Nicene Creed they are similar, but by no means identical.³⁸⁷ *Regulae fidei* appear to be products of apologetics and should not be understood as having anything to do with the liturgy or baptism as has traditionally been believed.³⁸⁸ Therefore they are indeed “äußerst variabel.”³⁸⁹ Evidently the clauses were debated on over and over again – on paper. This can be seen in exemplary fashion by looking at the dramatic biography of Athanasius.³⁹⁰ Tertullian says the following about the *regula fidei* before he gives his own.

Tertullian, <i>Virg.</i> 1	
<i>Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem... (CPL 27)</i>	The rule of faith, indeed, is altogether one, alone immovable and irreformable; the rule of believing in one unique God omnipotent, the Creator of the universe...

³⁸⁵ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 395.

³⁸⁶ *Regulae fidei* are used in the plural because they never match each other word for word despite having similar content. Schaff, *The Greek and Latin Creeds*, ii discusses the following *regulae fidei*: Ign. Trall. 9; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.10.1; 3.4.1–2; 4.33.7; Tertullian, *Virg.* 1; *Prax.* 2; *Praescr.* 13; Origen, *Princ.* praef 46; Cyprian, *Ep.* 69, 76; 70); De Trinitate s. De Regula Fidei (Bibl. PP. ed. Gallandi, Tom. III. pp. 287 sqq.); *Doctrina patrum* p284 (attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus around 270 C.E.); From Athanasius, *Syn.* 23 (attributed to Lucian of Antioch around 300 C.E.); Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.26 (the confession of faith of Arius presented before Constantine); 1.8 (the confession of the church at Caesarea and proposed at Nicaea by Eusebius); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 4; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus* 119–120; *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 7.41. Schaff, *The Greek and Latin Creeds*, 39 mentions that for the Apostles’ Creed the *regulae fidei* of Irenaeus, Tertullian and Novatian have been utilized as sources, whereas for the Nicenum it has been that of Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius.

³⁸⁷ Also called the *Symbolum Apostolicum* and *Niceanum* respectively.

³⁸⁸ Markus Vinzent, “Die Entstehung des römischen Bekenntnisses,” in *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis: Studien zur sogenannten Traditio Apostolica zu den Interrogationes de fide und zum Römischen Glaubensbekenntnis* (ed. W. Kinzig, C. Marksches & M. Vinzent; Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 74; Berlin/New York 1999) quoted in Heil, “Markell,” 90 explains the *regulae fidei* as products of apologetics and notes that only after Nicaea did people start using the Romanum (Marcellus’ version of the Apostolicum) in the baptism liturgy.

³⁸⁹ Heil, “Markell,” 89.

³⁹⁰ Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 246–251. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 57 and Uta Heil, “Markell von Ancyra und das Romanum,” in *Vom Arius zum Athanasius: Studien zur Edition der Athanasius Werke* (ed. A. von Stochausen & H. C. Brennecke; TU 164; De Gruyter: Berlin, 2010), 88 (based on von Campenhausen, “Das Bekenntnis im Urchristentum,” ZNW 63 [1972]: 210–253) question whether we do know anything about the liturgical *Sitz im Leben* of any of the creeds, mentioning that we do not have any proof that creeds played such a big role, specifically at baptism, as is usually suggested.

In other instances where he refers to *regula fidei* he does not mention the immutability thereof and does not hesitate to add his comments in between. This is also characteristic of other authors' citing of the *regula fidei*.

V) *The Propaganda of Martyrdom*

The cult of the martyrs seems to have played a role in mainstream Christianity since the time of Polycarp. Even before him one of the first champions of Orthodoxy, Ignatius, was martyred and before him many of the apostles. It would however be a mistake to assume that only Orthodox Christians were martyrs. The fact that James, the brother of Jesus and leader of the church in Jerusalem, was executed probably shows that Jerusalem Christians were often also targeted by the authorities or other Jews.³⁹¹ The only trajectory that does not seem to have believed in martyrdom, are the Gnostics. Apparently they felt that Jesus had already died as a martyr making it unnecessary for them to do the same.³⁹² Such a denial of martyrdom coupled with the Docetic denial of Jesus' humanity and bodily suffering stole the martyrs' hope of an afterlife, as they could no longer identify with him as an afflicted Jesus.³⁹³ Ehrman himself doubts whether the Orthodox were the only trajectory that were martyred and says that authors like Tertullian claimed to have been the only ones that were martyred for their faith and that the truth of their faith was confirmed in this way. In the *Martyrium Pionii* (21.5) a Marcionite bishop, Metrodorus, is executed with those of the Catholic Church as it is put.³⁹⁴ This characteristic does not seem to be peculiar to Orthodoxy as much as it is characteristic of Orthodox propaganda.

VI) *A Claim to the Apostolic Succession of Leaders*³⁹⁵ (not unique to Proto-Orthodoxy)

Apostolic succession was used to legitimize Christianity right from the start of the movement. Already in the New Testament one frequently sees pseudonymous works attributed to one of the apostles. Many trajectories would also claim an apostolic initiator for themselves. In 1 Clement 42.4 the apostles (Christ who had come from God had given the gospel to the apostles, 1 Clem 42.1) were the ones that appointed the leaders. This was taken to the next level by Irenaeus who based his whole refutation of Gnostics

³⁹¹ For an account of James' death, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.200–201.

³⁹² Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 140. Cf. also Clement, *Strom.* 4.4 who quotes Gnostics as calling martyrdom a form of suicide. Though he does not call them by name he also refers to Christians who are over-eager to become martyrs – in all probability he is referring to Montanists.

³⁹³ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 49.

³⁹⁴ Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*.

³⁹⁵ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 141.

on the idea of apostolic succession, arguing that the Gnostic leaders are successors of the infamous Simon the Magician who never was an apostle.³⁹⁶ Irenaeus was after all the disciple of Polycarp, disciple of John, disciple of Jesus. Of course no Gnostic would trace their lineage back to Simon. It is simply slanderous. Valentinus was claimed to have succeeded Theodas, disciple of Paul and Basilides Glaukias, disciple of Paul.

The Ebionites claimed succession from James, the brother of Jesus and head of the church in Jerusalem. Perhaps one needs to be more specific to differentiate between the trajectories in this case.

VII) The Primacy of Peter

Apostolic succession with the emergent Orthodox Church seems to have focussed on Peter, and to a lesser extent, John. According to Bauer the reason for Peter's popularity was because he was an eyewitness of Jesus' ministry and thus a very suitable foundation to build the tradition of faith upon. Of course Paul was disqualified in this respect, even though his literature was read extensively – especially it seems after 70 C.E.³⁹⁷ There used to be a tendency in German scholarship to represent Paul as rescued from near oblivion by Marcion only later to be reclaimed for Proto-orthodoxy by Irenaeus.³⁹⁸ The authors of the second Christian generation were clearly influenced by Paul's thought. This can be seen not only from the Pastoral Epistles written in Paul's name, but also from Luke, Hebrews and 2 Peter, the last being quite significant in that it was cast in the Petrine tradition. The Johannine literature does seem to give Paul a cold shoulder. The

³⁹⁶ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.2.2; 4.26.2. It seems preferable to call Simon “the Magician” rather than “Simon Magus” as he is often called. Magus is not his surname, but a nickname. L&N, “μάγος,” 545 defines this lexeme simply as someone who practices magic and witchcraft and proposes the gloss “magician.”

³⁹⁷ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 194.

³⁹⁸ From Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 356 to Adolf von Harnack, *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen: Sechs Vorlesungen aus der altkirchlichen Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926), 72 (the first author to claim Paul's writings were rescued by Marcion) to Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 83, 222. This is because scholars assume that Paul's main emphasis in his theology was the justification by faith instead of equality before God between Jews and Gentiles. The first idea of Paul was not taken up that often in the first centuries (though cf. *1 Clem.* 32.4) but the latter definitely was (cf. e.g. *Ign. Smyrn.* 1.2). Cf. the article by Stendahl, “The Apostle Paul,” 202–203 asserting that in the West our interpretation of Paul has been clouded by a medieval piety and understanding of penance shaped strongly by Augustine and Martin Luther. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Christianity came to be dominated by Gentiles, so that Paul's message came to fruition. So much so that it became obsolete. Clement of Alexandria writing at much the same time as Irenaeus has such high regard for Paul that he can call him simply “the apostle,” cf. *Strom.* 6.15.127.1 For Clement of Alexandria he was already the apostle per excellence. This designation for Paul was very popular later among the church fathers, Augustine usually refers to Paul in this way, cf. e.g. Augustine, *Nat. Grat.* 2; 4; 6 etc. It is even worth considering whether *1 Clement* does not anticipate this usage in *1 Clem.* 47 ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου (Take up the letter of the blessed Paul – the apostle). Here *1 Clement* consciously puts τοῦ ἀποστόλου at the end of the sentence to emphasize Paul's apostolate.

New Jerusalem has twelve gates named after apostles, but none for the apostle to the gentiles, Paul.³⁹⁹ 1 Clement continuously refers to Paul's first letter to the Corinthians – something that Bauer is at pains to dismiss as insignificant even though 1 Clement plays such a huge role in his book.⁴⁰⁰ Ignatius already associates Peter and Paul with the West/Rome as Bauer himself also concedes.⁴⁰¹ So Paul was more popular within Orthodoxy than scholars like Bauer and von Harnack have argued. Dunn gives another reason for the popularity of Peter. As opposed to both Paul and James, Peter was seen as somebody that could take the middle road. Other trajectories revered other apostles: Gnostics and Marcionites regarded Paul highly and the Jewish Christians honoured James above all others and on other occasions Peter. In the East Thomas was held in high esteem.

VIII) Anti-Judaism

The Proto-Orthodox reflect a complex attachment to the Tanak interpreted through a Christ-centred lens without any “judaizing” – in fact many authors are quite anti-Jewish.⁴⁰²

Both the Marcionites and other Gnostic movements seem to have spurned the Tanak.⁴⁰³ Most of the esoteric teaching of the Gnostic movements and especially its non-literalist interpretation of the Tanak seemed quite offensive to Proto-orthodox (and most probably even more so to (Christian) Jews).⁴⁰⁴ In order to read the Tanak christologically, a typological and allegorical hermeneutic is applied by both Gnostics and, since Justin, by the emerging Orthodox churches. Origen will eventually perfect this hermeneutic. The Gnostics and Marcionites tend to reject the Tanak after appropriating elements for its

³⁹⁹ Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 83. Bauer and Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906) think that Paul was relegated to obscurity in Ephesus by John despite having planted that church. Perhaps Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 117–118 is right in seeing the importance of the disciples primarily in terms of their eschatological role, then it could hardly have been expected that Paul would get his own gate in the New Jerusalem.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. 1 Clem. 47, e.g. 1 Clem. 5 does not hesitate to mention Paul in the same breath as Peter when trying to think of good examples of the apostles. It is quite striking that no other apostles are mentioned not even the pillar, John.

⁴⁰¹ Ign. Rom. 4.3 in Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 112.

⁴⁰² Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 144–148.

⁴⁰³ Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora* seems to be an isolated example of a more positive estimation of Scripture. Like many other Gnostics Ptolemy ascribes the Tanak to the craftsman's invention, but his estimation of the craftsman is much more positive than typical Gnostics. Ptolemy's estimation of the Tanak can be described as a very rational criticism. Norris, “Articulating Identity,” 87 applies Ptolemy's letter to Flora as a document describing the typical Gnostic understanding of the Tanak which does not seem warranted.

⁴⁰⁴ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 133–134.

charter myth, typically viewing YHWH as a tyrant. Bibliowicz makes the observation that although the Proto-Orthodox churches appropriate the Tanak entirely and one expects them to be closer to Jews, they exhibit more anti-Jewish polemic than the Gnostics.⁴⁰⁵ Norris shows that the necessity of a unique Christian identity (as opposed to a Jewish identity) might have triggered this anti-Judaism.⁴⁰⁶ In this regard a spectrum is covered from rejection of the Tanak, to a Christ-centred reading to a literal interpretation thereof. Although anti-Jewish polemic is not absent from Gnostic literature, it plays a much bigger role among the Proto-Orthodox.

IX) The Doctrine That Jesus Is Both Fully God and Fully Man (anachronistic for early in the second century)

Ehrman's definition including the words "fully" is too developed to be of value for Proto-Orthodoxy in the second century, this is the final wording of the *Symbolum Chalcedonense* of 451 C.E.⁴⁰⁷ For the Second Century this doctrine has to be split into two parts:

X) Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)

Ignatius sets the uncompromising tone for Jesus' humanity to counter some Docetists' claim that Jesus' suffering was not real (Ign. *Smyrn.* 2.1; 4.2).⁴⁰⁸ Justin does not often reflect on the humanity of Jesus and emphasizes his role as the Λόγος.⁴⁰⁹ Irenaeus argues that only based on the assumption of full humanity would it be possible for the Logos to expiate the sin of Adam and restore the image of God in his descendants.⁴¹⁰ Clement seems to be embarrassed by Jesus' humanity.⁴¹¹ Wagner notes that Clement does not

⁴⁰⁵ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 150.

⁴⁰⁶ Hunt, *Second Century Christianity*, 9. Norris, "Articulating Identity," 77 notes the conflict between Christians and Jews because of the issue that Christians viewed themselves as heirs of the eschatological promises of the Tanak without being required to obey the law and how this was compounded by Christians being noticed (and persecuted) by the state after the Jewish rebellions of 117 and 135 as a group that are not Jewish. There was no reason to persecute the religion of the Jews, for they were still honouring the religion of their fathers. This was not the case with Christian converts, as they became a threat to the Roman state's security because they were not honouring the religion of their fathers.

⁴⁰⁷ [τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συμφώνως ἀπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν]...τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι (We teach the same Lord as perfect in divinity and the same as perfect in humanity).

⁴⁰⁸ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 232.

⁴⁰⁹ Still Justin, 2 *Apol.* 10 does note that Christ as the Λόγος miraculously took on body, reason and soul.

⁴¹⁰ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 49. For Irenaeus Jesus' humanity has to meet the following requirements: He had to pass through every age from birth to maturity; he had to bear the pains of grief, hunger and fatigue; he had to embrace death as all humans suffer as the penalty for sin.

⁴¹¹ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 232. Cf. Clement, *Strom.* 6.9.71.2 ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα ἀπαιτεῖν ως σῶμα τὰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας εἰς διαμονήν, γέλως ἀν εἴη· ἔφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα,

submit Jesus to Irenaeus' requirements, but rather redefines humanity as the image of God. Docetists insisted that Jesus was not at all human. Irenaeus is therefore on one side of the spectrum with the Docetists on the other and Justin and Clement somewhere in between. By looking at these theologians of the Second Century one gets the impression that they grudgingly submitted to the doctrine of the humanity of Jesus, so as to separate themselves from the Docetists.

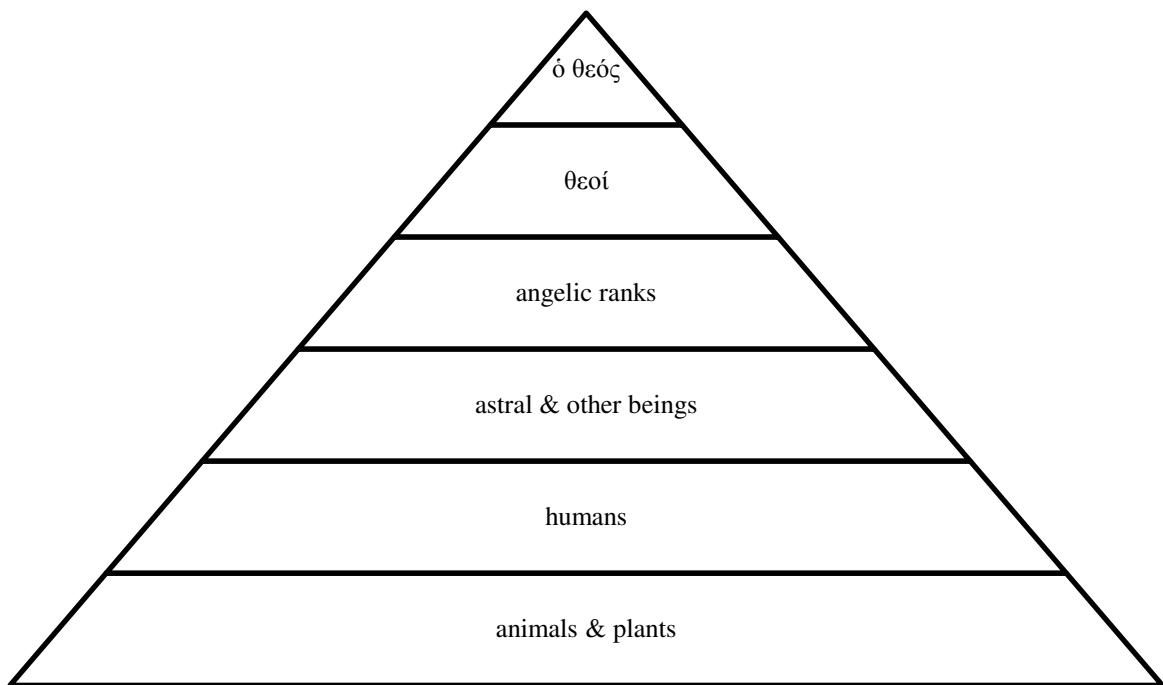
XI) It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel

Regarding Jesus' divinity the picture is no less complicated during the Second Century. Those advocating the position of free will tend to have an adoptionist christology, whereas those that say there is no free will, either have an angelic, a fully-God, if not a no-human-at-all-christology.⁴¹² This should be understood within the framework in which the second-century Grecized people regarded gods and creatures as illustrated by Wagner:⁴¹³

δυνάμει συνεχόμενον ἀγίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ως μὴ τοὺς συνόντας ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπεισέλθοι, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὕστερον δοκήσει τινὲς αὐτὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀπαθῆς ἦν, εἰς ὃν οὐδὲν παρεισδύεται κίνημα παθητικὸν οὔτε ἡδονὴ οὔτε λύπη ([GCS 15] But concerning the body of the Saviour, it would be ridiculous that his body would demand the necessary services towards continuance. For he ate not because of the body, as he was held together by a holy power, but lest his companions might think otherwise of him, as of course some afterwards thought that he appeared as a ghost, but he was entirely impassable and no impassioned movement would enter him, neither pleasure nor pain). Cf. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 178.

⁴¹² Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 95. Adoptionist ideas are preserved in the NT, but seem to have quickly faded from Christianity.

⁴¹³ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 110.



Of the five Christian authors Wagner looks at, Justin has an angelic christology. Wagner is uncertain about Ignatius, but infers that he has an angelic christology.⁴¹⁴ Only Irenaeus and Tertullian consistently have a fully-God-christology. Clement in his exoteric teaching presents Jesus as an angel, whereas his esoteric teaching is indicative of a fully-God-christology.⁴¹⁵ The other side of the spectrum is covered by Docetists who argued that Jesus was not at all human (though they sometimes combined it with an angelic christology). Gnostics and Marcionites consistently view Jesus as an angelic emanation. Someone denying free will would also deny that a human could save the world.

xii) The Doctrine That the Trinity Is One God in Three Persons, Distinct in Number but Equal in Substance (anachronistic for early in the second century)

This is the formulation of Tertullian and is too soon for the period this dissertation is concerned with.⁴¹⁶ This statement is included in the final wording of the Niceanum. There is something that seems more significant for Second Century's doctrine of God than the Trinity.

⁴¹⁴ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 40.

⁴¹⁵ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 232.

⁴¹⁶ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 156. Ehrman is trying to describe Proto-Orthodoxy some time before the Constantinian revolution, and is not focusing on the second century like this dissertation is. With the perspective of *Theologiegeschichte* it becomes important to differentiate more carefully. Tertullian, *Prax.* 8.5–7 *Tres personae, una substantia*.

XIII) No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak

In the minimalist synthesis of theological tenets shared by Ignatius, Justin, Clement, Irenaeus and Tertullian, Wagner notes that regarding the doctrine of God all five of these most prominent theologians immediately after the apostles shared the above conception as opposed to the Gnostic conception of the God of the Tanak as an ignorant craftsman.⁴¹⁷

XIV) Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy

Proto-orthodoxy eventually became quite rationally inclined. This was hardly characteristic of the Christian movements at the time of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. Initially only Gnostics combined Platonic elements with Christianity.⁴¹⁸ Justin seems to be the first mainstream Christian author to popularize Platonic Christianity. This Christian philosophy with its abstract refinement of doctrine in the style of Middle Platonism would be continued by Tatian, Athenagoras and Melito building up to the time of the church fathers Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus and Origen.⁴¹⁹ Tertullian seems to be the only author to feel guilty about this in exclaiming “What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What the school of Plato with the church?”⁴²⁰ Nevertheless, he is a more articulate exponent of Christian philosophy than most of his peers.⁴²¹ Marksches describes this as the professionalizing of the teaching of Christianity.⁴²² Although the Christian movement of knowledge initially had some intellectuals of high standing, like Valentinus and Basilides, they quickly lost steam being unable to go beyond the level of popular philosophy. Jewish Christianity did not produce many famous authors after Matthew. A glaring absence is any literary production by James, the brother of Jesus. A slight difference between Proto-Orthodox and Gnostic philosophizing is that Proto-Orthodoxy seems less inclined to use the form of myth to describe its deepest thoughts. This seems to be a Gnostic application of the so-called unwritten doctrine of Plato. This does not mean the Proto-Orthodox did not depend

⁴¹⁷ Walter H. Wagner, *After the Apostles: Christianity in the Second Century* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 76. The same characteristic is important for the reconstruction of Normative Christianity by Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity*, 53.

⁴¹⁸ Though some may argue that Luke and John' Gospel are not without Platonic ideas.

⁴¹⁹ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 4.

⁴²⁰ Tertullian, *Praescr. 7* (CCSL 1) *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid académiae et ecclesiae?*

⁴²¹ Barnes, *Tertullian*, passim.

⁴²² Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 109–110.

on myths. The charter myth seems quite characteristic of Gnostic writings. The Proto-Orthodox do not hesitate to put their deepest thoughts into prose.⁴²³

A watershed in the church's application of philosophy was its formulation of the doctrine of the Λόγος. The Gospel according to John was the first to propose a connection between Jesus and the Λόγος.⁴²⁴ At the time the Λόγος played a prominent role in philosophy. There was a popular idea that there existed a transcendent god who could not communicate with this world unless he used mediators of whom the most famous one was the Λόγος.⁴²⁵ Philo was the first person in Jewish thought to link the concept of the word of God in the Tanak with the Greek concept of the Λόγος.⁴²⁶ The doctrine of the Λόγος was a convenient way to separate God from anthropomorphism as it is often found in the Tanak.⁴²⁷ According to this Platonic doctrine the Λόγος is the creative principle in the universe, so that God does not need to stoop down to the level of forming creation like a craftsman. With this doctrine God remains transcendent, in that the Λόγος is immanent. It has always been a matter of debate whether the prologue of John also links the two ideas as Philo had done only a few decades before him.⁴²⁸

After John, Ignatius seems to be the first to take up the idea of the Λόγος, speaking of the Λόγος issuing forth from Silence (*Ign. Magn.* 8.3).⁴²⁹ The nativity, the

⁴²³ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 52 notes how futile it is to argue that Valentinians tended to utilize myth, while Catholic authors like Irenaeus only used rational argumentation while at the same time depending on myths like the flood and creation. Certainly it is to be conceded that the Proto-Orthodox were by no means champions of rationality that never used myth, but the central role played by charter myths in Gnostic writings cannot be ignored. For the Proto-Orthodox there was less of a need for charter myths as they accepted the Tanak as authoritative. Elsewhere Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 30 concedes that Marcion tends to use a more didactic manner of teaching like the Catholic Fathers in contrast to the more mythological language of Valentinians. It seems rather that this points to a Proto-Orthodox preference for prose over myth, though not consistently independent of myth.

⁴²⁴ Hendrikus Berkhof, *Geschiedenis der Kerk* (Nijkerk: Kallenbach, 1950), 20; 51–59; Jackson Lashier, “Irenaeus as Logos Theologian,” VC 66 (2012): 341–361.

⁴²⁵ Hunt, *Second Century Christianity*, passim. This idea was particularly popular among the Middle Platonists.

⁴²⁶ Berkhof, *Geschiedenis der Kerk*, 20.

⁴²⁷ Cf. Emily J. Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century: The Case of Tatian* (Routledge Early Christian Monographs; London: Routledge, 2003), 77–86.

⁴²⁸ Philo died around 50 C.E. Cf. David T. Runia, “[12] Philo von Alexandreia (Philo Iudeus), jüd. Philosoph, ca. 15 v.–ca. 50 n. Chr.,” *DNP*. Online Edition.

⁴²⁹ Boudewijn Dehandschutter, “Ignatius, Letter to the Magnesians 8:2 Once Again,” in “Jesus, Paul and Early Christianity:” *Studies in Honour of Henk de Jonge* (ed. R. Buitewerf, H. W. Hollander & J. Tromp; NovTSup 130; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 96, 89–97 argues for the reading ὃς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών [which is the eternal word *not* coming forth from silence] as it is supported by the best textual tradition G L (Greek text of the middle recension and Latin text of the middle recension) as opposed to the Gnostic sounding *lectio difficilior* ὃς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών which is only supported by the Armenian translation of the long recension translated secondarily from Syriac and Severus’ testimony. The last mentioned reading has become the established reading since the time of the edition of Joseph B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp: Revised Texts with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations and Translations* (2d ed.; London, 1889), 2: ad loc. *Ign.* Eph. 15.2.

virgin birth and the passion are mysteries that cry aloud, but were nurtured by God in silence, lest the devil find out beforehand (Ign. *Eph.* 19.1).⁴³⁰ Ignatius does not mention the Λόγος with regard to creation like John 1:3. The Λόγος played an important role in the myths of Basilides and Valentinus. Taking Hippolytus' account of Basilides as point of departure Edwards describes Basilides' system.⁴³¹ He notes how the Father is described with negative and apophatic predicates.⁴³² In Basilides' system a catena of three sonships emerge from the Father: the Logos, the Saviour and the elect. From this abyss emerges the command "let there be light." This is the light which lights every man (John 1:9, Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.22.4). This first sonship resides above the firmament.⁴³³ The second sonship descends for a season below the firmament until it escapes the darkness by ascending on the wings of the Spirit. The Spirit is of a different substance and is to remain as a divisor between the higher realm and the sphere of mutability. In the latter domain the third sonship remains in bondage to the great archon and his followers. The third sonship can be liberated in stages as the words of Christ awaken it to the light.

In Valentinus' charter myth (around 140–160 C.E.),⁴³⁴ all existence emerges from a fatherhood conceived of as an abyss of pure negation.⁴³⁵ The first consort to emerge from this fatherhood is Silence. From their coupling emerge three other syzygies, Mind and Truth give rise to Λόγος and Life who in turn give rise to Human and Church (the elect for Valentinus). This seems to build on Ignatius' language of the Λόγος issuing from Silence.⁴³⁶ The Mind's function is to be explained as the existence of the ideal forms of being that exist in the divine intellect first.⁴³⁷ The coherence of Λόγος and life is reminiscent of John 1:4.⁴³⁸ It makes sense that there can be no reason (Λόγος) without a

Indeed the reading of the Armenian agrees better with Ignatius' theology of silence, cf. Henry Chadwick, "The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius," *HTR* 43/2 (1950): 171, 169–172. This is a *crux interpretum*, but the Armenian seems to have preserved a reading that was not spoilt by later Orthodox scribes.

⁴³⁰ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 29, 40. Cf. also Paul in 1 Cor 2:8.

⁴³¹ Basilides' systems described by Irenaeus and Hippolytus cannot be harmonized, cf. Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 20. Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 82 argues that Irenaeus is ignorant of Basilides' teaching. According to Clement, *Strom.* 7.106.4, Basilides taught in Alexandria during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (117–161 C.E.). Cf. Josef Rist, "Basilides," *DNP*.

⁴³² Describing the transcendent God with negative predicates like "ineffable, unknowable" was typical of Middle Platonism and is quickly applied by Christian thinkers, cf. Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 32 who mentions the example of *Ap. John* NHC II 1,3.19–29.

⁴³³ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 22.

⁴³⁴ Jens Holzhausen, "Valentinus," *DNP*.

⁴³⁵ Because of the transcendent Father's negative predicates.

⁴³⁶ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 41.

⁴³⁷ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 25.

⁴³⁸ John 1:4 ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ([NA²⁸] In him [ό Λόγος] was life, and the life was the light of the humans).

mind.⁴³⁹ Irenaeus (*Haer.* 2.13.1) disputes the logic of Λόγος preceding the Human, since humans are responsible for their word, not the offspring of it. For Valentinus the Λόγος is responsible for creating matter, but the ignorant craftsman (eventually emanating from matter) for the world.⁴⁴⁰ Humans are created as interplay between the Father and the craftsman's agencies.

Although someone like Theissen would argue that Gnosis was one form of Christianity that was never absorbed by the highly pluralistic Early Christian movement,⁴⁴¹ Edwards argues that Gnostic teaching had a significant impact on the formation of Orthodox doctrine. Edwards does seem right regarding the appropriation of the Λόγος and other Middle Platonic ideas. This doctrine played a crucial role in Proto-orthodoxy since at least the time of Justin Martyr. Christians like Justin, made use of the opportunity of claiming this Λόγος, whom philosophers have been looking for all these years, was in fact no other than Jesus. Justin's view can be summarized as follows:⁴⁴² Writings older than anything the Greeks possess have prophesied in great detail that Christ would come and how his life would end in crucifixion.⁴⁴³ These prophecies were not spoken by humans but through the divine Λόγος.⁴⁴⁴ Therefore the communication of Christ and the prophets have to be accepted. The Λόγος as reason is synonymous with Christ and the teaching of Christianity constitutes the perfect truth. When the transcendent God appeared to people in the Tanak it was in many forms like an angel, wisdom or the Λόγος.⁴⁴⁵ It is important to note that at the creation God spoke to reasonable other beings saying “Let us make.” Justin even goes as far as saying that every nation has partaken of the Λόγος because He was the first thing God created.

⁴³⁹ Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 37.

⁴⁴⁰ Holzhausen, “Valentinus.”

⁴⁴¹ The Neutestamentler Gerd Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches* (trans. J. Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 254–257 sees the emergent Orthodox movement as an amalgamation of Pauline Christianity (encompassing the primitive Pauline Epistles, left-wing Paulinism [Colossians and Ephesians] and right-wing Paulinism [the three Pastoral Epistles plus 2 Thessalonians]), Jewish Christianity (associated with James and Matthew), Synoptic Christianity (associated more with Luke and Mark) and Johannine Christianity – and a rejection of Gnostic movements.

⁴⁴² Robert E. Roberts, *The Theology of Tertullian* (London: Epworth, 1924), 46–47.

⁴⁴³ *I Apol.* 32–35, 41.

⁴⁴⁴ *I Apol.* 36.

⁴⁴⁵ μαρτύριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῖν, ὃ φίλοι, ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δώσω, ὅτι ἀρχὴν πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ θεὸς γεγέννηκε δύναμίν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν, ἣτις καὶ δόξα κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ νιός, ποτὲ δὲ σοφία, ποτὲ δὲ ἄγγελος, ποτὲ δὲ θεός, ποτὲ δὲ κύριος καὶ λόγος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγον ἔσαντὸν λέγει, ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ φανέντα τῷ τοῦ Ναοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ([Paradosis 47/1] But another proof, o friends, I said I will give you from the scriptures that as the first thing before all the creatures God has brought forth a certain reasonable power out of Himself which at one time is called Glory of God by the Holy Spirit, at another time Son, at another Wisdom, at another angel, at another God, at another Lord and Λόγος, and at another he calls himself general when he appeared to Joshua, the son of Nun) Justin, *Dial.* 61.

Everyone that is guided by the reasonable part of himself lives according to the Λόγος. Therefore Justin can go as far as to say that philosophers like Socrates and Heraclitus were in fact Christians before Christ.⁴⁴⁶

The other apologists after Justin, Athenagoras and Tatian, as well as the Ante Nicene Fathers, Irenaeus, the Latin author, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Clement and Origen, all take up the basic outline of Justin's doctrine of the Λόγος.⁴⁴⁷ John might have invented the Christian doctrine of the Λόγος, but Justin perfected it, making it a Christian institution. This doctrine implied a clear distinction between Father, Son and Spirit. Nevertheless it also caused many problems. If Jesus were a mediator between God and man, it also implied that He was subject to the Father like a demi-god and that the Father created Him making Him a creature.⁴⁴⁸ How could God be one like the *Shema* maintained?⁴⁴⁹ This doctrine was something controversial about Proto-orthodoxy. It was also opposed by some teachers like Paul of Samosata (269 C.E.) and Sabellius (220 C.E.) both of whom were excommunicated.⁴⁵⁰ Philosophers like Celsus were unconvinced by it. He called his book that tried to refute Christianity Αληθής Λόγος (The True Logos), probably as a rebuttal of the idea of Christian ownership of the concept. Gnosis seems to have inclined too much toward Platonism to many Christians' taste, so that it became a fault line within Christianity. Among Jewish-Christian groups the doctrine of the divine wisdom probably played a similar role.⁴⁵¹ In the light of the fact that Gnostics, Proto-Orthodox and (probably) Jewish Christianity seem to have accepted a doctrine of the Λόγος, it might not be that useful in differentiating between the trajectories. Its utility applies more to the development of Christian theology. Before Justin it seems to be

⁴⁴⁶ Justin, *I Apol.* 46.

⁴⁴⁷ Roberts, *The Theology of Tertullian*, 47–62. On Origen taking up the doctrine of the Λόγος, cf. Paul Decock, "Origen of Alexandria: The Study of Scriptures as Transformation of the Readers into Images of God," *HvTSt* 67/1 Art. #871. DOI: 10.4102/hts.v67i1.871 3. Cited 7 February 2015. Online: <http://www.hts.org.za>.

⁴⁴⁸ Berkhof, *Geschiedenis der Kerk*, 52, 59. At Nicaea Arius maintained a similar position. Berkhof notes the headaches this doctrine caused the church and how its parameters were finally put in place with the Niceanum.

⁴⁴⁹ Deut 6:4 (BHS): ַעֲמָשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה | אֶתְנָה

⁴⁵⁰ Paul of Samosata's solution was that Father and Son were not of the same substance but of the same will and that the Father inhabited the Son like a temple inspiring Him like the prophets of old. Sabellius thought that Father, Son and Spirit were merely three names or masks for one and the same person, cf. Berkhof, *Geschiedenis der Kerk*, 58–59.

⁴⁵¹ Of course Philo was a Jew who did formulate a doctrine of the Λόγος himself, nevertheless he was a diasporan Jew living in Alexandria and his ideas would not necessarily have been typical for all Jews at the time, but one must also remember that it is futile to make a clear distinction between Hellenism and Judaism after Palestine was overrun by the Macedonians, cf. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1974), 120.

attached to speculative Christian thinkers that were not accepted by the mainstream. Another Platonic doctrine Proto-Orthodox Christianity was willing to embrace was the use of negative predicates to describe the Father.

XV) Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel

Proto-Orthodox works clearly show a preference of using not just one of the canonized Gospels but all of them. This is articulated by Irenaeus around 180 C.E., but seems to have been applied sub-consciously before that.⁴⁵²

The Ebionites probably had their own Gospel, though once again associating themselves more with Matthew than the other evangelists. Their Gospel can be seen as a harmony of all the Synoptic Gospels.

It seems that by the time of the *Epistula Apostolorum*, Justin (*Dial.* 103.8),⁴⁵³ Tatian and Irenaeus, Proto-orthodoxy characteristically honoured all four of the canonical Gospels. The *Epistula Apostolorum* is the oldest work we know of that used all four Gospels – though one also has to remember that it includes one saying of Jesus found in later apocryphal works (quoted in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1).⁴⁵⁴ Hengel also adds the longer ending of Mark as the oldest evidence of a fourfold Gospel (along with the *Epistula Apostolorum*).⁴⁵⁵ Hurtado thinks that the fourfold Gospel was established unofficially by the 140s.⁴⁵⁶ Stanton proposes a similar date and thinks that already at this time the fourfold Gospel was used in the format of the codex. He points to the fact that all Christian papyri, except one, were part of a codex – an unmistakable departure from

⁴⁵² Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.11.8 *Neque autem plura numero quam haec sunt neque rursus pauciora capit esse Evangelia. Quoniam enim quattuor regiones mundi sunt in quo sumus et quattuor principales spiritus et disseminata est ecclesia super omnem terram, columna autem et firmamentum ecclesiae est Evangelium et Spiritus vitae, consequens est quattuor habere eam columnas undique flantes incorruptibilitatem et vivificantes homines.* ([SC 211] But neither is it possible that the Gospels are more in number than these, nor again less. For indeed there are four regions of the world in which we live and four principle winds, and the church is spread across the whole world, but the gospel is the pillar and basis for the church as well as the Spirit of Life, it follows that the church should have four pillars on every side, blowing forth incorruptibility and giving humans life).

⁴⁵³ Graham N. Stanton, “The Fourfold Gospel,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 326 points to the earliest finds of papyrological codices containing the fourfold gospel – the earliest one dating to the late second century consisting of what is today called Ψ^64 , Ψ^67 and Ψ^4 . Stanton makes his conclusion based on Justin’s testimony and the antiquity of the titles of the Gospels as well as the early separation of Luke from Acts.

⁴⁵⁴ *Epistula Apostolorum* 4, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1.

⁴⁵⁵ Martin Hengel, *Die Evangelienüberschriften* (Sitzungen der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; Heidelberg, 1984), 22. Kelhoffer, “‘How Soon a Book’ Revisited,” 22–28 sets out to prove that the Didache offers the first evidence that Matthew was called a Gospel.

⁴⁵⁶ Larry W. Hurtado, “Interactive Diversity,” *JTS* 64/2 (2013): 460 fn. 37.

Judaism and Hellenism.⁴⁵⁷ He feels that one advantage of the codex was that it could contain all four Gospels whereas no papyrus roll could. This would be a reasonable explanation for the wholesale Christian preference for codices over scrolls. In discussing the oldest preserved evidence of a single fourfold Gospel codex (P^4 , P^{64} and P^{67}), Skeat is convinced that the Four-Gospel canon is inextricably linked to the Four-Gospel Codex and sees this as a plausible explanation why Christians preferred the codex above the scroll. The form of the codex would preserve the four Gospels and hinder additions of other Gospels. Skeat thinks this was shortly after the publication of John around 100 C.E.⁴⁵⁸ Hill has also proposed that Papias also assumed a fourfold gospel canon, arguing that Eusebius information about John's Gospel (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.24.5–13) is based on Papias, even though Eusebius does not explicitly admit quoting him.⁴⁵⁹ If this were correct the establishment of the fourfold Gospel could be taken for granted by the time of Papias (125–135 C.E.) or even to the time of the elder on whom Papias is dependent (around 120 C.E.) – at least in Asia.⁴⁶⁰

Of course there are many scholars that posit a late date for the acceptance of the fourfold Gospel, dating it to the time of Irenaeus in 180 C.E.⁴⁶¹ Obviously this has to be the terminus post quem. In the light of all the evidence, such a thesis is difficult to maintain. One should also remember the significance of Tatian's Diatessaron – especially in Eastern Christianity. This was compiled at much the same time Irenaeus wrote. The Diatessaron embeds the Synoptic tradition into a Johannine chronology.⁴⁶² It seems to have been used in the Syrian liturgy as late as the fifth century.⁴⁶³ The Diatessaron also testifies to the canonicity of at least the Fourfold Gospel by the time of Tatian. At the same time the Diatessaron seems to have been an attempt to replace the Fourfold Gospel with a unitary Gospel, perhaps as Hunt proposes, to satisfy Tatian's conviction that there

⁴⁵⁷ The possible exception is P^{22} on John 15 as it is written on only one side. Two of the three fragments from the Gospel according to Thomas are from rolls, i.e. P.Oxy. 654–655 while P.Oxy. 1, another fragment of the Gospel according to Thomas, is also from a codex.

⁴⁵⁸ Theodore C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" *NTS* 43/1 (1997): 31

⁴⁵⁹ Charles E. Hill, "What Papias Said about John (and Luke): A New Papian Fragment," *JTS NS* 49 (1998): 588. Hill's argumentation is quite compelling in that he points out Eusebius' dislike of Papias as a motive for plagiarizing his work. Eusebius discusses John after mentioning something about Matthew. From *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16 it is evident that this report on Matthew depends on Papias. It is a reasonable inference that what Papias is saying about John is from the same source he has used for Matthew.

⁴⁶⁰ Hill, "What Papias Said about John," 617–618.

⁴⁶¹ Other authors after Hans von Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1968) have proposed a later dating towards the time of Irenaeus and the *Canon Muratori*, followed for example by Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 239.

⁴⁶² Kyriakos Savvidis, "Diatessaron," *DNP*.

⁴⁶³ Hunt, *Second Century Christianity*, 2; Rabbula (*Canon* 43) and Theodoret (*History of Heresies* 1.20).

is only one truth and that (Christian) philosophy must be entirely coherent.⁴⁶⁴ Despite the Diatessaron's influence, the emergent Orthodox Church clearly preferred the Fourfold Gospel. Gnostic works often show a preference for Johannine literature. There are some that include references to Synoptic Gospels. Quite unique is *The Apocryphon of James*, which is negative towards its sources but still seems to refer to all of the canonized Gospels. Gnostic literature is not drenched with quotes from the Fourfold Gospel as is the case with both the Jewish-Christian Gospels and other Gospels. With Gnostics abstract philosophy and charter myths play a bigger role.

XVI) The Tanak Is Interpreted from a Christological Perspective

Some Jewish Christians interpreted the Tanak more literally as can be seen from the interpretation of the messianic prophecy of Isaiah 7:14.⁴⁶⁵ Marcion also interpreted the Tanak very literally.⁴⁶⁶ Gnostics interpreted the Tanak in a more allegorical sense typically only referring to some passages at the beginning of Genesis in order to create their own charter myths, to describe the indescribable as did Plato. The Proto-Orthodox had the same tendency to apply allegory as the Gnostics, but theirs had more of a christological emphasis.⁴⁶⁷ This was combined with typology where the life of Jesus would be prefigured by types from the Tanak. Wagner notes that although the five major Christian authors after the apostles have a very wide range of interpretation, they all use the same allegorical and typological hermeneutic.⁴⁶⁸

XVII) Jesus Was Born of a Virgin

This teaching does not seem to be representative of all the New Testament authors, though this may well be an *argumentum ex silentio*. Obviously Matthew and Luke's portrayal (not via Q) of events established the belief in the virgin birth of Jesus in Christian theology. The crux of the matter was the Septuagint's translation of Isaiah 7:14.⁴⁶⁹ In some of the older Christian confessions it was deemed more important to

⁴⁶⁴ Hunt, *Second Century Christianity*, 102.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.1 and Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 201.

⁴⁶⁶ Paul Decock, "John's Gospel on a Trajectory from Philo to Origen?" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the New Testament Society of South Africa, Bloemfontein, 22 April 2014); Richard A. Norris Jr., "Articulating Identity," in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Identity* (ed. F. Young, L. Ayres, A. Louth & A. Casiday; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 86, 71–90.

⁴⁶⁷ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 87.

⁴⁶⁸ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 76.

⁴⁶⁹ Isa 7:14 LXX διὰ τοῦτο δώσει κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον· οἶδον δὲ παρθένος ἐν γάστρι ἔξει καὶ τέξεται νιὸν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εμμανουὴλ ([SVTG 14/2] Therefore, the Lord, Himself, shall give you

remember Jesus' Davidic heritage.⁴⁷⁰ Ignatius does not hand on anything about the virgin birth in the *regula fidei* preserved in the *Epistula ad Trallianos*. Elsewhere his personal belief in the virgin birth is confirmed.⁴⁷¹

Justin professed his belief in the virgin birth.⁴⁷² He usually did so by explaining it as the fulfilment of prophecy as set out in Isaiah 7:14.⁴⁷³ In his debate with Trypho he landed into some trouble.⁴⁷⁴ Trypho, acquainted with Hebrew, used the exegetical argument that the Septuagint version Justin knew was mistaken in translating 'almâ as παρθένος (virgin) instead of νεᾶνις (young girl).⁴⁷⁵ Justin could not factually refute this argument as he could not read Hebrew, but referred Trypho to the Aristeas-legend of how the Septuagint must have been inspired by God every bit as much as the Hebrew.⁴⁷⁶ Melito of Sardis twice mentions that Jesus became flesh through the virgin.⁴⁷⁷ Irenaeus shared Justin's view of the virgin birth and backed up his argument by pointing to the inspiration of the Septuagint.⁴⁷⁸

Irenaeus, however, also built it into his theory of *recapitulatio* by saying that Jesus was born from a virgin in the same way that the first Adam was made from the virgin soil.⁴⁷⁹ The most significant passage from a Proto-orthodox theologian at that stage is probably from Clement of Alexandria. According to him, "some say" that even after the birth of Jesus, Mary was found to be a virgin upon being examined. It seems like Clement might be referring to the *Protevangelium Iacobi* 19–20 here. This is quite possible as this work seems to have originated in Egypt and was quite popular in the East

a sign: Behold, the virgin shall have a child in her stomach and bear [it], and you must call his name "Immanuel."'). The gloss παρθένος was a very specific translation of the Hebrew נִזְמָן. The Latin versions followed the LXX (*virgo*), and even the Peshitta has ܒܲܪܲܓܾܬܵ (virgin) in conformity with the Old Greek (text undisputed). Cf. Sebastian P. Brock, ed., *Liber Isaiae* (vol. 3/1 of *Vetus Testamentum Syriace iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem ex autoritate societatis ad studia librorum veteris testamenti provehenda*; ed. Institutum Peshittonianum Leidense; Leiden: Brill, 1987). All three other Greek translations used the gloss νεᾶνις for נִזְמָן.

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Rom 1:3; Ign. *Trall.* 9.1.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Ign. *Eph.* 18.2–19.1; *Smyrn.* 1.1.

⁴⁷² Justin, *I Apol.* 22.5 refers his Greek audience to the example of Perseus' birth from a virgin to prove that Christianity's claim was nothing out of the ordinary.

⁴⁷³ Justin, *I Apol.* 33.

⁴⁷⁴ Justin, *Dial.* 43.5; 66.4.

⁴⁷⁵ From a linguistic point of view νεᾶνις is the more generic translation of נִזְמָן. Cf. Wendland & Nida, "Lexicography and Bible Translation," 36. Trypho argues for this contextual meaning in Justin, *Dial.* 43.8; 67.1. This set up an important boundary between Judaism and Christianity.

⁴⁷⁶ Justin, *Dial.* 77–78; 84. This legend can be found in the *Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula* 301–316.

⁴⁷⁷ Melito, *Pasch.* 1507, 805.

⁴⁷⁸ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.27–28; 30; *Fragmenta deperditorum operum* 30 (according to Harvey's numbering).

⁴⁷⁹ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.10, cf. also Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 351.

though it was never canonized.⁴⁸⁰ In the *Protevangelium Iacobi* Salome examines the Virgin Mary after giving birth to Jesus and establishes that Mary is still a virgin. Clement takes it seriously enough to argue on this basis.

Origen (*Cels.* 1.32–35) gave a very elaborate argument for the virgin birth in answer to Celsus' assertion that Jesus was in fact the illegitimate offspring of Mary and a Roman soldier known as Panthera. By referring to Empedocles, Pythagoras and Plato, Origen argues that a pure soul like that of Jesus could never have entered such an undeserving body.⁴⁸¹ According to this reasoning every soul receives the body it deserved based on its pre-existence (traducianism). Origen goes on to argue that the birth from a virgin occurred so that the prophecy from Isaiah 7:14 could be fulfilled. Anticipating a possible rebuttal from a reader familiar with Hebrew who might say ‘*almâ* could mean more than just “virgin,” he gives an example from Deuteronomy 22:23–24 where the only possible translational equivalent for ‘*almâ* is παρθένος. This acquaintance with Hebrew was something quite unique for Proto-orthodox Christianity before the time of the Renaissance.⁴⁸² Origen also built on what Clement had said of the Virgin Mary, in his commentary on Matthew 13 where mention is made of Jesus' brothers and sisters.⁴⁸³ He refers the reader to a passage from either the Gospel according to Peter or James,⁴⁸⁴ mentioning the children Joseph had before marrying Mary. Origen argues that it would explain Mary's intact virginity after the birth of Jesus.

Opposed to this view of the virgin birth was the adoptionist view that was held by many Christians, perhaps including the author of Hebrews,⁴⁸⁵ but certainly by Jewish-Christian groups like the Ebionites, who believed that the Father adopted Jesus as his son at his baptism.⁴⁸⁶ Many Valentinians held a similar view professing that the Λόγος entered (the human) Jesus at baptism,⁴⁸⁷ yet Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.7) also mentions how they believed that Christ passed through the Virgin Mary like water in a tube. Because of their platonic preference for myth, to describe the indescribable, it is not always easy to see

⁴⁸⁰ Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 23.

⁴⁸¹ Origen, *Cels.* 1.32–33.

⁴⁸² For a discussion of Hebrew knowledge amongst the Fathers, cf. Lawrence Lahey, “Hebrew and Aramaic in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila,” *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Jehuda* (ed. W. Horbury; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 106.

⁴⁸³ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 10.17.

⁴⁸⁴ In actual fact it is *Protevangelium Iacobi* 9. One has to speculate whether either Clement or Origen knew the work first hand.

⁴⁸⁵ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 281.

⁴⁸⁶ This is how Origen differentiates between Jewish Christians, cf. Origen, *Cels.* 5.61. Jerome, *Ep.* 112.13 says it explicitly about the Nazarenes. Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 19, 28.

⁴⁸⁷ At least Valentinians residing in Italy, cf. Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity*, 91. Cf. also Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2.

what Valentinian teaching was. It seems clear that Jewish believers often did not believe in the virgin birth, but the Proto-Orthodox and Gnostics did not have difficulty in believing it. The spectrum covered here is from adoptionism to virgin birth.

XVIII) Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible

There was no conception that the original language of the Tanak was Hebrew and that something might go lost in translation. The Septuagint and later the Old Latin versions were thought of as inspired literature – if not more so than the *hebraica veritas*. The Western part of the empire was more conversant in Latin than in Greek, especially in the province Africa where the Bible was translated into Latin for the first time (from the Septuagint).⁴⁸⁸ Eastward and beyond the borders of the empire Syriac Scriptures would become the norm.⁴⁸⁹ The Septuagint, Jerome's Vulgate and the Peshitta were the only translations of the Tanak from the *hebraica veritas*.⁴⁹⁰ All other ancient vernacular translations were made from the Septuagint (and the Peshitta).⁴⁹¹ Time and again one hears the church fathers quoting the legend of the seventy translators commissioned by Ptolemy II Philadelphus as recounted by Aristeas (*Ep.* 301–316). In the mean time the Tannaim launched a counter strike and succeeded in having the scripture read only in Hebrew in all synagogues. This displaced the use of Greek in mainstream Judaism.⁴⁹² The *Tannaim* also commissioned their own translations of the Tanak into Greek at this time to counter Christians' argument of the virgin birth (Aquila and Symmachus). This also explains the difficulties Jerome faced when translating the Tanak anew.⁴⁹³ Clearly a Greek Tanak was a concession Christianity made to its Hellenistic environment at a very early stage (probably Acts 6).⁴⁹⁴ The vernacular translations preferred by Proto-Orthodox Christians formed the basis of the doctrine of the virgin birth. The familiarity of the Ebionites with the *hebraica veritas* goes a long way in explaining their reluctance to

⁴⁸⁸ Barnes, *Tertullian*.

⁴⁸⁹ In Eastern Christendom no single language dominated like in the West. Syriac is a continuation of the Aramaic lingua franca, but in cursive script and with some Edessan features. Cf. Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: Language History of the World* (London: Harper, 2005), 88. Syriac Scripture is even found among the St Thomas Christians in India. Syriac missionaries went as far as Xian, China as the Alopen stele attests.

⁴⁹⁰ Jerome's Vulgate is discounted as it belongs to a later period.

⁴⁹¹ Ernst Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica von Rudolph Kittel* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1952), 65. The Peshitta is clearly influenced by the Septuagint as is made clear from its translation of Isaiah 7:14.

⁴⁹² Alexander, "Jewish Believers in Ancient Rabbinic Literature," 689–90.

⁴⁹³ Stefan Rebenich, "Jerome: The 'Vir Trilinguis' and the 'Hebraica Veritas,'" *VC* 47 (1993): 50–77.

⁴⁹⁴ Martin Hengel, "Between Jesus and Paul," in *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1983), 26.

accept the doctrine of the virgin birth. They were probably comfortable to conform to the rulings of the *Tannaim* in this matter. This teaching is something that set them apart from other Christians. Gnostics usually did not continue reading the Tanak. They only applied it for constructing their charter myths.⁴⁹⁵ In that case they would rather use the Septuagint.⁴⁹⁶

XIX) The Resurrection of the Flesh (not unique to Proto-Orthodoxy)

The Proto-Orthodox Church believed in the resurrection of the flesh, not only of Jesus but of all Christians. While the apostle Paul (1 Cor 15:44, 52–54) speaks of a spiritual resurrection with a glorified body, most Proto-orthodox believers to follow would expect a more fleshly resurrection following the resurrection report of Luke's Gospel (cf. Luke 24:39).⁴⁹⁷ Even Paul's version presupposes the resurrection of the old body but in a glorified incorruptible state. That is why the Apostles' Creed spells out its belief in the σωρκὸς ἀνάστασις.⁴⁹⁸ This conforms more to the Jewish eschatological expectation,⁴⁹⁹ as opposed to the Platonic concept of the immortality of the ψυχή (soul) which is imprisoned in the body and leaves it like a chariot in the famous myth as set out in the *Phaedrus*.⁵⁰⁰

Plato believed the body to be evil and saw no reason for it to be resurrected. The apologist, Justin, believed that God would miraculously resurrect the bodies of Christians one day.⁵⁰¹ Justin (mis)interpreted Plato as saying the body will be judged in the afterlife along with the soul, having learnt as much during his travels in Egypt.⁵⁰² Justin says that

⁴⁹⁵ Later on in this dissertation's discussion of *The Testament of Truth* one will be able to see an example of a Gnostic work that continued to read the Tanak.

⁴⁹⁶ Norris, "Articulating Identity," 86.

⁴⁹⁷ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 242.

⁴⁹⁸ Resurrection of the flesh.

⁴⁹⁹ Evident for the first time in Daniel 12:2.

⁵⁰⁰ Plato, *Phaedr.* 246a–254e, especially 248c–249d. The works of Plato do not reflect a uniform eschatology. Nevertheless the myth of the charioteer has always been one of his most influential ideas. In the *Phaedo* something different happens, cf. Plato, *Phaed.* 72a; 80d–82d that comes across as much more prosaic. One must remember that the myth of the charioteer is a metaphor and should not be interpreted literally. The most important thing for our study is the conclusion Cebes reaches in dialogue with Socrates ὅτε καὶ ταύτη ἀθάνατον ἡ ψυχή τι ξοκεν εἶναι ([OCT] And so by this argument it also is evident that the soul is something immortal, *Phaed.* 73a). Another influential account of Plato on the afterlife is the Myth of Er found at the close of the *Resp.* 10.614b–621d. In *Apol.* 40e–41c mention is made of the judgement passed on souls by Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus and Triptolemus. In *Gorg.* 523c–524a Aeacus judges the people from Europe and Rhadamanthus those from Asia, and Minos has the final privilege in case of doubt.

⁵⁰¹ Justin, *I Apol.* 18.1; 19.

⁵⁰² Justin, *Dial.* 27. In Egyptian belief the preservation of the body is necessary to continue in the afterlife. Indeed according to *The Book of the Dead* 125 part of the body – the heart – is brought to judgement. As we have seen Plato's view was quite different in this regard, for him the soul is immortal and is judged. It is disputed today whether Plato really visited Egypt. The earliest reference for this seems to be Cicero,

Christians who do not believe in the resurrection of the flesh and profess a belief that the soul goes to heaven are not Christians at all.⁵⁰³ Irenaeus also opposed such Christians strongly on that point. The Gnostics used Paul's assertion in 1 Corinthians 15:50 that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. Irenaeus had to bend the literal meaning of the utterance to make it compatible with his theory of *recapitulatio* by always emending the verse to "without the spirit flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God."⁵⁰⁴ For Irenaeus the σάρξ is not something that is inherently evil like Paul and the Gnostics proposed.⁵⁰⁵ Irenaeus thought that the whole person, flesh and blood will be made new at the resurrection.⁵⁰⁶

At about the same time as Irenaeus, the apologist, Athenagoras, wrote a whole treatise, *de Resurrectione* defending his belief in the resurrection of the flesh.⁵⁰⁷ God is capable of reuniting the decomposed body with its immortal soul even if it has been devoured by an animal or a human being. Obviously the Alexandrines, Clement and Origen could not believe in a resurrection of the flesh as this was too incredible for somebody exposed to Platonism.⁵⁰⁸ Greek Christians were always hesitant to admit belief

Resp. 1.10.16; *Fin.* 5.[29.]87 which hardly inspires confidence, as he lived 106–43 B.C.E., some time after Plato (428–348 B.C.E.). Cf. Whitney M. Davis, "Plato on Egyptian Art," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65 (1979): 122, 121–127; Mary Lefkowitz, *Not out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York: Basic Books, 1997). For Egyptian perspectives on the afterlife, cf. John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁵⁰³ Justin, *Dial.* 80.

⁵⁰⁴ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.9.3; 5.12.3, cf. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 359.

⁵⁰⁵ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.6 *Perfectus autem homo, commixtio et adunatio est animae assumentis spiritum patris et admixta ei carni, quae est plasmata secundum imaginem dei* ([SC 153] for the perfect man consists in the commixting and the union of the soul receiving the spirit of the Father, and the admixture of that fleshy nature which was moulded after the image of God).

⁵⁰⁶ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.12.6. *hoc quidem et secundum unumquodque membrum sicut et in initio plasmatum est; hoc autem et in semel totum sanum et integrum redintegravit hominem perfectum eum sibi praeparans ad resurrectionem. Et quam enim causam habebat carnis membra curare, et restituere in pristinum characterem si non habebant salvari, quae ab illo curata fuerant?* ([SC 153] This image then, as regards each separate member is formed as in the beginning; but this image He did once for all restore man sound and whole in all points, preparing him perfect for Himself unto the resurrection. For what was His object in healing [different] portions of the flesh, and restoring them to their original condition, if those parts which had been healed by Him were not in a position to obtain salvation?)

⁵⁰⁷ The date and provenance of this apologist is not without controversy, nor is his authorship of *de Resurrectione* beyond dispute (Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 87), nevertheless his argumentation appears plausible for the period. What is remarkable about Athenagoras, is that an eloquent Greek author could turn his back on Platonism like this. Something learned Greek authors like Clement and Origen were not prepared to do.

⁵⁰⁸ To reconstruct Clement's view, cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.2; 3.1; *Strom.* 4.3; 4.5; 4.7, 21, 25; 4.21; 4.25–26; 5.13; 6.18; 7.7; 7.10; *Protr.* 11.117 (due to space I have left this out). For Origen, cf. Peter Heimann, *Erwähltes Schicksal: Präexistenz der Seele und christlicher Glaube im Denkmodell des Origenes* (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1988), 178ff.

in the resurrection of the flesh. Even the Niceneum⁵⁰⁹ only goes as far as to profess a belief in the resurrection of the dead which sounds more neutral.⁵¹⁰

Tertullian being as familiar with Plato believed in the resurrection of the *carnis* (corresponding to the Greek word σάρξ).⁵¹¹ Tertullian's concept of the *anima* (ψυχή) is very corporeal.⁵¹² He refers to other philosophers like Heraclitus, Aristotle, Epicurus and Stoics like Zeno and Chrysippus, who believed the ψυχή to be corporeal contrary to Plato.⁵¹³ One of the women in his assembly had seen a vision of a ψυχή and described it as "a delicate and luminous essence with an airy colour and human shape."⁵¹⁴ Due to his inclination toward enthusiastic Christianity Tertullian does not hesitate to use this prophecy as proof of his argument. For Tertullian the existence of the *anima* starts at conception.⁵¹⁵ Tertullian does agree with Plato that the ψυχή is immortal and that death occurs when *anima* and *corpus* separate.⁵¹⁶ At death the *anima* enters Hades inside the earth and is punished (probably one of the earliest descriptions of purgatory). At the resurrection the *anima* will become reunited with its restored flesh (*carnis restitutio*) and proceed to judgement.⁵¹⁷ Only if someone has died as a martyr does their *anima* enter paradise.⁵¹⁸ The confessions of faith preserved by Tertullian are also the earliest to include the belief in the σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις.

Hippolytus is also very familiar with Plato and the rest of classical philosophy, but he rejects it almost out of hand only conceding that the ψυχή is immortal.⁵¹⁹ He, however, emphasizes that the ψυχή rejoins the body it had previously been joined to, after God miraculously resurrects it as a glorified body. Hippolytus' argument is based on passages in the Tanak like Daniel 12:2, Isaiah 26:19 and Ezekiel 37, which were rather repugnant to Greek sensibilities. The damned are also returned to their bodies, but their bodies are still affected by weakness as before. After this general resurrection everybody awaits judgement by Jesus. Hippolytus does not have trouble to believe this, based on God's omnipotence. The view of Tertullian and Hippolytus would become the standard

⁵⁰⁹ The Niceneum has traditionally been the most popular confession in eastern Christianity and the Apostles' Creed the most popular in western Christianity, cf. Schaff, *The History of the Creeds*, 36 and 44.

⁵¹⁰ προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν.

⁵¹¹ Tertullian discusses this theme at length in his work *de Resurrectione carnis*.

⁵¹² A summary is found in *de Anima* 22.

⁵¹³ Timothy D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 207.

⁵¹⁴ Tertullian, *An.* 9.4; Barnes, *Tertullian*, 124.

⁵¹⁵ Tertullian, *An.* 37.

⁵¹⁶ Tertullian, *An.* 51. Cf. also Barnes, *Tertullian*, 114.

⁵¹⁷ Tertullian, *An.* 58; *Test.* 4; *Res.* 56. For a detailed description of what the resurrection of the flesh entails the reader may be referred to Tertullian's treatise *de Resurrectione carnis* (especially 56–58).

⁵¹⁸ Tertullian, *An.* 58.

⁵¹⁹ Hippolytus, *Univ.* 2–3 discusses this at length.

view of the Western Church. The last two authors, though quite familiar with Platonism and other philosophers, do not have a problem to break with Greek philosophy regarding the resurrection of the flesh. Perhaps this was easier for them as both of them were Roman, Hippolytus living in Rome itself and Tertullian in the Roman colony of Carthage. As a rule the apologists believed in the resurrection of the flesh. Eastern Christianity felt it important to uphold the more neutral “resurrection of the dead.”

It cannot be expected that there would have been much agreement in this matter half way through the second century – the time P.Oxy. 840 is thought to have been composed. Even Proto-orthodox Fathers like Clement of Alexandria made some Docetic pronouncements.⁵²⁰ Regarding eschatology, Irenaeus reports that the Valentinians taught that only the *πνεῦμα* will become saved (uniting with its heavenly consort) and that the body and the soul will perish. This meant that salvation was possible for the elect pneumatics, but not for the so-called psychic Christians (Proto-Orthodox). Pagels has illustrated that Irenaeus misrepresents their teaching and that Clement’s *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (63.1–2) are more reliable concerning this matter.⁵²¹ Here the *πνεῦμα* of the pneumatic is kept with the mother, Wisdom, since the time of death. The soul of the psychic Christians remains with the craftsman after death, but on the Lord’s Day these souls also ascend to the Pleroma for the wedding where all are made equal and know each other. Edwards affirms the fact that Valentinians did believe in some kind of carnality for the afterlife in speaking of pneumatic and psychic bodies (in line with 1 Cor 15:44ff),⁵²² so that the Valentinians must have had a more holistic eschatology than that presented by Irenaeus. Likewise *The Apocryphon of James* conceives of the possibility that the *πνεῦμα* could take the soul with him to heaven, making salvation possible for Proto-orthodox Christians as well. According to Marksches’ typological model Valentinians are a significant part of Gnostics, so that this characteristic will not be useful to differentiate between the three trajectories covered in this dissertation. Jewish Christians would have been more understanding of arguments like that of Hippolytus.

XX) Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving⁵²³

Bauer would go as far as speaking of a characteristic slackness in ethics among Proto-Orthodox Christians. Dionysus (Bishop) of Corinth admonishes the bishop of Cnossus,

⁵²⁰ Cf. Clement, *Strom.* 6.9.71.2; Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 178.

⁵²¹ Elaine Pagels, “Conflicting Versions of Valentinian Eschatology,” *HTR* 67 (1974): 35–53, 44.

⁵²² Edwards, *Catholicity and Heresy*, 51.

⁵²³ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, xix admits that ethics is one topic he has neglected in his book.

Pinytus, not to burden the multitudes unnecessarily regarding their sexual immorality.⁵²⁴ When persecution took place in Africa there were many Christians who could not endure torture and denied their faith in order to stay alive. The churches had to make a difficult decision on whether they could return and whether God would forgive them this apostasy. Proto-orthodox Christianity did allow it using *The Shepherd of Hermas'* teaching on a second repentance as justification.⁵²⁵ Early in the third century the Bishop of Rome, Callistus, started allowing absolution for penitent adulterers. Seeing that adultery was already considered a deadly sin, the bishop of Rome was heavily criticized by Tertullian and Hippolytus.⁵²⁶ It is no wonder that Valentinians and Tertullian here and elsewhere often referred to Proto-orthodox Christians as ψυχικοί.⁵²⁷ The Epistle to the Hebrews was very slow in being accepted as authoritative in the church as Hebrews 6:4–6 explicitly dismisses a second repentance.⁵²⁸ The Marcionites were known for their asceticism. Even Origen admired them for this. It is quite interesting to note that Marcionism allowed more than one baptism, so that more than one repentance was possible.⁵²⁹ The Manichaeans were likewise ascetic. Obviously the Jewish-Christians had a stronger emphasis on ethics: they upheld even the most demanding prescripts of the law like circumcision and the Sabbath. Even Gentile converts were expected to do the same. Because they were simply Jewish as far as the Roman State was concerned and did therefore not abandon the religion of their fathers, they were probably not persecuted.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.7–8 in Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 126.

⁵²⁵ Herm. *Mand.* 4.31.1–6; 6.4, 7–8; 4.29; 38.3–5. Cf. e.g. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.20.2 (indicating that he viewed the *Shepherd of Hermas* as part of scripture); Clement, *Strom.* 2.12–13. One of our most famous codices of the New Testament, Codex Sinaiticus (N) includes the *Shepherd of Hermas* (and Barnabas).

⁵²⁶ Hippolytus, *Ref.* 9.7; Tertullian, *Pud.* 21.

⁵²⁷ Although ψυχικός is usually translated as “natural” like in 1 Cor 2:14; 15:44 and Jas 3:15 and as “physical” when used as substantive in 1 Cor 15:46. The occurrence in the New Testament that corresponds with how Tertullian and Valentinians use the lexeme when referring to Proto-Orthodox Christians is Jude 19 calling heretic teachers ψυχικοί who do not have the Spirit. One must look at this word and compare it to the others in its semantic domain like σάρκινος and πνευματικός, cf. “ψυχικός,” L&N, 2:266. It is near impossible, however, to translate it into English in a literal way. Something of the word’s etymology related to becoming cold (ψύχεσθαι) seems to be involved. This would have been relevant to the lexeme’s associative meaning toward the direction of “lukewarm Christians,” cf. Wendland & Nida, “Lexicography and Bible Translation,” 15. In Afrikaans one could have ventured to translate the word as “psigiese mense/Christene” or “psychische Christen” in German. Another possibility in English is “non-spiritual Christians.”

⁵²⁸ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 75, 689. It is interesting to note Tertullian’s wholehearted approval for the very same reason even though he ascribes it to Barnabas, cf. Tertullian, *Pud.* 20. Though the Shepherd of Hermas was accepted by most Ante-Nicene Fathers, Tertullian resented its every word. Tertullian, *Pud.* 10, 20 calls Hermas the “kindest of God’s exegetes” (*benignissime Dei interpres*) [translation of William P. Le Saint] and “that apocryphal shepherd of adulterers” (*ille apocryphus Pastor moechorum*).

⁵²⁹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.3.6 in Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity*, 98.

⁵³⁰ Edward Gibbon, *A History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. J. B. Bury; 6 vols; Norwalk, Connecticut: The Easton Press, 1974); Norris, “Articulating Identity,” 77.

The Gnostics covered the whole ethical spectrum: some were ascetic while others are reported by Clement of Alexandria to have been libertines.⁵³¹

Perhaps there is an accommodating attitude behind all this on the part of Proto-orthodoxy. Bauer is of the opinion that this is one of the reasons the Proto-Orthodox could wipe out their other competitors for the title of mainstream Christianity,⁵³² which brings us to the following point.

XXI) Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity⁵³³

This is what the very name of the Proto-Orthodox movement, ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, signifies: “the whole church.”⁵³⁴ This is also one of the reasons all 27 books of the New Testament could have been canonized despite the variety in doctrine.⁵³⁵ This enabled them to absorb other trajectories. The other trajectories separated Christians into those that viewed things correctly and those that were ignorant. Proto-orthodoxy has more of a pluralistic attitude, something that is shared with the modern movement of Roman Catholicism.

To determine whether texts are Proto-Orthodox, the following model will be used:

A Receding Eschatological Hope
A Receding Importance of Prophecy
Increasing Institutionalization (spectrum: congregational, presbyterian or episcopal)
Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms
The Propaganda of Martyrdom
The Primacy of Peter
Anti-Judaism
Christ’s Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)

⁵³¹ Perhaps Clement was just slandering Gnostics. We do not have enough evidence to say. The Reader may consult the infamous Book 3 of *Stromata* which was considered too “offensive to our Christian tastes” for the series of *Ante-Nicene Fathers* to translate it into English, cf. the explanation in *ANF* 2:812, fn. 1594. At the height of the Victorian Era (1885) the editors thought it wiser to translate it anew into Latin instead.

⁵³² Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 126

⁵³³ Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity*, 97–98. In later centuries this pluralism has been as much a feature of Catholicism as it was in the first Christian centuries.

⁵³⁴ John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (London: SCM, 1988). Cf. his enlightening discussion of the lexeme καθολικός.

⁵³⁵ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity*, 407, 413.

It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel
No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak
Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy:
Doctrine of the Λόγος
Apophatic Predications for God
Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel
The Tanak Is Retained, but Interpreted from a Christological Perspective
Jesus Was Born of a Virgin
Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible
Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving
Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity

3.3.3.10 The Use of Σωτήρ instead of Κύριος

A significant aspect of P.Oxy 840 is the christological title it uses. Not once does P.Oxy 840 refer to Jesus by name,⁵³⁶ but every time to σωτήρ. Grenfell & Hunt were the first authors to point out that this title is customarily used for Jesus by Valentinians.⁵³⁷ This is based on Irenaeus' words (*Haer.* 1.1.3).

I) Classical Use of the Word Σωτήρ

This word was part of a people far removed from the Israelite culture. This word used to describe Greek gods like Poseidon (Saviour of ships),⁵³⁸ the Dioscuri (Saviour of sailors) and Asclepius (Saviour of the sick). Heroes and men could also be called σωτῆρες.⁵³⁹

II) Hellenistic Use of the Word Σωτήρ

Later philosophers like Epicurus (341–270 B.C.E.) could be called σωτήρ. Eventually significant politicians could be called σωτήρ. When Demetrius Poliorcetes put Demetrius of Phaleron, representative of Cassander, to flight in 307 B.C.E. he reinstated

⁵³⁶ Gospels usually do not refer to Jesus as Χριστός as Paul frequently does. For a brief discussion on the christological titles, cf. Petr Pokorný & Ulrich Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 124–134.

⁵³⁷ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 3.

⁵³⁸ Homer, *Hymn. Nept.* 22.5. Cf. Foerster, σωτήρ, TWNT 7:1006.

⁵³⁹ So narrow was the divide between humans and gods among ancient Greeks that offerings were brought to people as a reward for saving them, e.g., Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 980–982, cf. Foerster, σωτήρ, TWNT 7:1007.

democracy in Athens,⁵⁴⁰ so that Demetrius Poliorcetes and his father, Antigonus, were honoured as θεοὶ σωτῆρες (divine saviours). In addition a priest was appointed for them to honour them with offerings. Especially Alexander's successors in Egypt, the Ptolemies, assumed the word σωτήρ as part of their title, for example, Ptolemy I Soter (323–283 B.C.E.).⁵⁴¹ In the Egypt of old the Pharaoh was seen as god's son and the Pharaoh provided for the well-being of the land. Following this precedent the Ptolemies had their own cult in Egypt, so that even living rulers were also worshipped.⁵⁴² Hellenistic rulers like Demetrius Poliorcetes and Ptolemy I Soter served as examples for the later Roman emperors to start their own Roman cult of the emperor.⁵⁴³

III) The Concept Σωτήρ under Roman Control

As the Romans began to overshadow the Greeks politically, the Greek word σωτήρ acquired even more meaning. The first occurrence in Latin is when Cicero is horrified to report an inscription in Sicily to the corrupt *propraetor* of Sicily, Verres, calling Verres σωτήρ.⁵⁴⁴ Would Cicero agree with the Hebrews that human beings should not be called that? Probably not, he called himself *conservator rei publicae* (defender of the republic) after saving the state from the *coup d'état* of Catiline. At that stage the word *salvator* had not been coined in Latin as equivalent for σωτήρ which seems to have been an invention of church Latin.⁵⁴⁵ The Roman general who ushered in the era of Roman dominance over Greece and the Mediterranean world, Titus Quinctius Flaminus, was honoured as in 197 B.C.E. as ὁ σωτήρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ πρόμαχος⁵⁴⁶ by the crowd at the Isthmian Games as he awarded the Greek states their independence.⁵⁴⁷ Eventually at the close of the Roman Republic many inscriptions are found dedicated to Julius Caesar as σωτῆρι καὶ εὐεργέτᾳ

⁵⁴⁰ Detlef Lotze, *Griechische Geschichte* (7th ed.; Munich: Beck, 2007), 103.

⁵⁴¹ Ptolomy I Soter was bequeathed his title after coming to Rhodes' defence against Demetrius Poliorcetes in 304 B.C.E. Cf. Foerster, σωτήρ, *TWNT* 7:1009.

⁵⁴² Likewise Alexander reflected divine ambitions, in that he was confirmed to be the son of Zeus-Ammon while in Egypt, cf. Ernst A. Fredricksmyer, "Alexander, Zeus-Ammon and the Conquest of Asia," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121 (1991): 200, 213, 199–214.

⁵⁴³ Foerster, σωτήρ, *TWNT* 7:1009 thinks these rulers signify one of the final stages toward the emperor cult in Rome. Though this cannot be denied, it is also stating the obvious. As he himself points out the Egyptians had a cult of the pharaoh for millennia before then and so did the Mesopotamians.

⁵⁴⁴ Cicero, *Verr. 2.2.154* *itaque eum non solum patronum illius insulae, sed etiam SOTERA inscriptum vidi Syracusis. hoc quantum est? ita magnum ut Latine uno verbo exprimi non possit. is est nimurum SOTER qui salutem dedit* (At last he [Verres] is not only patron of that island, but I also saw an inscription in Syracuse that he is σωτήρ. How great is this? So great that in Latin there does not exist one word to express it. Evidently he is σωτήρ that has given salvation). Cf. Martin Karrer, "Jesus der Retter (Soter): Zur Aufnahme eines hellenistischen Prädikats im Neuen Testament," *ZNW* 93 (2002): 164, 153–176.

⁵⁴⁵ Karrer, "Jesus der Retter," 164.

⁵⁴⁶ "Saviour of Greece and leader from the front."

⁵⁴⁷ Klaus Bringmann, *Römische Geschichte* (9th ed.; Munich: Beck, 2006), 29.

(to the saviour and benefactor [Caesar]). After the fall of the republic one often sees this combination of “saviour and benefactor.” Especially after Octavian had restored peace after the battle at Actium, he was hailed as ushering in a new golden era. The Priene Calendar bears testimony to this:

Priene Calendar	
ἐπειδὴ ἡ πάντα διατάξασα τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν πρόνοια σπουδὴν εἰσενεκαμένη καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τὸ τεληγότατον τῷ βίῳ διεκόσμησεν ἐνεκαμένη τὸν Σεβαστόν, ὃν εἰς εὐεργεσίαν ἀνθρώπων ἐπλήρωσεν ἀρετῆς, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμᾶς σωτῆρα πέμψασα τὸν παύσοντα μὲν πόλεμον, κοσμήσοντα δὲ πάντα. ⁵⁴⁸ (OGIS)	Because of drawing everything of our life up, Providence, after summoning zeal and fervour has restored most perfect order to this life by bringing in Augustus whom she has filled with virtue toward the benefit of humans, as to us and those after you she has sent a saviour to bring an end to war and order to everything.

During the respective reigns of Tiberius, Claudius and Domitian this tendency went even further so that inscriptions often call them σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου (saviour of the world).⁵⁴⁹

IV) Hebrew Conception behind “Saviour”

This was the word as the Israelites received it from the Greeks. The Jewish conception of “Saviour” meanwhile was quite different.⁵⁵⁰ Hebrew words related to saving someone, were הַעֲשֵׂר, עָשֵׂר and עִישָׂר.⁵⁵¹ All of them had the root עָשָׂר.⁵⁵² In by far the most of its uses this root has YHWH as subject and some Israelite as object. In some instances where humans act as subject, it illustrates their arrogance, for example, Jonathan in 1 Samuel 14:45. The *locus classicus* of this root is when YHWH saved Israel from the Egyptian army at the Red Sea in Exodus 14. One exception to the rule mentioned above is that often a war hero is called עִישָׂר.⁵⁵³ In fact, some suggest that in the book of Judges every judge used to be called עִישָׂר, and that the name as used in the title, that is, שֹׁפְטִים is the product of later Deuteronomist redaction. The locus classicus in the prophetic genre is Isaiah 30:15 “In returning and calmness you shall be saved, in peace and trust

⁵⁴⁸ Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905); Karrer, “Jesus der Retter,” 159.

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. the collection of inscriptional evidence in Karrer, “Jesus der Retter,” 168.

⁵⁵⁰ Karrer, “Jesus der Retter,” 154.

⁵⁵¹ Salvation, salvation and saviour respectively.

⁵⁵² Sawyer, עָשָׂר, *TDOT* 6:444.

⁵⁵³ I.e. Eglon and Samgar. Cf. F. Stolz, עָשָׂר, *TLOT* 2:587.

shall be your strength.”⁵⁵⁴ With the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, σωτήρ was not consistently used for the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, even though philologically speaking it may have been expected. So we cannot speak of σωτήρ as *terminus technicus* in the Old Greek versions.

Another important part from the prophets is the messianic passage in Zechariah 9:9.⁵⁵⁵

Zech 9:9 LXX	Zech 9:9 MT
χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιων· κίρυσσε, θύγατερ Ιερουσαλημ· ἰδού ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι, δίκαιος καὶ σώζων αὐτός, πραῦς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον. (SVTG 13/2)	גִּילֵי מְאֹד בְּתַ-צְׁדָקָה קָרְבָּעִי בְּתַ יְרוּשָׁלָם הָנֶה מֶלֶךְ יְבוֹא לְךָ צָדִיק וּנוֹשָׁע הָוָא עֲנָיו וּרְכָב עַל-חַמּוֹר וּעַל-עֵזֶר בְּן-אַתָּהוּ: (BHQ 13)
Be exceedingly joyous, daughter of Zion, proclaim it, daughter of Jerusalem: Behold your king is coming, righteous and saving, mild and mounting a beast of burden and a young foal.	Shriek very ecstatically o daughter of Zion, shout o daughter of Jerusalem! Behold, your king shall come to you, righteous is he and someone that is saved. Wretched and riding on a donkey, on a stallion, the foal of a jenny.

The Hebrew says that this king is saved by God (in the passive voice), whereas the Greek says that this king is the one who saves (in the active). Though Sawyer and Fohrer point out that this is a passive construction, the Niphal can also be used to express a reflexive in which case one would translate the Hebrew as “righteous is he and someone who saves himself.” The Niphal meaning of the verb עָשָׂה also seems to have been used as a fixed expression of “to be victorious.”⁵⁵⁷ In that case one would translate the verse as

⁵⁵⁴ Sawyer, עָשָׂה, *TDOT* 6:458.

[BHS] בְּשִׁיבָה וּבְמַחְתָּה תַּעֲשֶׂלָן בְּהַשְׁעָרָתָה גַּבְרִיתָה טַקְמָבָן וּבְבָבָתָה

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Sawyer, עָשָׂה, *TDOT* 6:458; Fohrer, *TWNT* 7:1013.

⁵⁵⁶ Anthony Gelston, “Zechariah,” in *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (BHQ 13; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 142 notes that the versions of Zech 9:9 may diverge from each other on whether the Niphal עָשָׂה is active or passive (LXX active σώζων), but that this is an exegetical, rather than a textual problem.

⁵⁵⁷ William L. Holladay, ed., s.v. “עָשָׂה,” *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 147. Another prime example to understand the Niphal’s force here can be gleaned from Ps 33:16 where עָשָׂה and צָלָל are used parallel to each other. Ross, *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, 189 also explains the Niphal as such.

“righteous is he and victorious.” The last possibility would vindicate the translator of the Greek.

V) Grecized Jewish Literature

As concerns the concept of σωτήρ in later Judaism, we see that it is used exclusively of God in the Apocryphal literature.⁵⁵⁸ Philo does not only call YHWH σωτήρ but can also apply it to Emperor Augustus (*Flacc.* 74 ὁ σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἵλετο [The saviour and benefactor Augustus elected for the care of Jewish affairs...]) and to Caligula (*Legat.* 22).⁵⁵⁹ Interestingly enough Josephus never uses σωτήρ with YHWH as subject, instead people are used as subject, including David, Antipater, Vespasian – he does not hesitate to mention how he himself was at one stage called by some Jew from Tarichaea εὐεργέτης καὶ σωτήρ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν (benefactor and savior of their land). This use is for humans who have protected the people from doom and resembles the Hellenistic conception of σωτήρ.

VI) Use of the Word in the New Testament

Important for our present purpose is when Matthew takes recourse to the Hebrew to explain Jesus’ name in Matthew 1:21.⁵⁶⁰ Matthew explains to his audience that may not have been able to understand Hebrew, that Jesus’ name, *Yeshu ‘â* (יֵשׁוּא), means “salvation” and that his name points to the fact that he will save his people.

Apart from the passage quoted from Matthew explaining Jesus’ name, the only other passage in the synoptic Gospels mentioning the concept is found in Luke 2:10–11.⁵⁶¹ Luke does not explain exactly what he means in this passage, but the focus certainly does seem to be only on the people of Israel needing a Saviour, which is Jesus. The idea is repeated in similar vein in Acts 5:31 except that the purpose of the salvation is described as ἀφεσις ἀμαρτίων (the forgiveness of sins). John’s use of the word σωτήρ

⁵⁵⁸ Foerster, σωτήρ, *TWNT* 7:1014.

⁵⁵⁹ Pointed out by Karrer, “Jesus der Retter,” 166.

⁵⁶⁰ τέξεται δὲ νιὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν (He shall father a son and call his name Jesus, for he will save the people from their sins).

⁵⁶¹ ¹⁰καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄγγελος· μὴ φοβεῖσθε, οἶδον γὰρ εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμῖν χαρὰν μεγάλην ἡτις ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ¹¹ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτήρ ὃς ἔστιν χριστὸς κύριος ἐν πόλει Δανιὴλ ([NA²⁸] And the angel told them: fear not, for behold I proclaim good news, a great joy which shall be for every nation: that today shall be fathered the Saviour, who is Christ, Lord in the city of David).

seems dependent on the Greaco-Roman conception. The Samaritans say of Jesus οὗτος ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου (This is truly the Son of God) in John 4:42.⁵⁶²

Cullmann mentions how surprising it is that even though the name “Saviour” is so popular in our world, it was not the fact in early Christianity.⁵⁶³ This has in the past been explained away by pointing to the Hellenistic connotation of the word. But as Cullmann aptly replies, the popular κύριος-title had an even more non-Christian connotation.⁵⁶⁴ Cullmann sees the very success of the κύριος-title as the reason for the failure of the σωτήρ-title in early Christianity. Longenecker adds that the title was also competing with ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ θεοῦ (the Salvation of God).⁵⁶⁵

The pastoral epistles often use the title. In fact it is used ten times, but only four of them refer to Jesus (the rest are of God or the Spirit). Karrer notes that the first Christians were a little hesitant to call Jesus σωτήρ, though they had no problem calling the Father σωτήρ.⁵⁶⁶ Later on Jesus is called the Saviour because he has saved the community from lawlessness (Titus 2:13) or has given them eternal life (2 Tim 1:10). 2 Peter uses it five times but as titles of Jesus that are never explained. One never finds the title on its own. One sees combinations like τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, e.g. 2:20). Certainly it is clear that by the time of 2 Peter, σωτήρ was a very common christological title, at least in his community, yet the title is never used on its own and must be qualified by something else.

What were Christians trying to convey by using this title of σωτήρ for Jesus? Longenecker associates the term with the cosmic understanding of Jesus’ lordship in the church.⁵⁶⁷ That would make the title applicable particularly to refer to Jesus’ pre-existence or to the time after his resurrection while sitting at the right hand of the Father as Hebrews puts it.

⁵⁶² Obviously John is contrasting the real “saviour” with those that are not real. Tiberius, Claudius and Domitian might have been called σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, but they were not really saviours, cf. Foerster, σωτήρ, TWNT 7:1010, 1016; Karrer, “Jesus der Retter,” 168.

⁵⁶³ Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Trans. S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall; Rev. Ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 238.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. Cullmann, *Christology of the New Testament*, 195–199.

⁵⁶⁵ Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (Regent, 1994), 145.

⁵⁶⁶ Karrer, Jesus der Retter, 157–158.

⁵⁶⁷ Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (Regent, 1994), 144.

VII) Use of the Word with the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists

With the Apostolic Fathers the use of the title σωτήρ has drastically receded. Whereas κύριος can be used on its own to refer to Jesus, this is never the case with σωτήρ.⁵⁶⁸ We see the same pattern as in 2 Peter in Ignatius, for example, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν (Ign. *Eph.* 1.1). Clement of Rome uses it of the Father (*I Clem.* 59.3). We also see him speak of how the Father sent us τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας (the Saviour and Founder of incorruptibility, cf. *2 Clem.* 20.5).

Swete refers to a fragment of the apologist, Quadratus:⁵⁶⁹

Quadratus quoted in Eusebius, <i>Hist. Eccl.</i> 4.3.2	
τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα ἀεὶ παρῆν ἀληθῆ γὰρ ἦν, οἱ θεραπευθέντες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ ὕφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντες, οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος ἥσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἵκανόν, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. (SC 31) ⁵⁷⁰	But of the Saviour of ours the works were always present, for they were true, the healed, the ones raised from the dead who were not only seen to be healed and raised, but were always present. Not only while the Saviour was on earth, but also when he left at the appointed time they were around, so that into our times some of them came forward.

Quadratus, an Athenian, presented an apology to Emperor Hadrian (117–138 C.E.) either upon his visit to Asia Minor or to Athens somewhere between 123–129 C.E., which is very early indeed.⁵⁷¹ Significantly he uses the title on its own to refer to Jesus. Quadratus applies the title to Jesus' earthly ministry, but from the perspective of his resurrection.

Another case where σωτήρ is used on its own amongst the Apostolic Fathers is in the *Epistula ad Diognetum* where we read the following⁵⁷²:

⁵⁶⁸ Foerster, σωτήρ, *TWNT* 7:1019.

⁵⁶⁹ Henry B. Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente herausgegeben und erklärt* (Bonn: Marcus, 1908), 7.

⁵⁷⁰ CCCPG 3495

⁵⁷¹ Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 73. Wilhelm Pratscher, "Quadratus," in *The Apostolic Fathers: An Introduction* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 188–189 is even more specific dating the apology to 125–126 C.E. suggesting it was sent from Asia Minor to Athens. This is even before (if not contemporary with) the oldest extant Apology of Aristides Marcian.

⁵⁷² Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 76 says the *Epistula ad Diognetum* is usually dated to 200 C.E. Though some date it before Marcion around 140 C.E. *Diogn.* 7 also uses the title of σωτήρ for Jesus.

Diogn. 9.2	
ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς, νῦν δὲ τὸν σωτῆρα δείξας δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβουλήθη πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ. (SC 33)	After he proved the impossibility that in the former time our nature could attain life, now after having shown the Saviour can save even the impossible, He wanted us to believe because of these two things in his kindness.

The Gospel of the Saviour (Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium) set between the Last Supper and the betrayal of Jesus uses *σωτῆρ* on 36% of the occasions it refers to the earthly Jesus prior to his death.⁵⁷³ Jesus is especially called “Son” when he is addressed by the Father.

After this, Hegesippus reports on the martyrdom of James, the brother of Jesus.⁵⁷⁴ Though the account seems to contain some legendary material it is said that some Jewish sectarians came and asked James the following⁵⁷⁵:

Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 2.23.7	
τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα. (SC 31) ⁵⁷⁶	“Who is the gate of Jesus?” And he said “that is the Saviour.”

Contemporaneous with this we have a fragment of a letter of the apologist, Melito of Sardis (writing around 160–170 C.E.), to Onesimus.⁵⁷⁷ The first sentence is quoted:

Epistula Melitonis ad Onesimum quoted in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 4.26.13	
Μελίτων Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἤξιώσας, σπουδῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χρώμενος, γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογὰς ἐκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ πάσης τῆς	Melito to Onesimus, my brother, greeting. Since you have often asked, because you are eager for the word, that there come selections for you out of the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and

⁵⁷³ For text and translation, cf. Stephen Emmel, “The Recently Published Gospel of the Savior (‘Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium’): Righting the Order of Pages and Events,” *HTR* 95/1 (2002): 45–72. In the edition of Emmel 11 titles are recorded for Jesus, *χοεις* 3, *σωτῆρ* 4 and *πιστῆρ* 4.

⁵⁷⁴ It is difficult to date Hegesippus, he must have been born by 130 C.E. and died somewhere during Commodus’ reign (180–192 C.E.), cf. Glenn. F. Chesnut, s.v. “Hegesippus.” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM*. Logos Library System Version 2.0c. 1995, 1996. Print ed.: David Noel Freedman, ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

⁵⁷⁵ According to Hegesippus quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl. 4.22.7* Judaism consisted of the following schools or sects Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbothei, Samaritans, Sadducees and Pharisees.

⁵⁷⁶ CCCPG 3495

⁵⁷⁷ Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente*, 7 has also noted this occurrence. Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 91 dates Melito to this period, he also addressed an apology to Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

<p>πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκριβειαν πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὅποια τὴν τάξιν εἰν, ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶξαι, ἐπιστάμενός σου τὸ σπουδαῖον περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ φιλομαθὲς περὶ τὸν λόγον ὅτι τε μάλιστα πάντων πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ταῦτα προκρίνεις, περὶ τῆς αἰώνιου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. (SC 31)</p>	<p>all of our faith, still you wanted to learn precision regarding the old books: what number and what kind of order they have. I have been eager to do this, because I understand your eagerness concerning the faith and craving after knowledge concerning the word, also because by how much you prefer the things about God above all else as you struggle for eternal salvation.</p>
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Justin Martyr also uses the title, but in the same way we have come to know it in 2 Peter: not on its own. He does, however, give an explanation to his Greek audience of what Jesus' name means:

Justin, <i>I Apol.</i> 33.7	
<p>τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς, ὄνομα <ἄνθρωπος> τῇ Ἐβραΐδι φωνῇ, σωτήρ τῇ Ἑλληνίδι διαλέκτῳ δηλοῖ. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὴν παρθένον εἶπε· καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. (PTS 38/47)⁵⁷⁸</p>	<p>And the name Jesus signifies “man” in the Hebrew language, σωτήρ in the Greek tongue. Wherefore, too, the angel said to the virgin, “You shall call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins.”</p>

Marcovich understands Justin as making the point that in Hebrew Jesus sounds like 'īš. It is noteworthy for Justin that Jesus' name means σωτήρ in Greek. Evidently he was addressing this piece of information to an audience that he did not expect to know this, that is, an audience that were not familiar with Hebrew. This proves that σωτήρ was used by Christians in the first two centuries not just in the more recent layers of the New Testament, but also by some of the so-called Apostolic Fathers and an apologist or two. We cannot say that it is used without reserve though. On the one side of the spectrum we see that it is used as a title in conjunction with other titles, and then we also see that it is used on its own, but on the other side of the spectrum we see it consistently functioning as subject as it is found in P.Oxy. 840, for example, by Quadratus using it twice in the space of two sentences.

⁵⁷⁸ CCCPG 1073. Miroslav Marcovich, “Notes on Justin Martyr’s Apologies,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 17/2 (1992): 326, 323–335 remarks that there is a lacuna between ὄνομα and τῇ where ἄνθρωπος might fit in naturally in agreement with 2 *Apol.* 6.4 Ἰησοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σωτῆρος ὄνομα καὶ σημασίαν ἔχει (Jesus has the name and meaning of man and saviour).

VIII) Use of the Word in Gnosis and the Reaction of the Ante-Nicene Fathers

A group often associated with Gnostics, that is, the Valentinians, are characterized by Irenaeus as speaking of Jesus as σωτήρ rather than κύριος.

Irenaeus, <i>Haer.</i> 1.1.3	
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν σωτῆρα λέγουσιν – οὐδὲ γὰρ κύριον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν θέλουσι – τριάκοντα ἔτεσι κατὰ τὸ φανερὸν μηδὲν πεποιηκέναι, ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ μυστήριον τούτων τῶν αἰώνων. (SC 264) ⁵⁷⁹	For this reason they say the Saviour [for they do not want to call Him Lord] did nothing publicly for thirty years, to show the mystery of these eternities.

Ironically Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.36.1) seems to use the word as subject once of his own accord.⁵⁸⁰

Irenaeus, <i>Haer.</i> 5.36.1	
καθὼς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι, τότε οἱ μὲν καταξιωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἀπολαύσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν καλλονὴν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς πόλεως καθέξουσιν, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιχορηγουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ὁ σωτήρ ⁵⁸¹ ὥραθήσεται, καθὼς ἄξιοι ἔσονται οἱ ὄρῶντες αὐτὸν. (SC 153)	As the presbyters say, then those who are found worthy of a residence in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the luxury of paradise, and others shall possess the beauty and the splendour of the city; with all the good things around it supplied in addition by God. For everywhere the Saviour shall be seen as they who see Him shall be worthy.

This probably shows that at the time the title was widely used by Christians, even though Irenaeus has noted this is the preference of Valentinians. Does this mean that the consistent use of the title σωτήρ was as a matter of course associated with Gnosis only?

Probably written after the time of Irenaeus, is *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*,⁵⁸² which is thought to be a Jewish-Christian work.⁵⁸³ The word σωτήρ occurs six times usually in the Johannine language of ὁ σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου (the Saviour of the

⁵⁷⁹ CCCPG 1306

⁵⁸⁰ Picked up by Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente*, 7.

⁵⁸¹ Instead of σωτήρ, the Latin version has *deus*.

⁵⁸² Marinus de Jonge, “The Future of Israel in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *JSJ* 17/2 (1986): 210 dates it to “the second half of the second century.”

⁵⁸³ Joel Marcus, “The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Didascalia Apostolorum: A Common Jewish Christian Milieu?” *JTS* 61/2 (2010): 625.

world) and once ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν σωτήρ (Saviour amongst the nations). The most significant piece of evidence though, is found in Joseph's testament:

T. 12 Patr. 11.1.6	
μόνος ἦμην, καὶ ὁ θεὸς παρεκάλεσέ με· ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἦμην, καὶ ὁ ὑψιστος ἐπεσκέψατό με· ἐν φυλακῇ ἦμην, καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐχαρίτωσέ με· ἐν δεσμοῖς, καὶ ἐλυσέ με (PVTG 1/2)	Alone I was and God encouraged me, in sickness I was and the Almighty visited me, in the dungeon I was and the Saviour showed favour to me in chains and set me free.

This is a case of σωτήρ used as the subject of the sentence in a Jewish-Christian work.

Writing at the same time as Irenaeus is Clement of Alexandria. He shows no reserve in applying the title σωτήρ to Jesus. He often uses it as the subject of a sentence for Jesus. Thrice in *Paedagogus*, in the *Stromata* 33 Nominatives of σωτήρ are used of Jesus and eleven in *Quis dives salvetur*.⁵⁸⁴ Clement seems to be the first Proto-Orthodox author to use the title σωτήρ on this scale, though this does not mean that he did not use κύριος even more often. We must remember that it is often used for the Father as well. He and his student Origen are also the Proto-Orthodox theologians that stand closest to the ideas of Gnosis. Otherwise it may be an Egyptian preference to call Jesus σωτήρ. Origen and Didymus the Blind follow in Clement's footsteps as regards to the title of σωτήρ so that it spreads even to other cities to famous authors like Eusebius of Caesarea, Chrysostom at Antioch, Gregory at Nazianzus and Jerome at Rome. We would also be mistaken to think that this custom was only in Egypt at this early stage, for the *Didascalia Apostolorum* dated around 230 C.E. and originally composed in Greek somewhere in Northern Syria also used the title very often, especially as *parūqan* (پویق) “our Saviour.” It is found 56 times in the document of which fifteen occurrences are as the subject of the sentence. Still *marīyā'* (ماریا) “Lord” is preferred being used 389 times. Syrians like Ephrem also took up the custom of addressing Jesus as *parūqā'* (پویقا) “Saviour.”

Origen does not hesitate to use σωτήρ when speaking of Jesus. More so than anywhere else, Origen's commentaries on the Gospels use σωτήρ when speaking of Jesus. As a matter of fact, only his Commentary on Matthew uses this title more than his

⁵⁸⁴ Statistics to be found using Mousaios' version of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

Commentary on John. The following table shows the numbers of the respective occurrences.⁵⁸⁵

Work	σωτήρ	σωτήρ Used in Nominative	κύριος
<i>Comm. Jo.</i>	181	109	604
<i>Comm. Jo. Catena</i>	35	29	42
<i>Hom. Luc.</i>	28	20	60
<i>Hom. Luc. Catena</i>	22	17	83
<i>Comm. Matt</i>	201	140	212

Even Origen who uses σωτήρ so often still prefers to use κύριος. Matthew's explanation of Jesus' name for his audience would be an understandable motive for somebody writing a Gospel to non-Hebrew listeners, to constantly use the word σωτήρ because they could not understand that this person's name in actual fact pointed to the act of a saving. Cullmann observes that because of this very fact the christological title of σωτήρ could not have originated in Palestine as that would have been the same as to call Jesus "Yēšū‘â Yēšū‘â."⁵⁸⁶ Aramaic, though closely related to Hebrew does not seem to have used the root.⁵⁸⁷ Instead, we see that the equivalent *parūqā'* (ರුවාභ) is consistently used in Syriac.⁵⁸⁸ Therefore *Syria* or *Aegyptus*, or for that matter, anywhere outside of *Iudaea*,⁵⁸⁹ would be possible contenders for places where this title for Jesus could have originated. For this very concept the Coptic language took over the Greek word as *cwt̄hr* in the Egyptian Gospels (while using *xoēic* for "Lord").⁵⁹⁰ From the description of the development of the title of σωτήρ above it clear that there was a preference for using κύριος instead of σωτήρ, especially in Early Christian and Proto-Orthodox literature. As a rule narrative Gospels preferred to call Jesus by name. This pattern is broken by *The*

⁵⁸⁵ Mousaios' *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

⁵⁸⁶ Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Trans. S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall; Rev. Ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 244–245. Perhaps Cullman is too insistent on this.

⁵⁸⁷ s.v. "የሂድ," BDB, 446.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. e.g. *Didascalia Apostolorum* 26.

⁵⁸⁹ After the establishment of the province *Iudaea* in 72 C.E. the area covered Judea, Galilee, Samaria, Peraea, the Decapolis, Gaulanitis, Trachonitus, Batanaea and Idumea. The province was administered from Caesarea. Prior to this time the whole area (excluding the immune Greek πόλεις like Gedara) belonged to the province of *Syria* (after 6 C.E.) under administration of Antioch, cf. Eckart Olshausen, "The development of the Roman provinces in the Levant (1st cent. BC to 4th cent. AD)." Brill's New Pauly Supplements 1/3 : Historical Atlas of the Ancient World (ed. A.-M. Wittke, E. Olshausen, R. Szydlak in collaboration with V. Sauer et al) Brill Online, 2011 in my appendix.

⁵⁹⁰ Foerster, σωτήρ, TWNT 7:1019.

Gospel of the Saviour (and P.Oxy. 840) which use the title of the earthly Jesus as a matter of course. Nevertheless, σωτήρ eventually does become a popular title for Jesus. This is testified to by the final layers of the New Testament and by some of the Apostolic Fathers. By the time of the Athenian, Quadratus, it seems to play a more important role. With Gnosis σωτήρ seems to replace the traditional κύριος almost entirely. Irenaeus strongly reacts against this, but even he does not show enough restraint to exclude σωτήρ from among his own ideas. Though one would expect the tables to turn after Irenaeus' influential work, we see the opposite happening: σωτήρ becomes even more popular through the influence of the Alexandrine masters Clement and Origen, though in their writings σωτήρ is still subservient to κύριος. From Alexandria this influence seems to spread to the rest of the world. Irenaeus' identification that the title σωτήρ is used more often in Valentinian writings than κύριος needn't be wrong, but we would be wrong to assume that it was used exclusively by Valentinians. In fact, we have seen it used by a wide variety of authors in the second century including Jewish Christians, the Proto-Orthodox, Athenians, Egyptians and Syrians.

3.3.3.11 Relative Periodization of Rabbinic Literature

Rabbinic literature is often applied anachronistically by theologians. The dangers of this can be illustrated if someone were to apply something found exclusively in the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to argue how Israelites of the first century would have understood living water. The following table should serve as a guideline:⁵⁹¹

Period	Texts to be Associated with the Period
Tannaitic Period (70–220 C.E.)	<i>Mishnah</i> (200 C.E.), <i>Tosefta</i> (300 C.E.)
Amoraic Period (220–600 C.E.)	<i>Jerusalem Talmud</i> (final redaction 400 C.E.)
Amoraic Period (220–600 C.E.)	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i> (final redaction 600 C.E.)
Exegetical Literature	
Amoraic Period	<i>Mekilta</i> (250 C.E.), <i>Sipra Leviticus</i> , <i>Sipre Numbers</i> , <i>Sipre Deuteronomy</i>

⁵⁹¹ Table based on Jacob Neusner, “Rabbinic Judaism, Formative Canon of, I: Defining the Canon”; “Rabbinic Judaism, Formative Canon of, III: The Aggadic Documents, Midrash: The Earlier Compilations”; and “Rabbinic Judaism, Formative Canon of, IV: The Aggadic Documents, Midrash: The Later Compilations.” *Encyclopaedia of Judaism*. Brill Online, 2006.

Amoraic Period	<i>Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah</i> (both 450–600 C.E.)
Aramaic Translations of the Law	
Tannaitic Period	<i>Targum Neofiti, Cairo Geniza Targum</i> (both 100–300 C.E.),
Amoraic Period	<i>Targum Onqelos</i> (before 400 C.E. with Palestinian part 132 C.E.)
Amoraic, Savoraic and Geonic Period	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i> (300–800 C.E.)

Neusner does provide a relative chronology for this, but notes that it is guesswork to attach dates to the above.⁵⁹² The relative chronology is well-established as the later works quote from the previous ones. The *Targumim* are not always considered as rabbinic literature, but were codified at the same time.⁵⁹³ Although they are often understood as Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible, they are rather authoritative interpretations.⁵⁹⁴ They do not quote from each other, but sometimes they agree with each other. For example, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* sometimes agrees with *Targum Neofiti* and the *Cairo Geniza Targum* against *Targum Onqelos*, so that scholars have proposed a common source for them called “Proto-PT.” *Targum Onqelos* was completed in Babylon, whereas the other three are clearly Palestinian.⁵⁹⁵

3.4 Limitations

P.Oxy. 840 is a Gospel, so that abstract thought plays less of a part which can complicate the understanding of its theology.

This dissertation has focused on purity and anti-Judaism as criteria for comparison with other material, but undoubtedly there are other criteria too, like asceticism and eschatology.

With a text as short as P.Oxy. 840, it is inevitable that one will overemphasize certain aspects that are found in the available text, but also that one will have to take

⁵⁹² Neusner, “Rabbinic Judaism, Formative Canon of, I.”

⁵⁹³ The dating of the *Targumim* is according to Paul V. M. Flesher, “Scripture, Privileged Translations of,” *Encyclopaedia of Judaism*. Brill Online, 2006.

⁵⁹⁴ David M. Golomb, *A Grammar of Targum Neofiti* (HSM 34; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1986).

⁵⁹⁵ On the dating of *Targum Onqelos*, cf. Pere Casanellas, “The Use of the Expressions ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Targum and the Dating of the Targums,” *Aramaic Studies* 11/4 (2013): 179, 167–186.

recourse to *argumenta ex silentio*. It also makes it difficult to resist the temptation of speculating.

In selecting texts for comparison one is also excluding texts that might also contribute to the inter-textual debate. There is a host of other Proto-Orthodox and Gnostic material (not to mention material related to other trajectories) that can be compared to P.Oxy. 840. Such a comparison can never be final. Other scholars will propose other inter-texts that also contribute to the analysis of P.Oxy. 840.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Special ethical considerations do not apply to this dissertation. All sources that have been used are written sources that are included in the bibliography. The sources of the images used in the appendix have also been specified.

3.6 Conclusion

This method should provide a proper framework for understanding P.Oxy. 840 and its inter-texts. If its inter-texts are not put in the correct framework it will make comparison with P.Oxy. 840 near impossible. Two theological positions in P.Oxy. 840 on purity and anti-Judaism make it important to have a theoretical framework in place to analyse P.Oxy. 840's content and to compare it with its inter-texts. Purity is not only important to Judaism, but to most cultures of the time. Neusner shows that Jewish literature has many examples of criticism against an over-emphasis on purity. The same is true of Greek literature as Chaniotis shows. Stereotypes exist of Greeks who think Jews (and Egyptians) are more concerned with purity than with ethics. Social Scientific Criticism provides the methodological framework with a means to classify purity, whether it is any one of the following:

- Map of Spaces
- Map of People
- Map of Times
- Map of Things (Dietary regulations)

The ability of classifying purity combined with appreciating forms provides the methodological framework with powerful tools to keep the comparative analysis focused. Bibliowicz' study reveals the anti-Jewish strand characteristic of Christian literature from Mark to John Chrysostom. More than any other trajectory it is characteristic of emerging Orthodoxy – probably because it was a compromise between Jewish Christianity and Gnosis. To a certain extant this proximity necessitated the movement to distance itself from Judaism. The form criticism underlying this dissertation is that of Berger which is firmly based on ancient rhetorical criticism.

The comparative key for analysing texts that is informed by the thinking of Smith makes a further contribution to make the comparative analysis more meaningful. This comparative key also structures the analysis of every chapter of Section B. All the intertexts are discussed according to this comparative key.

From this methodological framework it is clear that Christianity before Constantine is not so much an institution as it is like a school or a voluntary association. By using the language of trajectory one is immediately in a better position to think flexibly about the theology of different Christian groups. Clear chains of command were not yet in place, so that diversity was much more characteristic of Christianity at this stage. Wagner shows how difficult it is to reconcile the thinking of the five most influential theologians immediately after the apostles. Doctrines only start to become important after the time of Justin's invention of Christian philosophy. At the same time there is some kind of Christian theology one can reconstruct for the period. It is just important to be aware of this diversity and pluralism.

This methodological framework shows us that the title σωτήρ was not exclusively used by Gnostics and that it was applied across a wide geographical area. Nevertheless, it was often associated with Gnostics (Valentinians) and geographically with Alexandrians.

The three most important trajectories for understanding P.Oxy. 840, Gnosis, Jewish-Christianity and emerging Orthodoxy are all synthesized in polythetic models. These characteristics serve as indicators of trajectory. They have been reconstructed according to a classificatory principle relative to each other. The model for Gnosis is a modified version of Marksches' model, that of Jewish Christianity one of Luomanen's and that of Proto-Orthodoxy a combination of various authors' reconstructions. With Jewish Christianity one notes the broad spectrum of the phenomenon that goes well beyond Nazarene, Ebionite and Elchesaite Jewish Christianity. At the same time we have to acknowledge the different versions of Nazarene Christianity, whether according to

Epiphanius or Jerome, and Ebionite Christianity, whether according to Irenaeus or Epiphanius. Luomanen has shown that the Nazarenes are to be understood as a local Syriac brand of Christianity and that Epiphanius' testimony is to be rejected on a source critical basis. The titles of the isolated units of the Three Gospel Hypothesis are scholarly reconstructions and are not to be taken for granted.

SECTION B

ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY TEXTS

4 READING OF P.OXY. 840

The following chapter is intended to clarify the way P.Oxy. 840 is understood by the author of this dissertation.

4.1 Date

P.Oxy. 840 is to be dated roughly around 150 C.E. This proposal of dating by Grenfell & Hunt has been accepted by most scholars.¹ Bovon has proposed amending this date slightly to second or third century based on his proposed inter-texts with some support from Miller.² *Terminus ante quem* is the manuscript which is dated to around 350 C.E. based on the palaeography. Based on inductive argumentation a date of composition around 150 C.E. appears correct, as this was the time when Christianity started its professionalization with the rise of the apologists when abstract reasoning became more widespread. The literary quality of P.Oxy. 840 is at a different level than that of the New Testament.³ From a theological point of view Justin and Barnabas appears to be good authors to compare P.Oxy. 840 with as they appear to be at the same level of an anti-Jewish trajectory: Jewish laws related to their identity are being superseded, in this case immersion by baptism. Around this time Gospels start drying up with the canonization of the Fourfold Gospel in the majority-church. Many of the writings found representing the Nag Hammadi Library are called “Gospel,” but from a literary-critical point of view their genre is often Dialogues of the Redeemer or collections of logia. *Terminus ante quem* for the Fourfold Gospel is Irenaeus’ writing (*Haer.*) where the Fourfold Gospel is articulated for the first time.

Buchinger & Hernitscheck’s proposal for a fourth century dating of P.Oxy. 840 is made unlikely by the fourth century dating of the manuscript.⁴ Dressing in white when entering any ancient temple was by no means unexpected. Much of his problems with the early dating can still been countered by Kruger’s criticism of Bovon. The rare lexeme ἀγνευτήριον is attested to already in the first century. Buchinger & Hernitscheck also concede that living water does not figure in the Jewish-Christian debates of the fourth century, but is found in second-century texts like the Didache. Zelyck argues that P.Oxy.

¹ Bernard P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Oxford: Hart, 1908), 5:1–10. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 120.

² Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 705; Miller, *At the Intersection*, 34.

³ In the New Testament Hebrews is the only work with a consistent literary quality, cf. Norden, *Antike Kunstsprosa*, 87.

⁴ Buchinger & Hernitscheck, “P.Oxy. 840 and the Rites of Christian Initiation,” 120.

840's *Sitz im Leben* might be explained by the practice of washing feet upon entering the synagogue that is recorded since the first century (occasionally synagogues are called *iεpóv* in the epigraphic record).⁵ It seems reasonable to infer that P.Oxy. 840 was at some time part of a Gospel. Even if this is not so, the form of chria (as well as the genre of Gospel) was in large part displaced in Christian literature by philosophical forms since the time of Justin Martyr. From the fifth century the chria would become more important again with writings like the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, but this time not in the context of the life of Jesus, but of desert hermits. The indirect dependence of P.Oxy. 840 on the Fourfold Gospel seems to be reminiscent of second century Christian writings like Papyrus Egerton rather than the more exact citation thereof since the time of Justin Martyr.

All that being said, it remains speculative to speak about P.Oxy. 840's date of composition and *Sitz im Leben* now matter how interesting it is.⁶ How one dates the fragment should not determine one's reading thereof.

4.2 Genre

Gospel. The fact that P.Oxy. 840 consists of two chriae suggests that it is no random collection of chriae, but a connected biography or gospel.

4.3 Style

The author's paratactic style is obvious. Norden notes that the Synoptic evangelists, Mark and Matthew, also employ parataxis which is syntactically subordinated by Luke by means of participles.⁷ Without going into detail, Preuschen mentions that despite many Semitic elements, the Greek style of our present author is smoother than that of the canonical gospels.⁸ Von Harnack and Jeremias have also noted Semitisms, with Jeremias even going as far as proposing Aramaic solutions to some of the text's problems.⁹

⁵ Lorne R. Zelyck, "Recontextualizing Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 178–197, 186.

⁶ Zelyck, "Recontextualizing Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 195 also acknowledges how speculative the search for P.Oxy. 840's *Sitz im Leben* is.

⁷ Eduard Norden, *Die Attische Kunstsprosa: Vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (2 vols.; 5th ed.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1958).

⁸ Erwin Preuschen, "Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos," *ZNW* 9 (1908): 11.

⁹ Adolf von Harnack, "Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück," in *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben* (ed. A. von Harnack; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911), 2: 242 (though because of a different text); Joachim Jeremias, "Der Zusammenstoß Jesu mit dem pharisäischen Oberpriester auf dem Tempelplatz. Zu Pap. Ox. V 840," in *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (Gutersloh: Bertelsmann, 1951), 44, 45, 47, 39–49.

With the discovery of non-literary papyri (and epigraphic material) in the twentieth century the estimation of Semitisms has changed drastically. With the discovery of these papyri it was shown that New Testament Greek was not a unique dialect, but a vernacular variety of Koine. Scholars like Turner have resisted this conclusion.¹⁰ These papyri offered scholars a wealth of Greek documents that were neither Attic nor literary and therefore excellent material to compare with the Greek of the New Testament. These documents provided countless parallels for New Testament Greek features that were previously thought to be Semitic. The papyri have also illustrated that Koine and Atticism is a misleading dichotomy.¹¹ Between the time of Alexander the Great and the fifth century C.E. Greek was standardized into Koine. Texts belonging to this period can be meaningfully compared to the New Testament.¹² Atticism and Koine cannot be opposed to each other so as to exclude one another. They merely reflect different levels of linguistic behaviour.

Jeremias suggests that ἀρχιερεύς is a Semitism,¹³ but the word is attested not only in Ionic by Herodotus (2.37), but also in Attic by Plato (*Leg.* 947a).¹⁴ If Jeremias means that ἀρχιερεύς is an unspecific expression for “Oberpriester” in the sense of treasurer (**רִבְבָּג**) or officer,¹⁵ it is rather daring to suggest that the language of the text is less accurate than his suggested translation. Jeremias fails to suggest a more Attic lexeme. One might think of the general ὑπηρέτης (assistant). Perhaps ιεροταμίας (treasurer),¹⁶ ιεροφύλαξ (guardian of the temple),¹⁷ ιερονόμος (temple warden),¹⁸ ιεροποιός (overseer of temples and sacred rites),¹⁹ or ιεροπρόσπολις (sacred attendant),²⁰ or ιεροστάτης (governor of the temple) can be suggested.²¹ Other semantically related lexemes are νεώκορος (guardian of the temple)²² and νεοποίης (person in charge of the temple-structure).²³ Of all these words ιεροποιός, νεώκορος and ὑπηρέτης are the only ones that can compete with the Attic (prosaic) pedigree

¹⁰The revived thesis of a Semitic dialect of Greek by Turner, *Syntax; Style*, is systematically refuted by Greg H. R. Horsley, *Linguistic Essays* (vol. 5 of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*; The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre; Sydney: Macquarie University, 1989), §3.

¹¹Horsley, *Linguistic Essays*, §2.

¹²With the fifth century Byzantine Greek starts to dominate.

¹³Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 98.

¹⁴LSJ, “ἀρχιερεύς,” 252.

¹⁵For a description of **רִבְבָּג**, cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (trans. F. H. & C. H. Cave; 3d. ed.; London: SCM, 1969), 166.

¹⁶IG 9(1).32.25 (epigraphical evidence).

¹⁷Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica* 1027; IG 14.291.

¹⁸SIG 982.23 (epigraphical evidence) third century B.C.E.

¹⁹Demosthenes 4.26.

²⁰The mathematician Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 159 second century C.E.

²¹1 Esd 7:2. As the only citation is by the Old Greek of the Hebrew Bible, this word does not have an Attic pedigree.

²²Plato, *Leg.* 759a.

²³SIG 46.6 (epigraphical evidence).

of ἀρχιερεύς. In terms of sense ιεροταμίας would suit Jeremias' preferences, but it is only attested to by epigraphical evidence. Jeremias also suggests that νύκτος καὶ ἡμέρας is a Semitism as the Jewish view of time implied that the night preceded the day (e.g. Sabbath starting on sunset of the Friday), but the same order is also attested by Homer (*Il.* 5.490) and Plato (*Theaet.* 151a) to mention only two examples. Jeremias also marks οὐδείς...εἰ μή instead of a simpler expression with μόνος. Yet, this could also be explained as an example of the figure of litotes, with εἰ μή indeed to be expected with conditional participles instead of οὐ.²⁴ Jeremias also criticizes the expression ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς (among the living) as a possible mistranslation of γιγὲ instead of ἐν ζωῇ (in life). Perhaps a participle, τοῖς ζῶσιν, might have been expected, but the substantive adjective needn't be viewed as unliterary. The combination of redundant participle with main verb found in παραλαβὼν...εἰσήγαγεν, προελθὼν...συνέτυχεν, σταθεὶς...ἀπεκρίθη and ἀποκριθεὶς...εἶπεν is called Semitic by Jeremias. Wallace agrees that this is Semitism which occurs almost exclusively in the Synoptic Gospels.²⁵ But Turner himself provides examples from the likes of Herodotus, Aristophanes, Sophocles and Demosthenes for the very same habit. Therefore this cannot even be classified as a feature to be associated with vernacular Koine. Another alleged Semitic element is the preference for καί to δέ as a connecting particle (ratio 4,5:1), putting P.Oxy. 840 close to Mark's scale (5:1) and higher than Matthew (1,5:1) and Luke.²⁶ But Mayser already established that καί is the most frequent particle in Ptolemaic papyri, so that this is a feature of the vernacular Koine, not of Semitic Greek as Turner suggests.²⁷

The use of coordinating conjunctions is admirable (e.g. line 13–6 καὶ ιδεῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἄγια σκεύη μήτε λουσαμένῳ μήτε μὴν τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς πόδας βαπτισθέντων [note the apt use of the genitive absolute, practically unheard of with Paul, often used incorrectly by Matthew, but also capably used by Luke].²⁸ In the last mentioned construction we have an example of a bracket effortlessly stretching over six words from τῶν to βαπτισθέντων. Jeremias suggests that the demonstrative of συ ἔλούσω τούτοις τοῖς χεομένοις ὕδασιν should be understood as an example of typical Aramaic grammar where the demonstrative is as a

²⁴ Bornemann & Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 259.

²⁵ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 650, cf. also BDF, §420 for other combinations. It becomes typical of Early Christian literature – even in translation – as will be seen in many texts discussed in this dissertation.

²⁶ In actual fact the text contains nine connecting καί and two connecting δέ. Turner, *Style*, 58 divides Luke into Mark in Luke (1,2:1); Lk^S (1,4:1); Q in Luke (1,9:1); 1 Acts (1:1) and Acts-“We” 0,5:1.

²⁷ Stephanie Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: Kai, δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse* (JSNTSup 216: Studies in the New Testament Greek 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 109.

²⁸ cf. Turner, *Style*, 39 (for Matthew's use), 59 (Luke's), 99 (Paul's).

rule attached to its noun without conveying any meaning.²⁹ This disregards the author of P.Oxy. 840's preference for the pre-positive position for the demonstrative.³⁰ The pre-positive use of the demonstrative runs contrary to the New Testament's preference for the post-positive which is indeed more typical of the Semitic languages.³¹ In constructing the Genitive the author prefers the construction that is according to Turner friendlier to Semitic preferences, that is, article-noun-article-genitive as does most of the New Testament rather than article-article-genitive-noun which is evenly distributed in Attic authors or with a preference for last-mentioned.³² Therefore one finds οἱ κακοῦργοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων which is rather redundant. Von Harnack views this as a Semitism, but a Semitic construction would not explain that much seeing that the construction is in the plural. If it were “an evildoer of men” the genitive might have been required to avoid ambiguity. We also see the characteristically³³ Greek feature of polysyndeton in lines 35–9 ὅπερ καὶ αἱ πόρναι καὶ αἱ αὐλητρίδες μυρίζουσιν καὶ λούουσιν καὶ σμήχουσι καὶ καλλωπίζουσι πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. There is no single τε-καί-combination. The correct demonstrative ἐκεῖνος is used twice (once as a scribal insertion). There are the rhetorical devices of parallelism and antithesis in line 25–7: δι’ ἐτέρας κλείμακος κατελθὼν δι’ ἐτέρας ἀνῆλθον. Hendiadys is used frequently, sometimes coming across as redundant. This redundancy is made clear when comparing the narration of P.Oxy. 840 with the narrations from the Fourfold Gospel.³⁴ Of all the stylistic features in P.Oxy. 840 this redundancy is the most pronounced. All the redundant elements are in grey text. Turner remarks that, more than other New Testament authors, Mark's style is characterized by redundancy.³⁵ Nevertheless, the redundancy in P.Oxy. 840 is more artistic than that found in Mark, in that it uses the recognized literary figures of hendyades, parallelism and antitheses. There also appears to be a case of enallage where μεμολύμμενος and ἐπάτησας are switched around instead of the expected πάτησας

²⁹ This suggested Aramaism paves the way for Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 45–46 to translate the text as “Du hast dich in hingegossenem Wasser gebadet, in dem Hunde und Schweine bei Nacht und Tag liegen,” so that it needn't refer specifically to the water of the Pool of David, but water as such that is unable to purify from impurity. Although my reading does agree with this understanding of Jeremias, the language of P.Oxy. 840 is more specifically referring to the water of the Pool of David.

³⁰ 4 Maccabees also prefers the pre-positive construction of the demonstrative.

³¹ E.g. line 29–30 τούτοις τοῖς ἀγίοις σκεύεσιν. For exact figures of the evangelists' use, cf. Turner, *Style*, 24. For example in Aramaic הַלְאָנָא נִנְאָן (these vessels), Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium 5; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1963), 21. Although the post-positive use is more customary, it is also possible to say נִנְאָן הַלְאָן.

³² In 4 Maccabees the more Classical order dominates.

³³ Contrary to Aramaic (and Latin) preference.

³⁴ Cf. the discussion under Luke in Chapter 8.

³⁵ Turner, *Style*, 19 lists 23 examples including “to your home, to your family” (Mark 5:19) and “he was silent and answered nothing.”

μεμόλυνσαι. The stylistic device, hyperbaton, more typical of poetry, is also found twice: καὶ κόλασιν ὑπομένουσιν καὶ πολλὴν βάσανον and in καὶ λευκὰ ἐνδύματα ἐνεδυσάμην καὶ καθαρὰ. Aside from this there are the numerous alliterations which have been underlined in the previous sentence. P.Oxy. 840 uses very memorable images and comparisons. The Pharisee has immersed in water in which pigs and dogs lie about and Pharisees are like prostitutes full of scorpions.³⁶

The alleged Semitisms identified in P.Oxy. 840 are not compatible with a linguistic understanding of Koine Greek. This Semitic quality has been greatly exaggerated by previous scholars. Although P.Oxy. 840 does contain one or two features associated with a more vernacular Koine, it does not make sense synchronically to compare it to an Attic standard of four hundred years earlier. A perspective like that of Jeremias remains ignorant of the quality of the author of P.Oxy. 840's style.

4.4 Sources

The expression ἀποκριθεὶς...εἶπεν obviously depends on one of the Synoptic Gospels.³⁷ There are three passages in P.Oxy. 840 that may be considered as ideas found in the Fourfold Gospel.

P.Oxy. 840 appears to have used one of the most famous gnomes from Q (ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἐκείνων πεπλήρωται σκορπίων καὶ πάσης κακίας), taken over from either Luke 11:39 or Matthew 23:25. Matthew actually repeats the theme of “full of x and y” in various combinations in his version of the denouncing of the Pharisees. A similar trope is found in Justin. The following texts preserve versions of this trope:

Matt 23:25	ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας ³⁸ (NA ²⁸)	Inside they are full of plunder and a lack of control
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³⁶ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 34 also does not take the statement about pigs and dogs literally, viewing it as hyperbole instead.

³⁷ Whether first-hand or otherwise cannot be determined.

³⁸ There are variants in Matt 23:25 for ἀκρασίας: ἀδικίας C K Γ 579. 700. pm f sy^p; ἀκρασίας ἀδικίας W; ἀκαθαρσίας l 844* Σ lat sy^s co; Cl. According to Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 50 the reading ἀκρασίας appears original as it is backed up by early and good witnesses. He suggests the variants would have arisen because of a feeling of inappropriateness to combine it with ἀρπαγῆς. The texts of Q is reconstructed as it is found in Matt 23:25 with ἀκρασίας. According to Epp's clusters the witnesses can be classified as follows:

Cluster	ἀδικίας	ἀκρασίας ἀδικίας	ἀκαθαρσίας
A			
B	579		co Cl.

Matt 23:27	ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ὄστέων νεκρῶν καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας (NA ²⁸)	Inside they are full of dead bones and all impurity
Matt 23:28	ἔσωθεν δὲ ἔστε μεστοὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀνομίας (NA ²⁸)	Inside you are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness
Luke 11:39	τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ύμῶν γέμει ἀρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας (NA ²⁸)	Your inside is full of plunder and wickedness
Justin, Dial. 14.1	τὰς ψυχὰς μεμεστωμένοι ἦτε δόλου καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀπλῶς (Goodspeed)	You are filled in your souls with fraud and simply all evil.
Teach. Silv. 97	πεγχήτ ^χ Δε μεγ ἕλλεβορον· (NHMS 30)	But their heart is full of hellebore
Apoc. Adam 84.6–17	Μίχευ μνήμιχαρ μὴ μνησίνογέ· οὐκέτ ^χ ζιχᾶν πιχωκῆ ετογλαβ μὴ πιμοογ ετονῆ κε ετβεογ οὐτετῆνωφ ούτε πιογτε ετονῆ σῆ γ[ε]ινσιμη ἕλανομος μὴ ζενλας εμὴ νομο[с] τε ετοοτογ μὴ ζενψγχη εγμεγ ἕπνοογ μὴ ζενψ[βηγε] εγσοογετετῆμεγ ε[βολ] σῆ ζενψηγε ενα τμε αν νέ αλλα οετῆζοογε μεγ ἕογνοογ μὴ πτεληλ· (NHS 11)	Micheu and Michar and Mnesinous, who are over the holy baptism and the living water, why were you crying out against the living God with lawless voices and tongues without law over them, and souls full of blood and foul deeds? You are full of works that are not of the truth, but your ways are full of joy and rejoicing.
Gos. Thom. 61	ετβε παιε τχω μίμος κε ζοταν εψωδωψε τ εψψη ^χ φναμογ ^χ ογοειν ζοταν Δε εψωδωψε εψπηψ φναμογ ^χ μίκακε (NHS 20)	Therefore I say: If someone becomes destroyed, he will become full of light, but if he becomes separated, he will become full of darkness.
Ap. John 31.16	αϊαλλαβαωθ μογ ^χ μηντατкоу ³⁹ (NHS 33)	Yaldabaoth was full of ignorance.
Thom. Cont. 143.25	αλλα ετετῆτασε σῆ πικωστ ^χ αγω τετῆ[μεγ] μίσιψε ^χ (NHS 21)	But you are drunk with the fire and you are full of bitterness.
P.Oxy. 840	ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἐκείνωψ πεπλήρωται σκορπίων καὶ πάσης κακίας	Within them it is full of scorpions and every evil

The language of the gnome is quite different, so that it is unclear whence it has come. Nevertheless it is much closer to the language and context of Matthew, Luke and Justin. Luke's version is more polished. It is interesting to note that scholars like Swete, Bonacorsi

C	C	W	
D	f		sy ^s lat

The witnesses supporting the reading ἀκρασίας are not mentioned as it is supported by the majority of important witnesses, Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 50 marks it with an A (text certain).

³⁹ This is the text of NHC III,1 31.16. All 4 versions differ in text on this because they go back to different translations of the original Greek, but the meaning is similar. For a discussion of the manuscripts, cf. Michael Waldstein & Frederic Wisse, eds, *The Apocryphon of John: A Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II, I, III, I, and IV, I, with BG 8502, 2* (NHS 33; New York: Brill, 1995), iii.

and Jeremias have proposed the emendation ἀδικίας instead of Grenfell & Hunt's κακίας.⁴⁰ Some variants of Matthew 23:25 also contain ἀδικίας, so that P.Oxy. 840 could have supporting such a reading. Kruger has made a detailed and persuasive argument that shows indirect dependence of P.Oxy. 840 on material that go back to the final redaction of Matthew 23:13–32 and Luke 11:37–52.⁴¹ Kruger also thinks that P.Oxy. 840 shows familiarity with Mark 7:1–23 though the connection is thought of as less vivid than with Matthew 23 and Luke 11.⁴² As is clear from all the parallels in the table above this was a gnome of Jesus that was tinkered with by many Christian authors.

The other parallel that appears to be taken over from a Gospel source is the setting of the fragment καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ιερῷ which is similar to both Mark 11:27 and John 10:23. In Mark 11:27 Jesus' authority is questioned by οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς [καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι]. Mark 11:27 is part of a judicial chria occasioned by a question from an opponent in the temple.⁴³ P.Oxy. 840 is itself concerned about Jesus' authority as the high priest asks who has allowed Jesus' entry when he is impure. The rarest lexeme in this parallel, that is, περιπατέω, occurs just above a hundred times in the New Testament, so that this is not necessarily such a significant parallel. But they do have five words in common, share a similar form, address the same issues (authority and immersion [*βάπτισμα* is one of the lexemes typically used for immersion in a Jewish context])⁴⁴ and they share the same setting. P.Oxy. 840 is closer to the idea of Mark than to John which constitutes an apology and does not contain similar vocabulary otherwise. Nevertheless, the fact that both Mark and John seem to use this as a generic setting to situate sayings of Jesus seems to argue against the idea that the author was dependent on another written source for this. The author of P.Oxy. 840 appears to have taken a generic setting as a base on which to compose his own chria and to proclaim a more literary gospel. What Hebrews has done for the genre of (Christian) epistle is now to be done for Gospel.

The last parallel would be the concept of ὕδωρ ζῶν which might be taken over from John (4:10; 7:38). Unfortunately this is the part where the fragment breaks off. It is evident that linguistically ὕδωρ is being modified by something “coming from...” as ἐλθοῦσι is

⁴⁰ Jeremias, “Der Zusammenstoß,” 41.

⁴¹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 161–175.

⁴² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 185–186.

⁴³ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 188–194 also discusses Mark 11:27–33 to come to grips with the form of P.Oxy. 840 as a controversy dialogue as Bultmann put it. Kruger does not address the similar language found in both, especially with regards the identical setting.

⁴⁴ Pamela Shellberg, “A Johannine Reading of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artefact and Canon* (ed. C. A. Evans & H. D. Zacharias; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 176–191 notes that *βάπτισμα* is but one of seven lexemes used in Jewish literature for immersion rites.

evidently in agreement with ὕδωστι. In comparing P.Oxy. 840 with John, it will be illustrated that the concept of living water could have come from a number of traditions inside Judaism. Nevertheless, in view of the freedom with which P.Oxy. 840 reworks Luke 11:37–52, Matthew 23:13–32 it seems reasonable to infer that it is also engaging an idea from John in this instance. Kruger’s proposal of P.Oxy. 840’s familiarity with John 7:1–52 and 13:10 is less convincing.⁴⁵

Determining the Gospel sources of P.Oxy. 840 is a frustrating undertaking as the author only appears to be indirectly dependent on them.

4.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

The anti-Judaism of P.Oxy. 840 is also readily admitted by Kruger.⁴⁶ P.Oxy. 840 calls the Pharisees (or is it high priests) “blind that do not see.” Without the hendyades (simply “blind”) this concept is found in all of the books of the Fourfold Gospel. It is less memorable than the Matthean form of “blind guides” (Matt 15:14; 23:16; 23:24).

The idea of the water with pigs and dogs lying in it is evidently an exaggeration as Miller has suggested.⁴⁷ This rich metaphor doubled as a hendyades suits the author’s artistic prose. Both of these are impure animals according to the law.

Chaniotis’ description of purity among Greeks shows that there was a cultural stereotype that Jews and Egyptians may have been the purest people, but that they were at the same time the most immoral.⁴⁸ He shows how there was a major shift in Greek thinking from an emphasis on ritual purity to moral purity that precedes the ministry of Jesus. Disregarding the implications of this rhetoric of purity within Early Christianity and the New Testament, this provides us with another argument to understand P.Oxy. 840 as a criticism of an over-emphasis on purity by many Jews (and even Christian Jews), in order to construct a counter identity for Christians that would be more appealing to Grecized thinkers. Clearly purity was a frontier between emergent Judaism and emergent Christianity.

The second chria of P.Oxy. 840 would be an excellent way to reflect on a text like Malachi 3:1–6 and to apply it in the context of a struggle for Christian as opposed to Jewish identity:

⁴⁵ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 176–182. This is discussed in my chapter 7 in comparing P.Oxy. 840 with John.

⁴⁶ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 247.

⁴⁷ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 120.

⁴⁸ Chaniotis, “Greek Ritual Purity,” 139.

Mal 3:1–3, 5	
<p>הִנֵּה שָׁלֹךְ מֶלֶךְ וַפְנֵה־דָּרָה לְפָנֵי וְפָתָא מִבּוֹא אֶל־הַכִּלּוֹן הַאֲקֹזֹן אֲשֶׁר־אֱתָם מַבְקָשִׁים וּמֶלֶךְ הַבָּרִית אֲשֶׁר־אֱתָם תְּפִצִּים הַגָּה־בָּא אָמָר יְהוָה אֱבָאֹתָן: וְמי מַכְלִיל אֶת־יּוֹם בָּזָא וְמי הַעֲפָד בְּהַרְאֹתָו כִּי־הִוא כָּאַשׁ מִצְרָף וּכְבָרִית מַכְבִּסִּים: וַיַּשְׁבַּט מִצְרָף וּמַתְהָרֵךְ וְתַהַר אֶת־בְּגִינְלוֹן וְנַקֵּק אֶתְכֶם כַּעֲבָב וּכְכָסֶר וְקַיּוֹל לִיהְוָה מְגִישֵּׁי מִנְחָה בְּצַדְקָה: וְהַרְבָּתִי אֶלְיכֶם לְמַשְׂפַּט וְקִיַּתי עַד מִמְּהָר בְּמַכְשָׁפִים וּבְמַנְאָפִים וּבְגַנְשָׁבָעִים לְשָׁקָר וְעַשְׂקֵר שְׁכָרֶת־שְׁכִיר אֶלְמָנָה וִיתּוֹם וּמְטִידָגָר וְלֹא יְרָאָנוּ (BHQ) אָמָר יְהוָה אֱבָאֹתָן:</p>	<p>¹Behold I am sending forth my messenger and he will clear⁴⁹ the way before me and the Lord whom you are seeking will all of a sudden come to his own temple. The messenger of the covenant, whom you want, behold, He is coming, says YHWH of hosts.</p> <p>²And who shall have a grip on the day of his entrance? Who shall remain standing in his appearance? For He Himself is like the fire of a smelter and like the salt of fullers.</p> <p>³And He is sitting⁵⁰ and smelting and purifying silver. And He will purify the sons of Levi and refine them and they shall be like gold and like silver. They shall be people that sacrifice an offering to YHWH in righteousness.</p> <p>⁵And I will draw near to you in judgment and I shall be a swift witness: against sorcerers and adulterers, and those that swear falsely; and against those that do wrong with regards to the wage of the wage earner, to a widow, an orphan, and those that turn away a foreigner; and against those that do not fear me, says YHWH of hosts.</p>

Malachi uses prophetic anti-Jewish rhetoric to criticize the temple establishment. It is clothed in metallurgical language. The sons of Levi are purified by YHWH like silver is extracted from ore. To accomplish this ore has to be smelted by roasting and reduction. Reduction is an extreme process that takes place inside furnaces. Only through this process could the element

⁴⁹ Instead of the MT's Piel וַפְנֵה (followed by Aquila [based on retroversion] Vulg., Syr. and Tg.), LXX has ἐπιβλέψεται (survey [the way before me]) which presupposes the Qal וַפְנֵה (look at). With the witnesses split so evenly, it is difficult to decide on the text. The issue is further complicated by the early witness, Mark 1:2 (and following him Matt 11:10) that agree with the MT by using κατασκευάζω. Cf. Richard A. Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark* (Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 283 fn. 3 for the translation of "survey."

⁵⁰ Syr. has וַיַּשְׁבַּט (presupposing a form like נִיְשַׁבֵּב) which would mean "and he will return." Because all the other versions confirm the reading of MT, it seems better to stick with it.

silver be isolated from the unwanted dross and slag (elements like carbon, sulphur, zinc, arsenic, antimony, and finally lead).⁵¹ The message of the prophet is clear: no one will be able to stand scrutiny if YHWH comes, not even the priests. The priests are not yet pure and contain all kinds of undesirable qualities. Righteousness is not characteristic of the current priestly establishment. Only YHWH can purge them.

The fact that the gatekeeper of P.Oxy. 840 is specifically called Levi, might offer support to this proposal of an influence from Malachi on P.Oxy. 840.⁵² One of the sins the Lord will judge in Malachi 3 is specifically adultery which also features prominently in P.Oxy. 840. In the case of such a polemic between Christians and Jews, this might be understood as God's judgment against the temple establishment and Judaism for not being pure enough. In addition the social sins of sorcery, fraud, oppression of the weak and strangers and those not respecting the Lord might be applied specifically to the sons of Levi although the text is generalizing. If this were the case the author would dovetail prophetic anti-Judaism, usually used by Israelites, with gentilizing anti-Jewish slander referring to Jewish lust.

4.6 Form

First pericope: Rebuke and announcement of doom (part of chria?); warning in terms of deeds and rewards

Second pericope: Chria with rebuke and announcement of doom like Mark 7:1–13 (23) and Luke 12:13–21;⁵³ announcement of woe; argumentation; comparison; deductio ad absurdum

The following table is a form-critical analysis of the pericope. All cases of redundant expression are marked in grey. When compared to a chriae from the Synoptic Gospels one is

⁵¹ Václav Vaněk & Dalibor Velebil, "Early Metallurgy of Silver," in "Stříbrná Jihlava 2007: Studie k dějinám hornictví a důlních prací, Archaia Brno": *Festschrift for Pavel Rous* (Iglau: Muzeum Vysočiny Jihlava, 2007), 188–205. Note that the ancients were not aware of the exact chemical theory behind this process.

⁵² Lorne R. Zelyck, "Recontextualizing Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 178–197, 195 mentions 1 Kings 22:38 as another possible source behind P.Oxy. 840.

⁵³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 88.

struck by how long-winded this makes P.Oxy. 840.⁵⁴ The dark print would be closer to the length of a Synoptic chria, especially in Matthew that often avoids redundancy.⁵⁵

Pericope 1	Before he intends to do wrong first, he reasons everything out subtly. But take heed lest you suffer the same things as they. For not only among the living do evildoers of men receive the same things, but punishment they also await – and severe torture.	Rebuke and Announcement of Doom
Pericope 2	And after he had taken them along with him, he led them into the sanctuary itself and walked about in the temple. And walking ahead a Pharisee, a certain high priest, with the name of Levi, joined them and asked the Saviour: “Who has allowed you to set foot in this sanctuary and to behold these holy vessels, without having washed yourself, without your disciples even having immersed their feet? But you have set foot in this temple which is a pure place and you have defiled something that nobody else, unless he has washed himself and changed his clothes, sets a foot into, nor would venture to behold these holy vessels.”	Question from opponent
	And the Saviour immediately stood still with his disciples and answered him: “You are after all in the temple. Are you pure?”	Counter Question
	He tells him: “I am pure. For I have washed myself in the Pool of David with one flight of stairs I went down and with another I went up and white clothes I have put on and pure ones and then I came and looked at these holy vessels.”	Answer

⁵⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 191 Also reflects on the length of P.Oxy. 840 and concludes from this that P.Oxy. 840 must post-date the NT Gospels by some time.

⁵⁵ Cf. the chriae analysed under Mark in my chapter 7 on Proto-Orthodox texts or the example of a chria in my method-chapter under the heading 3.3.2.1 IIId *Similar Forms as That Found in P.Oxy. 840.*

<p>The Saviour answered him and said: "Woe you blind that do not see. You have washed yourself in this flowing water in which dogs and pigs lie day and night and you have washed your outer skin and have wiped yourself clean, as also the prostitutes and pipe girls anoint and wash themselves and wipe themselves clean and beautify themselves toward the lust of men but their inside is filled with scorpions and every evil. But I and my disciples whom you say have not immersed, we have been immersed in living water from...But woe unto those..."</p>	<p>Answer in the Form of a Rebuke and Announcement of Woe</p>
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According to such a hendyadic reading the only text we need look at to understand the second pericope is:

And after he had taken them along with him, he led them into the sanctuary itself. And a Pharisee, a certain high priest, with the name of Levi, joined them and asked the Saviour: "Who has allowed you to set foot in this sanctuary, without having washed yourself. You have defiled something that nobody else, unless he has washed himself, sets a foot into."

And the Saviour immediately stood still with his disciples and answered him: "You are after all in the temple. Are you pure?"

He tells him: "I am pure. For I have washed myself in the Pool of David with one flight of stairs I went down and white clothes I have put on and then I came and looked at these holy vessels."

The Saviour answered him and said: "Woe you blind. You have washed yourself in this flowing water in which dogs lie day and you have washed your outer skin, as also the prostitutes anoint themselves toward the lust of men but their inside is filled with scorpions. But I and my disciples whom you say have not immersed, we have been immersed in living water from...But woe unto those..."

It is worthwhile to ask whether P.Oxy. 840 is not perhaps part of a dialogue where the high priest would reply to Jesus. This seems unlikely. Making a comeback after a statement of woe is difficult. The dialogues found in John are spread out much more evenly than the chriae found in the Synoptics. In P.Oxy. 840 it seems that the text breaks off at the very climax. The moment is too dramatic to suppose that Jesus would ask another question. P.Oxy. 840 is also closer to the Synoptic chriae in that the opponent poses the question to Jesus, not Jesus to the opponent as is the pattern in John. The only remaining possibility is that the high priest would comment on something.

4.7 Theology

The first pericope of P.Oxy. 840 has not often been discussed in scholarship, for as von Harnack notes in regard to the textual corruptions and omissions “*durch diese Unsicherheiten, welche nachbleiben, wird dieses erste Stück fast wertlos.*”⁵⁶ Indeed whereas the second pericope sounds like something akin to the Synoptic Gospels (and John), the first pericope does come across as rather unexpected. The first sentence of the second pericope proves that the whole of P.Oxy. 840 must have been part of a Gospel (or at least a collection of chriae). As already mentioned the first pericope appears to have been part of a chria with rebuke and announcement of doom.

This pericope reminds one of some of the ideas of Plato on the afterlife. There are three cases where Plato discusses the afterlife in detail: *Gorgias* 493e–527, *Phaedo* 110b–114c and *The Republic* 608c–621d.⁵⁷ According to Olympiodorus of these three myths that of *The Gorgias* is concerned with the judging, *The Phaedo* with the places of the afterlife and *The Republic* with those being judged.⁵⁸ It is especially the discussion found in *The Republic* that reminds one of the first chriae in P.Oxy. 840.

Plato, <i>Resp.</i> 613e–614a	
μαστιγούμενοι καὶ ἀ ἄγροικα ἔφησθα σὺ εἶναι, ἀληθῆ λέγων – εἴτα στρεβλώσονται καὶ ἐκκαυθήσονται – πάντα ἐκεῖνα οἷον καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκοέναι ως πάσχουντιν. ἀλλ’ ὁ λέγω, ὅρα εἰ ἀνέξῃ. καὶ πάνυ, ἔφη: δίκαια γάρ λέγεις.	They are whipped and that which you spoke the truth when you said it is boorish – for they are stretched on the rack and are burned – imagine yourself to have heard from me all that they suffer. But consider whether you will bear with what I say.” “Assuredly,” he said, “for what you say is just.”
ἀ μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, ζῶντι τῷ δικαίῳ παρὰ θεῶν τε ^[614a] καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄθλά τε καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ δῶρα γίγνεται πρὸς ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς αὐτὴ παρείχετο ἡ δικαιοσύνη, τοιαῦτ’ ἄν εἴη. καὶ μάλ’, ἔφη, καλά τε καὶ βέβαια.	“Such then while he lives are the prizes,” said I “the wages, and the gifts ^[614a] that belong to the just man coming from gods and men in addition to those blessings which Justice herself bestowed whatever they may be.” “And right fair and abiding rewards,” he said.
ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, οὐδέν ἔστι πλήθει οὐδὲ μεγέθει πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἀ τελευτήσαντα ἐκάτερον	“Well, these,” I said, “are nothing in number and magnitude compared with those things that await both (i.e., the just and the unjust man) after death. And we

⁵⁶ Von Harnack, “Ein Neues,” 242.

⁵⁷ Radcliffe G. Edmonds III, *Myths of the Underworld Journey: Plato, Aristophanes and the Orphic Gold Tablets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 198 fn. 107.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld*, 198.

<p><i>περιμένει: χρὴ δ’ αὐτὰ ἀκοῦσαι, ἵνα τελέως ἔκατερος αὐτῶν ἀπειλήφη τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ὄφειλόμενα ἀκοῦσαι.</i> (OCT)</p>	<p>must listen to the tale of them,” said I, “in order that each may have received in full what should be said of him by our argument.”</p>
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The language is quite similar to P.Oxy. 840, so that it might well be familiar with it.⁵⁹ There are various correspondences between the language of the Republic and P.Oxy. 840: πάσχω and ἄνθρωπος, it is rather intriguing that περιμένω is found in *The Republic* only having a different compound than the ὑπομένω found in P.Oxy. 840. In both texts the verb is used to express the idea of punishment awaiting the wicked post mortem. It is the punishment that is emphasized by making it the subject of the cognate of μένω. Both texts uses ἀπολάμβανω for receiving punishment. Though the verb appears without object in P.Oxy. 840, so that the text may be corrupted, or may be using an ellipsis in that the object might have occurred in the text that would have preceded the extent text. Plato uses τὰ ὄφειλόμενα (“the things that are due”) as object for ἀπολάμβανω. In P.Oxy. 840 there is a textual difficulty as one would expect an object with ἀπολάμβανω. Other lexemes that would have fit in well in the context of P.Oxy. 840 are τιμωρία, δίκη, κόλασις.⁶⁰ Another lexeme shared by P.Oxy. 840 and *The Republic* is ἀδικέω for the concept of doing evil, but of course in the sense of doing injustice or transgressing the law with more of a political than an exclusively religious connotation.⁶¹ Other verbs could have been used for describing evil like ἀμαρτάνω (fail),⁶² ὑβρίζω (maltreat in an insolent way),⁶³ ἔξουδενέω (ill-treat someone with contempt),⁶⁴ ἀτιμάζω (treat someone

⁵⁹ Of course famous ideas like that of the Myth of Er needn’t have always spread by reading. This is something that cannot be proved. That it seems to be a reasonable inference follows from the fact that of Plato’s writings it was especially *The Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Epinomis* and *Laws* 10 that were the most popular during the second century in Christian circles, cf. Philip de Lacy, “Plato and the Intellectual Life of the Second Century,” in *Approaches to the Second Sophistic: Papers Presented at the 105th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association* (ed. G. W. Bowersock; Pennsylvania: The American Philological Association, 1974), 6, 4–10; Jan H. Waszink, “Der Platonismus und die altchristliche Gedankenewelt,” in *Recherches sur la tradition platonicienne* (ed. W. K. C. Guthrie et al.; EnAC 3; Vandoeuvres: Hardt, 1955), 139–179; “Bemerkungen zum Einfluß des Platons im frühen Christentum,” *VC* 19 (1965): 129–162. The literary skill of the author of P.Oxy. 840 suggests a well-read author and during the second century Plato was one of the most popular. De Lacy, “Plato and the Intellectual Life,” 6 notes that Plato’s ideas were often taken over by other authors without them spelling out that Plato was being cited. They assumed their audience would know this.

⁶⁰ Cf. 4 Macc 4.24; 6.28; 8.9.

⁶¹ The same lexeme is often repeated in the *Phaedo*’s description of punishment in the afterlife, cf. *Phaedo*. 113de; 114b; cf. also *Resp.* 609d; 610c; 613e; 615a. Schrenk, *TWNT*, “ἀδικέω,” 150–163 notes that Classical Greek often differentiates strictly between ἀδικέω and ἀσεβέω (and their cognates). The lexeme ἀδικέω is concerned with injury against what is right socially, whereas ἀσεβέω more readily refers to injury against what is morally and religiously right. This precision is eroded more and more with the rise of the *Koine*. The substantive of κακοποιέω (do wrong) is also used by P.Oxy. 840 in a general sense.

⁶² L&N, “ἀμαρτάνω,” §88.290 “act contrary to the will and law of God” is too loaded theologically (Judeo-centric) and requires more of the nuance of “missing a target or failing,” cf. LSJ, “ἀμαρτάνω,” 77.

⁶³ L&N, “ὑβρίζω,” §88.130.

⁶⁴ L&N, “ἔξουδενέω,” §88.133.

in a shameful and dishonourable manner),⁶⁵ ἀσχημονέω (act in defiance of social and moral standards, with resulting disgrace and shame),⁶⁶ ρυπαίνομαι (live in a degenerate manner, live a completely bad life),⁶⁷ μιαίνω (defile),⁶⁸ ἀχρείομαι (engage in behaviour which is totally wrong and harmful),⁶⁹ πορνεύω (engage in sexual immorality of any kind, often implying prostitution),⁷⁰ ὑπερβαίνω (transgress),⁷¹ ὀφείλω (commit a sin against someone and thus to incur moral debt),⁷² σκανδαλίζω (cause to stumble),⁷³ πειράζω (entice or cause someone to sin).⁷⁴ It is striking that P.Oxy. 840 prefers the same ἀδικέω here as *The Republic* where committing evil has reference to the ideal state.

In his discussion of the development of Greek conceptions of the afterlife Edmonds notes that the absence of unjust deeds as ticket to a happy afterlife occurs for the first time in Greek literature in the lyric poet, Pindar (b. 522 B.C.E.).⁷⁵ Up to that point such bliss had been a reward for divine connections (e.g. Menelaus marrying Helen, daughter of Zeus), heroic deeds (Achilles, Harmodius), and later on special dedication to the gods through sacrifices and initiation into mysteries. The contribution of Plato to this is the idea that those adequately purified by philosophy qualify gain entry to a favourable afterlife.⁷⁶ Of course the Jewish tradition laid claim to an afterlife for those dedicating themselves to YHWH, especially martyrs, since the popularity of Daniel (12:1–3). This was especially true of the Pharisees and was fundamental to Christian faith from the outset.

In a Judaeo-Christian context ἀδικέω was of course an equally useful concept as it applied to role of the Mosaic Law – and in a later Christian context to the ten commandments especially.⁷⁷ It might show that P.Oxy. 840 was directed not only at an esoteric Christian

⁶⁵ L&N, “ἀτιμάζω,” §88.127.

⁶⁶ L&N, “ἀσχημονέω,” §88.149.

⁶⁷ L&N, “ρυπαίνομαι,” §88.258.

⁶⁸ L&N, “μιαίνω,” §88.260.

⁶⁹ L&N, “ἀχρείομαι,” §88.263.

⁷⁰ L&N, “πορνεύω,” §88.271.

⁷¹ Once again L&N, “ὑπερβαίνω,” §88.296 is too Judaeo-centric with “transgress the will and law of God.”

⁷² L&N, “ὀφείλω,” §88.298.

⁷³ L&N, “σκανδαλίζω,” §88.304.

⁷⁴ L&N, “πειράζω,” §88.308.

⁷⁵ Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 200. Cf. Pindar, *Olympian* 2.63–73. For Pindar cf. *DNP*, s.v. “Pindar,” Online Edition.

⁷⁶ Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 201. Cf. *Phaed.* 114c. Interestingly enough Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.643–673 grants entry into Elysium to pure priests, patriots and pious poets, cf. Harris & Platzner, *Classical Mythology*, 887.

⁷⁷ In the Tanak similar concepts to ἀδικέω are to be found in יָלִל and נַעֲנָן, cf. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, “נַעֲנָן,” 6; “יָלִל,” 267.

audience, but also to non-Christians for apologetic purposes. Many Gentiles were especially attracted to Judaeo-Christian religion because of its high ethical standards.⁷⁸

The clearest parallel between P.Oxy. 840 and *The Republic*, is the differentiation between punishment while still alive and punishment after death. The same emphasis is found in Luke 18:30.⁷⁹ The context of all three texts is the same: a description of the afterlife awaiting the unjust. Plato's description of the afterlife also influenced other Christian authors. The eschatological judgement in the Republic (615bc) is directed against the unjust in general, like murderers and those dishonouring gods and their parents, those that are responsible for the deaths of many, those betraying the state, those that enslave others, or those that commit other crimes, but specifically against tyrants.⁸⁰ Indeed all of this shows the political emphasis of Plato. This last mentioned parallel in P.Oxy. 840 seems to ultimately hail from Plato's *Republic* (whether through Luke as intermediary or not).

Another textual parallel to the first pericope are the announcements of doom directed at the tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes, in 4 Maccabees. In both Ignatius (Pol 3:1) and 4 Maccabees ὑπομένω and ὑπομονή play an important role.⁸¹ Perler has shown what a strong influence 4 Maccabees has had, not only on Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, but even on Ignatius, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, and the Letter of the Churches in Vienna and Lugdunum preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1–2) and perhaps even on 1 Clement. The concept of βάσανος (torture) plays an important role in both 4 Maccabees and P.Oxy. 840.⁸²

These parallels found in Plato and 4 Maccabees open up the suggestion that the harsh threat of judgement in P.Oxy. 840 is directed against tyrants that are responsible for the death of Christian martyrs. In the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra it is the souls of Sodom and Gomorrah, Herod, the antichrist, mothers that expose their babies, and a man removing landmarks that are punished.⁸³

In P.Oxy. 840 several purity maps are redrawn by the Saviour: the map of spaces and although there isn't even such a purity map, the map of purification. Jesus enters the temple

⁷⁸ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 120.

⁷⁹ Luke 18:29–30 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὃς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν ἢ γυναῖκα... ὃς οὐχὶ μὴ [ἀπο]λάβῃ πολλαπλασίουν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰώνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωὴν αἰώνιον (Truly I tell you that there is no one that has lost house or woman...who will not receive much more in this time – and in the age to come – eternal life).

⁸⁰ *The Phaedo* (113d–114c) divides the judged into those that appear to have lived in mediocre fashion, those that are incurable (those guilty of sacrilege and murder), those that are curable (those guilty of great sins committed in passion like violence against parents or murder of others) and those that excel in holy living (those adequately purified by philosophy).

⁸¹ Perler, "Das 4. Makkabäerbuch," 49.

⁸² Though also found in the NT, it plays a lesser role certainly than in 4 Macc. Cf. Luke 16:23, 28, Matt 4:24, *Mart. Pol.* 2:3–4; *Wis* 3:1.

⁸³ The Greek Apocalypse is not divided into chapters.

though they have not immersed. The map of people is redrawn, in that the gatekeeper's honour is challenged by the Saviour. According to *Talmud Megillah* 2.7 Levites would have been second from the top on the purity map of people just below priests.⁸⁴ By his sarcastic counter question, the Saviour implies that the gatekeeper is impure. Nobody defends the honour of the gatekeeper as one would have expected from upstanding Israelites.⁸⁵ The implication seems to be that the disciples of the Saviour are no longer part of the Israelite in-group. They are loyal to Jesus' in-group and have become outsiders to the Israelite religion. Malina notes that in the Mediterranean of the first century in-group authority is dismayed while out-group authority is disdained. The Saviour exposes the gatekeeper to the worst kind of abuse, in that he compares him to a prostitute who hides her ugly inside by make-up. It seems that this rhetoric is not actually directed at gatekeepers of the temple, but at Pharisees. The temple seems to only function as a dramatic setting for the chria.

The emphasis of P.Oxy. 840 appears to be on their failure to immerse, not on forbidden entry as Schwarz suggests. Nor is the emphasis of P.Oxy. 840 on the temple as it seems to function more as a dramatic setting for a chria occasioned by an opponent from a representative of the state religion about the abolition of purity. This was not a new debate, but was already something Mark had argued for. The abolition of purity implies the abolition of the law itself. P.Oxy. 840 argues against a facet of purification Mark did not address: purification by immersion. The same theme is taken up by Hebrews, Barnabas and Justin and applied to Christian baptism.

This is where the redrawing of another purity map, "the map of purification," comes in. As the Mishnah (*m. Yoma* 3.3) illustrates it was expected of all pilgrims to undergo immersion before entering the temple.⁸⁶ The Saviour undermines this regulation first by questioning how potentially impure water can purify somebody and secondly by offering an alternative means of purification: living water coming from the Father above.

Only if the pigs and dogs lying in the water were referring to their carcasses lying in the water that would be somewhat loathsome.⁸⁷ Only in that case could water have become defiled (map of things).⁸⁸ Nevertheless as Leviticus 11:35–36 makes clear, if a carcass fell

⁸⁴ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 200.

⁸⁵ Cf. how the guard slaps Jesus for showing disrespect to the high priest in John 18:22. Cf. Malina, "Religion in the World of Paul," 98.

⁸⁶ Büchler, "Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel," 335.

⁸⁷ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 280 points out that there can be no problem halachically with living pigs in the water. Regarding animals one only became polluted by eating pigs and dogs, not by touching them.

⁸⁸ Only digesting the meat of impure animals and touching their corpses could defile a person, touching them while still alive was of no consequence.

into the water of a cistern or a fountain, the water would not become impure.⁸⁹ Other water would have become polluted as water is highly susceptible to pollution.⁹⁰ The Saviour in P.Oxy. 840 points to a logical contradiction within the purity map of things/purification: why doesn't the water of a cistern become polluted when touching a polluted thing like a rotting carcass? Could water really be that powerful? This seems to be the crux of P.Oxy. 840: the people of God do not become pure because of immersing in any living water, but because of being washed in the living water of heaven coming from the Father.

The associative meaning of scorpions in P.Oxy. 840 in the statement that Pharisees are like “prostitutes full of scorpions and all evil” should be understood in the light of the role of the scorpion in mythology and folklore of the time.⁹¹ In Hebrew mythology not much is said about the scorpion (*'aqrab*). In Deuteronomy they are mentioned with snakes to illustrate the dangers in the desert. In Ezekiel 2:6 the prophet is encouraged to go the “stiff-faced” Israelite people in the context of briars, thorns and scorpions.⁹² Garfinkel offers compelling argumentation for understanding the scorpions Ezekiel is speaking of as a plant from the family of *heliotropium*.⁹³ *Heliotropium digynum* has spiky flowers that resemble a scorpion’s stinger. According to this reading the Lord comforts the prophet that in sending him to prophesy among the hard necked Israelites that he is protected by briers, thorns and the scorpion plant around him.⁹⁴ This thorny connotation of the lexeme *'aqrab* is also prominent in King Rehobeam’s threat of 2 Chronicles 10:11, 14 that whereas his father chastised the people with whips, he will chastise them with scorpions. The fourth reference of *'aqrab* in the Tanak is in the geographical expression of *ma'alēh 'aqrabbīm* or “Ascent of Scorpions”

⁸⁹ Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity*, 187.

⁹⁰ כָל אַשְׁר־יִפְלֶל מִנְבָּלָתָם | עַלֵּוּ יְטַמֵּא פְּנֵר וּכְירִים יַעֲצֵץ טְמָאִים הֵם וְטְמָאִים יְהִי לָכֶם: ³⁶ אַךְ מַעַן וּבָרוֹר מִקְנָה־טְמָאִים יְהִי טְהָר וּנְגַע בְּנִבְלָתָם יְטַמֵּא:

(³⁵Everything on which something of their carcasses falls shall be impure, on an oven and stoves. Let it be demolished. They are unclean and unclean shall they be to you. ³⁶Only a spring, a cistern and an accumulation of water shall be pure, but the thing that touches their carcasses shall be impure).

⁹⁰ The logic is that the water of the *miqweh* and the fountain had purifying properties and resisted contamination, cf. Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity*. Only the person removing the carcass would become impure.

⁹¹ Frembgen, “The Scorpion in Muslim Folklore,” 95–123.

⁹² “Sitting among scorpions” is the translation preferred by George A. Cooke, *Ezekiel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936), Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Hermeneia; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) and Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (AB; Yale: Yale University Press, 1983), although the translation of the KJV “you dwell among scorpions” is more typical in translations. Indeed Garfinkel’s interpretation below only makes sense with the reference “dwell.”

⁹³ Stephen Garfinkel, “Of Thistles and Thorns: A New Approach to Ezekiel II 6,” *Vetus Testamentum* 37/4 (1987): 430, 434, 421–437.

⁹⁴ Mishnaic Hebrew sometimes understands עֲקָרֶב as a plant. In Syriac (*'eqarba'*) and Akkadian (*zuqiqipānu* from *zuqaqīpu* the more common word for scorpion in Akkadian) this reference also occurs, cf. Garfinkel, “Of Thistles and Thorns,” 432.

south of the Dead Sea which might just as well be referring to the animal or the plant (Num 34:3–4).

In Greek mythology scorpions played an important role in the saga surrounding both Orion and Minos.⁹⁵ Although there are various local versions of the Orion-saga, the Cretan version reports that the hunter, Orion, boasted of his strength and prowess and threatened to kill all the earth's animals. Gaia sent the small but venomous scorpion that killed the giant Orion with his sting. Both were placed in the heavens as the constellations that bear their name to this day. One can still see their hate for each other by the fact that they are never visible at the same time. Orion is often reported to have raped women. Eitrem suggests that the scorpion attacked Orion's genitals. Of Minos, King of Crete and grandfather to Orion, it is told that he would be unfaithful to his wife (Apollodorus, 3.15.1). During copulation he would let little animals loose in the genitalia of the women that eventually caused their deaths. These animals would include snakes, scorpions and millipedes.⁹⁶ Whereas the lustful Orion is killed by a scorpion, the lustful King Minos brings death to women by means of scorpions. This paradox of the scorpion is a recurring theme in Greek thought.

Later on the scorpion becomes synonymous with phallus. This is similar to how “snake” is often used in spoken English. If one sees a scorpion in threatening pose with its tail up, this is hardly surprising.⁹⁷ In ancient astrology constellations were readily associated with the human body, so that Aries, for example, signified the head, Taurus the neck and Scorpio the genitals (male and female).⁹⁸ Sextus Empiricus notes that these associations, as can be expected in astrological matters, were taken over from the Mesopotamians.⁹⁹ This

⁹⁵ Samson Eitrem, “Die Skorpion in Mythologie und Religion,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 7 (1928): 53–82.

⁹⁶ *Ant. Lib.* F41.

⁹⁷ Cf. Plato, the Comedian, quoted in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 1.8; Eitrem, “Die Skorpion,” 65.

τρίγλη δ' οὐκ ἔθέλει νεύρων ἐπιήρανος εῖναι.

παρθένου Ἀρτέμιδος γὰρ ἔφυ καὶ στύματα μισεῖ.

σκορπίος αὖ – B. παίσειέ γέ σου τὸν πρωκτὸν ὑπελθόν.

(But Red Mullet does not want to be a keeper of the glands.

For it is daughter of the virgin, Artemis, and hates erections.

The scorpion, then again, may it rise up and play with your anus).

⁹⁸ Paul of Alexandria quoted in Eitrem, “Der Skorpion,” 68, 80.

⁹⁹ Eitrem, “Die Skorpion,” 69. For the Greek appropriation of Mesopotamian astrology, cf. Bradley E. Schaefer, “The Origin of the Greek Constellations,” *Scientific American* 295/5 (2006): 96–101. Based on the precession of the skies Schaefer shows that even Eudoxus’ (date of composition 366 B.C.E.) astrological knowledge depends on star maps of 1130 B.C.E. at 36 degrees latitude, i.e. Assyria. Schaefer proposes that both Eudoxus and ^{MUL}APIN share data that must go back to a common source. ^{MUL}APIN was an important Mesopotamian textbook (or almanac) containing observations of the Mesopotamian star groups written around 1100 C.E. that was still copied in the third century B.C.E. Later on the greatest Greek astronomer, Hipparchus of Rhodes (190–120 B.C.E.), would still employ Mesopotamian astrological skills and take it even further. Cf. John J. O’Connor & Edmund F. Robertson, “Hipparchus of Rhodes,” *MacTutor History of Mathematics* (ed. J. J. O’Connor, E. F. Robertson & S. Banach; St Andrews: University of St Andrews, 2000). Cited 7 April 2016. Online: <http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/Biographies/Hipparchus.html>

means that the association of scorpion with phallus is indeed Mesopotamian. This is made clear from the *kudurru* (boundary marker) dating to the thirteenth century B.C.E. where the scorpion (*Zuqaqīpu*) threatens the phallus of Sagittarius (*Pabilsag*).¹⁰⁰ This same menacing behaviour of scorpions is well established in art history from this period into the Middle Ages.¹⁰¹ It is especially prominent in the representations of the Mithras-cult originating in Persia.¹⁰² Here the scorpion attacks the testicles of the bull to poison his seed. As the seed is taken up to the moon it is purified as divine seed to eventually produce the abundance of life on earth.¹⁰³

In Indian culture lust is often compared to the scorpion's sting.¹⁰⁴ In Rajasthan sexually obsessed women are often called "scorpions" probably with the connotation according to Frembgen of some female scorpions killing their partners after copulation.¹⁰⁵ Although the four references of '*aqrab*' in the Tanak do not reflect this use of the lexeme the fact that it is found from Mesopotamia throughout the Near East and beyond Palestine to Mainland Greece shows us that this sexual associative meaning of scorpion enjoyed common currency everywhere in between.

All of this might serve as a plausible explanation of P.Oxy. 840's association of prostitutes and pipe girls (and the Pharisaic high priest) with dangerous scorpions.

As Kruger has noted, the αὐλός is not a flute.¹⁰⁶ The αὐλός was a reed pipe belonging to the wind instruments. According to Sachs & Hornbostel the αὐλός would be a kind of oboe as it contained two or more parts of a reed.¹⁰⁷ The first time we see the αὐλός in the historical record is in Egyptian art of the New Empire (1539–1075 B.C.E.) where it was called *wedeny*. It was made from narrow cane. During the Hellenistic Period the αὐλός became more elaborate and included ivory, bronze and silver parts. It was blown in pairs, with the left one making a drone and the right one playing the melody.¹⁰⁸ The αὐλός was readily associated

¹⁰⁰ GÍR.TAB and PA.BÍL.SAG respectively.

¹⁰¹ Eitrem, "Die Skorpion," 69 argues that in areas North of Crete scorpions become less of a threat and are eventually substituted in art by crabs and snakes, so that snakes attacking men's genitals in Viking art constitute the same *topos*.

¹⁰² Cf. appendix for a picture of a scorpion squeezing the testicles of the Mithran bull.

¹⁰³ Eitrem, "Die Skorpion," 77.

¹⁰⁴ Frembgen, "The Scorpion in Muslim Folklore," 106.

¹⁰⁵ Frembgen, "The Scorpion in Muslim Folklore," 107.

¹⁰⁶ For this reason Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 89 consistently translates it as "pipe." Cf. appendix for representations of pipe girls from Egypt and from Greece.

¹⁰⁷ For a reconstruction of the music made by an αὐλός and other reconstructions of ancient music, cf. Stefan Hagel, "Ancient Greek Music," [n.p]. Cited 7 March 2016. Online: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kal/agm/index.htm> Also cf. Stefan Hagel, Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 327ff. That the αὐλός is an oboe is also recognized by Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 89.

¹⁰⁸ cf. Robert A. Warner & James M. Border, "Wind Instrument," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2016.

with gaiety.¹⁰⁹ Because playing it deformed the face it was improper for free women or citizen men to play it. The αὐλος reminded people of *fellatio*. Plato (*Resp.* 399d) banned it from his ideal state and even Aristotle (*Pol.* 1341) thought people could listen to it, but should not learn to play it.

According to the rules of antithesis one would expect that the text missing at P.Oxy. 840 would be in contrast to the Pool of David. In looking in the direction of apocalyptic literature, one possibility seems to be to play with τῆς λίμνης Ἀχερούσιας.¹¹⁰ But usually in apocalyptic literature the souls of sinners are baptized in this lake *post mortem*, so as to have their sins forgiven. Saints like Jesus and his disciples would have no need thereof.¹¹¹

4.8 Sub-Conclusion

The **dating** of Grenfell & Hunt of P.Oxy. 840 seems to be confirmed if one takes its theological development into consideration. The redundancy of P.Oxy. 840 is an important key for interpreting the text. This redundancy is clear when one compares Synoptic chriae to P.Oxy. 840. Especially in Matthew and Luke hardly a word is wasted. Mark comes across as verbose some times, but P.Oxy. 840 is in a class of its own in this respect. Many things are said more than once. By interpreting P.Oxy. 840 in this way, the difficulty of Jesus and his disciples' ability to see τὰ ἄγια σκεύη from the court of Israelites disappears. This expression is parallel to the most enigmatic part of the whole fragment: the meaning of “setting foot in the ἀνγεντήριον.” Elsewhere viewing τὰ ἄγια σκεύη is parallel to “setting foot in the temple” which seems to be the concrete meaning of these four artificial expressions.

The second chria appears to have been formed based on the element καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ιερῷ (“and he was walking about in the temple”) as found in Mark 12 and John 10 or an unknown oral source, but in response to the absence of a Christian equivalent to immersion. One should not think the gatekeeper would have answered Jesus after a statement of woe. This signals the end of the debate.

In the past, scholars have overemphasized the **Semitic quality** of P.Oxy. 840 at the expense of its anchorage in the Greek world. This occurred because of P.Oxy. 840’s

¹⁰⁹ István Czachesz, “The Grotesque Body in the Apocalypse of Peter,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. J. N. Bremmer & I. Czachesz; Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 108, 108–126.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *ApcPet* Rainer 4–6; BAGD s.v. λίμνη. It would fit easier into the missing amount of letters without λίμνης.

¹¹¹ Kirsti B. Copeland, “Sinners and Post-Mortem Baptism in the Acherusian Lake,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. J. N. Bremmer & I. Czachesz; Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 98, 91–107. Only in *The Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle* (composed around the 8th–9th cent.) are saints baptized in this lake, cf. Copeland, “Sinners and Post-Mortem Baptism,” 105.

proximity to the Synoptic Gospels (and John as some suggest). The proposed Semitisms by seasoned scholars like von Harnack and Jeremias might have deterred others from noting the literary quality of this text. The first pericope of P.Oxy. 840 has for the most part been neglected in scholarship on P.Oxy. 840 and its Platonic stamp overlooked. Like *The Republic*, one of the most well-known works of Plato at the time, the suffering of the unjust in this life is multiplied in the next life. The same philosophy is reflected in P.Oxy. 840. This pericope appears to have been part of a chria with an announcement of doom. If the parallels with Plato's *Republic*, *4 Maccabees* and *The Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* are anything to go by the threat of doom might have been directed against tyrants that persecute disciples of Jesus.¹¹² In an anti-Jewish context another possibility is that the threat was directed against some or other Jewish opponents.

In P.Oxy. 840 the **purity map** of people is transgressed in that Jesus insults the gatekeeper, comparing him to a prostitute. This seems to indicate that Jesus does not feel himself to belong to the Pharisee's in-group. Because the temple only functions as the dramatic setting of the chria, it seems more important that Jesus' interlocutor is a Pharisee than a gatekeeper. The emphasis of P.Oxy. 840 seems to be on the failure to immerse, not on forbidden entry (contra Schwartz). The Saviour undermines the Scribal enactment to immerse before pilgrimage to the temple. He offers an alternative means of purification (probably more to the reader than to the interlocutor). P.Oxy. 840 seems to understand that touching impure animals would make one impure. Legally speaking this is wrong. Only by eating impure animals could one become impure. Purificatory water could not even be contaminated by corpse impurity (Lev 11:35–36). The Saviour points to a contradiction: if unnatural water can become contaminated, so can that of a spring or a cistern. The Saviour's message is that one can only become pure through inner purity and baptism.

The **scorpions** are clearly a symbol of lust in P.Oxy. 840. This is confirmed by a common mythological inheritance from Crete to India. The musical instrument is not a flute but an oboe.

It seems that P.Oxy. 840 should be understood as an **early monument to the separation of Christianity from Jewish religion** – at least locally. P.Oxy. 840 rejects the law in contrast to Jewish Christianity (and the Ebionites).

¹¹² In the Fourfold Gospel the suffering of martyrs is usually symbolized by Christ's martyrdom, though it is uncertain how such a motif could have figured at this stage of the Jesus-story in P.Oxy. 840, which in Synoptic chronology would fit between Jesus' demonstration in the temple of Jerusalem and his crucifixion.

Regarding the second pericope it is important to note that Jeremias' proposal that the τις of τις ἀρχιερεὺς Λευ[εις] must indicate that somebody other than *the* high priest is intended.¹¹³ This understanding should not be neglected in making sense of P.Oxy. 840. For him both "Schatzmeister" and "Hauptmann" could be the references of ἀρχιερεὺς. Safrai & Safrai propose "gatekeeper" which is closer to Jeremias' last suggestion.¹¹⁴ Safrai & Safrai note that gatekeepers were usually Levites.¹¹⁵

With Jesus' counter question on whether the gatekeeper is pure, one sees how his **answer is particularly longwinded**: This is where an antithetical statement is applied describing his going up and down a flight of stairs and putting on white clothes...and pure ones. Although interpreters have made much of this to try and determine the historical plausibility of P.Oxy. 840 it seems to have a function in the narrative of emphasizing the endless ritual the Pharisee has to go through for (outside) purity.¹¹⁶

P.Oxy. 840 lets Jesus use **two arguments to make the point** that they are pure. Firstly a *deductio ad absurdum*: the gatekeeper claims to be pure because of having washed in a pool which impure animals could have defiled by washing themselves. Secondly he uses a simile in order to compare the gatekeeper to prostitutes and pipe girls that are beautiful on the outside, but full of evil and lust on the inside.

Finally Jesus says he and his disciples have been washed in living water which is coming from somewhere. At this point the fragment breaks off. The **living water** is second century Christian language and is to be understood as a reference to initiatory baptism.¹¹⁷ Because of the law of parallelism it points back to the immersion the gatekeeper has just spoken about.

Two theological emphases are found in P.Oxy. 840: its view on baptism and its anti-Judaism. Baptism has replaced the necessity of immersion as practiced by Jews. Meanwhile

¹¹³ Jeremias, "Der Zusammenstoß," 100.

¹¹⁴ Ze'ev Safrai & Chana Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," *Halakah in the Light of Epigraphy* (ed. A. I. Baumgarten; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2011), 280, 255–280. Greg H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 1978, §2 notes the frequency of compounds with ἀρχή- for offices and trades at the time of the Koine, simply to make someone sound more significant (especially on epitaphs). A good example is ἀρχιεροῦστάρχης. This might also explain the author's construction of τις ἀρχιερεὺς Λευ[εις].

¹¹⁵ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 280.

¹¹⁶ Kruger takes this answer from Levi as one of the arguments to buttress P.Oxy. 840's plausibility as it would be an authentic description of the *miqwā'ot* of the Second Temple Period. Miller, *At the Intersection*, 113 has shown that there is no proof that split stairways were used for *miqwā'ot*. He suggests that this was more characteristic of Christian baptisteries.

¹¹⁷ The language of living water is used to indicate baptism in many of the treatises of the second century analysed in this dissertation: *The Trimorphic Protennoia*, *The Gospel according to the Egyptians*, *Zostrianos*, *Justin the Gnostic*, *The Epistula Apostolorum*, *Barnabas* and *Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho*.

Jews are slandered as having a problem with lust. Their over-emphasis on external purity has come at the expense of their inner purity.

5 Gnostic texts comparable to P.Oxy. 840

5.1 Introduction

Although Grenfell & Hunt are impressed with P.Oxy. 840's orthodoxy, they are struck by its consistent title for Jesus, Saviour.¹ They note that this is a known Valentinian title. Tripp sees P.Oxy. 840 as “a sly piece of work, designed to look like Christian anti-Jewish polemic and an attack on Jewish illustrations while in actual fact all forms of baptism are attacked.”² For him such a Gospel could have come from the Naassenes, one of the Gnostic groups. Tripp’s proposal is taken up by Bovon who tries to make a departure from the framework of first-century Judaism in which P.Oxy. 840 is conventionally located.³ According to the last mentioned reading, Jesus and his disciples would be polemicizing against Judaism as it is represented in the fragment by the high priest.⁴ Bovon on his part explores the possibility of a controversy between Gnostics, Valentinians or Manichaeans (represented by Jesus and his disciples), on the one hand and Jewish-Christians or the mainstream Christian church (represented by the high priest) on the other.⁵ That would mean that the text’s composition would be at a much later stage (second or third century). Such a Saviour would then be polemicizing against the sacrament of baptism. The high priest would be symbolic of a Jewish-Christian Baptist (like the Elchesaites). With the benefit of the published finds from the Nag Hammadi Library Bovon has proposed numerous Gnostic and Valentinian groups and writings that are comparable to P.Oxy. 840. This includes *The Trimorphic Protennoia*, *Zostrianos*, *The Testimony of Truth*, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, Justin the Gnostic and the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*. Nobody has thus far compared P.Oxy. 840 to *The Book of Thomas the Contender*, *The Gospel of Mary* or *The Gospel of the Egyptians*.

¹ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 2.

² Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing,” 238.

³ François Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840: Fragment of a Lost Gospel, Witness of an Early Christian Controversy over Purity,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 705.

⁴ Adolf Jülicher, “Ein neues Jesuswort?” *Christliche Welt* 8 (1908): 201–204 also thought the fragment had a Gnostic origin.

⁵ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 728.

5.2 Dialogues of the Redeemer

5.2.1 The Book of Thomas the Contender NHC II,7

5.2.1.1 Date

First half of the third century C.E.⁶

5.2.1.2 Genre

Dialogue of the Redeemer and Christian wisdom literature.⁷

Klauck prefers to classify this as a Non-Localized Dialogue.⁸ Turner divides the work into two parts: a revelation dialogue between Jesus and Thomas followed by a monologue of Jesus.⁹ He feels that these sections represent different documents that have been combined into one by a redactor.¹⁰ This is a dialogue between Jesus and Thomas – at which time it occurred is not clear.¹¹

5.2.1.3 Sources

Tuckett concludes that this treatise was probably familiar with Luke and Matthew, but is struck by the lack of references, especially when compared to the flood of parallels between *The Gospel according to Thomas* and the Synoptic Gospels.¹² Material that seem to be echoed are all from the words of Jesus as found in Q and Mark. The following parallels are found 145.3–5 (Matt 5:11–12/Luke 6:22–23), 145.5–8 (Matt 5:4/Luke 6:21), and 145.8–10 (Matt 26:41/Mark 14:38). The quotations are so inaccurate that Tuckett feels they depend on the author’s memory. With the last mentioned quote a memorable idea seems to have been manipulated to something less memorable to give it a Platonic spin. The idea of

⁶ Scholars do not agree whether *The Book of Thomas the Contender* was written before or after *The Acts of Thomas*, which is dated around 200–225 C.E. Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday), 5 and John D. Turner, “Introduction” in *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7 Together with XIII,2**, *Brit. Lib. Or.* 4926(1), and P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655 (ed. B. Layton; NHS 21; ed. M. Krause, J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 2: 177 feel it preceded *The Acts of Thomas*, whereas Paul-Hubert Poirier, “The Writings ascribed to Thomas and the Thomas Tradition,” in *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years* (NHMS 44; ed. J. D. Turner & A. McGuire; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 301 feel it was written after *The Acts of Thomas*. Poirier’s argumentation seems more compelling.

⁷ John D. Turner, “The Book of Thomas the Contender,” in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. J. M. Robinson; rev. ed.; San Francisco: Harper, 1990), 200.

⁸ Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 176–177. This is because *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (and *The Dialogue of the Saviour*) does not contain framework passages, so that it is unclear whether it is a dialogue with the living or the risen Jesus.

⁹ According to Berger’s methodology this would be classified as explanatory revelatory discourse and diatribe.

¹⁰ Turner, “Introduction,” 174–175.

¹¹ Turner, “The Book of Thomas the Contender,” 199 seems to assume that it takes place after the resurrection.

¹² Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 87.

eschatological rest found in 145.12–16 is very close to *The Gospel according to Hebrews* quoted in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2.9.45.5 and 5.14.96.3.¹³

5.2.1.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise the following analysis is made:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (πσωτήρ)	15	55.56
Lord (πικοεις)	10	37.04
Jesus (ιησοῦς)	2	7.41
Total	27	100

The σωτήρ-title is the most frequent and is applied more than half of the time.

5.2.1.5 Theology

Reminiscent of some of the traditions on display in *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* and *of Thomas* we see the following passage:

<i>Thom. Cont. 140.41–141.2</i>	
ἀφογωφῆ ἀε ἔνθ[ι παῖ] εφχῳ [ῆμο]ς χ[ε οὐε]ιατ[ῷ] ἔπιστεν ἔρφῳ ἔντλοψ[ι] [νε ἔνσα τμηε ἀγῳ ῆταρεψόντε ἀρμτον̄ ἐμ*μορ̄ εεραι εχως φα ενεζ ἀγῳ ἔπιφρ γοτε γητογ ἔννετογωφε λωτρτωρ̄ (NHS 21)	But he answered the Saviour and said: “Blessed is the wise man who has sought after the truth and when he found it rested on it forever. And he did not fear the ones wanting to disturb him.”

Form

Beatitude¹⁴

In a passage aimed against people living according to the flesh the following discussion is of note:

¹³ These passages are discussed in my chapter on Jewish-Christian texts.

¹⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 188–191.

<i>Thom. Cont. 141.21–142.2</i>	
<p>ἡ οὐ πετῆναχοοց̄ ἑβλλεεγε ἑρωμε ἡ αῷ ἕσβω τετῆναχοος̄ ἑμιτ[αλ]ἀπιωρος ἑθηητος νετχω ἔμος̄ χε ανει ἀ[ρ] πετηνογγ̄ αγω αγσαγου ἀν̄ παλιν δε σεναχ[οοс]̄ χε ενε ἑπογχπον ȝn τσαρȝ̄ νεννασογωṇ [ῳ]λη τε ἀν πε παχει ȝoi πισῷρ χε ȝn ογμηε η[λει] ἐτῆμαγ ἑπρκααγ νακ̄ ἑρωμε αλλα οπογ ȝ[ως τὲ]νοογε̄ ἑθε γαρ ἑπτένοογε εγογωμ̄ ȝn[εγε]ρηγ̄ ται τε θε ȝωογ ἑνεειρωμε ἑτεειμιη[ε ce] ογωμ̄ ἑνεγερηγ̄ αλλα σερογροεῑ ἑτμητ[ρο] επιδη σεμαεῑ ἑτξλбε ἑπκωշ̄ αγω σεο ἑнмзлл ἑπιμογ̄ αγω σεпит̄ ανζвнг̄е ἑπкxѡш̄мe сехомк εвoл ἑтепиоymеia ἑнeуgiote сенанохoу εзraї αпnoын̄ ἑceрhмastigou ἑmoou εвoл ȝtн tanaг`kн ἑpiciдe ȝtouyfycis eooou сенaфrагeлloу гap̄ ἑmoou αтpoγpiωt̄ ἑcaхwoy αpmα ete ἑcesooyn̄ ἑmoos̄ ȝn̄ αγω сen[al]jo ἑnеyмелoc̄ ȝn οyзypomonh ȝn̄ αlla [ȝn οy]ka тоotk̄ εвoл̄ αγω сeraqе eхm̄ [- - -] p[- - - ...^{11½} ...] plivē мn̄ piωqж̄ eyo [ȝ - - -] [ce]pint̄ ȝ[ca pi]piaqж̄ ȝnht̄ eп[c]eñme a[n] ȝpoy] [li]vē eу[me]yge χe ȝncaвeeγ n[e ce - - - - -]..] aeiε ȝpouycwma 2 . [- - - - - - - -] * epe поyгnt̄ поонe eрооӯ eрepouymeeγe si neyprazic (NHS 21)</p>	<p>“What is it that we shall say to blind men? What teaching should we speak to these miserable mortals who say, ‘We came to do good and not curse,’ and yet claim, ‘If we had not been begotten in the flesh, we would not have known bad people?’”</p> <p>The Saviour said, “Truly, as for those, do not esteem them as men, but count them as (domestic) animals, for just as animals eat each other, so also men of this sort eat each another. On the contrary, they are deprived of the kingdom since they love the sweetness of the fire and become slaves of death and rush to the works of defilement. They fulfill the lust of their fathers. They will be thrown down to the abyss and be afflicted by the torture of the bitterness of their evil nature. For they will be scourged so as to make them flee backwards, where to they do not know, and they will recede from their limbs not patiently, but with despair. And they rejoice over [...] madness and derangement [...] They run after this derangement without realizing their madness, while thinking they are wise. They [...] their body [...] Their heart is turned to their own selves, their thoughts are on their deeds.</p>

Form

Announcement of doom

In the text it is clear that these constituent Others will suffer damnation. There is no salvation for such people, in fact:

<i>Thom. Cont. 142.26–143.1</i>	
<p>αqoγωaж̄ ȝoi πiсѡř πaхeq χe [zam]hn̄ тxω ἔmос nhtn̄ χe петнасaтn̄ aпe[тn̄]aхē αγω ȝqкto ȝpеqzо εвoл̄ χe ȝqкq ψe[e] ȝcwaq̄ [ȝ] χe ȝqсaтp̄ ȝneq̄ спotoγ ȝi nle[1] zamhn̄ тxω ἔmос nhtn̄ χe сenatdaq̄ aтоotq̄ ȝparxwн eтn̄pica n̄tpē пaі etaрxei εзraї eхn̄ ȝezoyciathepoy eyo ȝpro εxawoγ ȝqкto ȝpaлei eтmаg ȝqnoxq̄ xn̄ ȝtpē ȝla pittn̄</p>	<p>The Saviour answered and said, “Truly I tell you that he who will listen to your word and turn away his face or sneer at it or lift his lips at these things, truly I tell you that he will be given to the ruler above who rules over all the authorities as their king, and he will turn that one around and</p>

<p>ἀπνογήν ἕσεωρεχ ἀρωφ̄ 2ῆ ούμα εφθηγ̄ εφοῆκακε̄ μαψωῆ δομ δε ἐπονεψ̄ ἡ λκιν̄ ἐτε πινος ἑβλαθος̄ ἕτε πταρταρος̄ μῆ πις[ιψ]ε̄ [ε] [ετζ]φρψ̄ ἕτε λμῆτε παῖ ετ̄ταχρηγ̄ α[... 4½ ...]γ[...] ἑμοογ̄ εεογ̄ εροψ̄ [ε]γψ[... 6 [...]λ[...]̄ ἑcen[λ]κω λη̄ εεολ̄ Ἑ[...]ι βε̄ . [.. 0 2½ ..][... 8½ ...]φριωτ̄ ἑca THNE c[ενα]παραδιδ[ογ] [.....παρ]γελος̄ πταρταρογχος̄ [.. 0 1 ..] [.....c]ατε εεπητ̄ ἑcwογ̄ [.. 0-2 ..] (NHS 21)</p>	<p>throw him from heaven down to the abyss, and they will imprison him in a narrow dark place. He can neither turn nor move because of the great depth of Tartarus and the heavy bitterness of Hades that is firm [...] them to it [...] they will not forgive [...] pursue you. They will hand [...] over to [...] angel Tartarouchos [...] fire running after them.</p>
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Form

Announcement of doom

The formula *λεογωψ̄ ἕσι πισψ̄ παλεψ* (the Saviour answered, said) is unthinkable without influence from the language of the Markan ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει (e.g. Mark 3:33, later becoming typical of all the Synoptics). The above pericope contains a few cases of redundancy as in P.Oxy. 840.¹⁵ Τάρταρος is of course the typical Greek concept for punishment in the afterlife. As with the Platonic and the Christian conception this punishment is for ethical transgressors.¹⁶ The word is also included in the New Testament.¹⁷ Although λμῆτε has been translated with “Hades,” it literally means “the western place,” and seems to have functioned in much the same manner as the Greek ἔδης.¹⁸ Turner argues that 142.30–143.8 shows influence of Greek descriptions of the underworld.¹⁹ The document concludes with a list of woes and of beatitudes. The following serves as an example:

¹⁵ It is marked in grey.

¹⁶ Plato, political animal that he is, is more concerned with transgressions against the state or injustice than the Christian conception of transgressions against a transcendent God or sin, cf. Burkert, “Pleading for Hell: Postulates, Fantasies and the Senselessness of Punishment,” *Numen* 56 (2009): 148, 141–160.

¹⁷ The lexeme ταρταρόω is found in 2 Pet 2:4 and also Jewish apocalyptic writings including Job 41:24. Τάρταρος was a place of torment reserved for the most miserable mortals like Sisyphus and Tantalus, and the Titans defeated by Zeus, cf. Stephen L. Harris & Gloria Platzner, *Classical Mythology: Images & Insights* (4th ed.; New York, McGraw, 2004), 289–291.

¹⁸ Walter E. Crum, “λμῆτε,” *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939), 8. The Greek concept is described in Homer, *Od.* 11. That ἔδης lies in the far West is also set out by the *Odyssey* 11.1–22. The lexeme ἔδης is found in the New Testament in Matt 11:23; 16:8; Luke 10:15; 16:23; Acts 2:24, 27, 31; Rev 1:18 with reference to the abode of the dead like Hebrew לְאַשֵׁר, but also to a place of torment in Luke 16:19–31. It is also found with reference to a person, like the Hebrew יָמָן, (this reference also possible for לְאַשֵׁר e.g. Isa 5:14) cf. 1 Cor 15:55; Rev 6:8; 20:13f. Both uses are also found in the Old Greek translation of the Jewish Bible. For Egyptian perspectives on the afterlife, cf. John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). The place where the Sun set (West) was seen to be the entrance to the netherworld. For this reason cemeteries were usually situated on the western bank of the Nile, e.g. the Valley of the Kings.

¹⁹ Turner, “Introduction,” 87 doesn’t give examples. One might think of the idea that 143.3 specifically mentions that the sinner cannot find his way East to escape.

<i>Thom. Cont. 143.22–144.2</i>	
<p>ογοὶ [Ν]ητὸν παιχμαλωτος καὶ τετῆμηρ^χ γὰρ οἰσπιλ[αι]- ον^χ τετῆσωβε εἰτεῖραψε γραῖ γὰρ οἰσωβ[ε] πλιβε τετῆρνοει ἀν μπετῆτακο οὐτε τ[ε]τῆρνοει ἀν^χ γὰρ οἰετῆ^{<ν>}γητογ οὐτε θῆ[ε]τῆρμε καὶ τετῆρωοπ^χ γὰρ πκακε^χ μὴν πιμο[γ] αλλα εἰτεῖταξε γὰρ πκωτ^χ αγω τετῆ[μεζ] οἰσιψε^χ ερε πετῆγητ^χ ποψε ερωτὸν ετε π[μ]ογ^χ ετ[2]γ τηνε^χ αγω φρολος ητὸν ησι πκλο μὴν τπληγη οἰνετῆχαχε^χ αγω πκακε λαψαε ητὸν ησε ππιογοειν^χ τετημητρῆχε γαρ^χ ατετῆταλας ητημητημάλ ατετῆειρε ηηετῆχτ^χ ηηχτ^χ ηηακε^χ αγω οετῆμεεγ^χ ατετῆταλαγ ηηετῆτεβε^χ αγω ατετῆμογ ηηετῆμεε[γ]ε^χ γὰρ πκαπιος^χ μπικωτ^χ ετεγ τηνε αγω [αρχ]φωπ^χ ησι πετῆογοειν^χ γὰρ τκλοολε [η.... αγω τεβω ετ^χοι τηνε ατετηπ[.. 1½-4 ..] [.....]ροq^χ αγω αγρκατεχε ηηω[την 2] [την] θελ[πις ετ]φωοπ^χ ἀν αγω η[ι]μ πεντ[ατε] [την]- πιστ[εγε] ֆροq^χ τετῆρο[γην ἀν καὶ τετῆ][φ]ροοπ ηηητην γὰρ οετ[... 14½-17 ...] [.. 1½ ..]ογ ηηωτὸν γως ετ[ετῆ-]*ατετῆωμ^χ ηηετῆγγχη^χ γὰρ πμοογ μπικακ[ε] ατετῆπωτ^χ γὰρ οετηγωψε ηηων^χ ηηωτὸν (NHS 21)</p>	<p>Woe to you, captives, for you are bound in caves! You laugh! In mad laughter you rejoice! You neither consider your destruction, nor do you consider your circumstances, nor have you understood that you are in darkness and death! On the contrary, you are seized with the fire and full of bitterness. Your mind is deranged on account of the burning that is in you, and sweet are the poison and the blows of your enemies to you! And the darkness rose for you like the light, for you gave your freedom for servitude! You made your hearts dark and gave your thoughts to folly, and you filled your thoughts with the smoke of the fire that is in you! And your light has hidden in the cloud of [...] and the garment that is put upon you, you [...]. And you were seized by the hope that does not exist. And who is it you have believed? Don't you know that you all dwell among those that [...] you as though you [...]. You dipped your souls in the water of darkness! You walked by your own desires!</p>

It is not clear whether this second last sentence reflects an anti-baptismal or anti-immersion attitude or is supposed to be a metaphor for death. According to Crum the lexeme ωμс overlaps with the Greek lexemes καταποντίζω, βυθίζω and δύειν.²⁰ It is possible that the Greek original might have had βαπτίζω which also covers this lexical range. Due to the surrounding context “dip your soul in the water of darkness” seems to be a metaphor for death.²¹ The document seems to envisage reincarnation for the souls of apostates:²²

<i>Thom. Cont. 141.3–19</i>	
<p>αρογωψε ησι θωμας παλεψ^χ καὶ σῆ νοψρε ηηω^χ πχοεις^χ αητον ηηων^χ γὰρ οετε ηων νε^χ παλεψ ησι πσωρ^χ καὶ πετῆ^χ ψαγταρ πε^χ αγω ηηωνγ ηηων επιδη οετηγωψε εβολ</p>	<p>Thomas answered and said, “Is it a good thing for us, lord, to rest among our own?” The Saviour said, “Yes, it is useful. And it is</p>

²⁰ Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, “ωμс,” 523.

²¹ Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, “ωμс,” includes the reference “überschwemmt sein” which suits this metaphorical understanding perfectly.

²² Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 181.

ἘΝ ἦρωμε̄ σεναβωλ εβολ πικεγος ταρ ἔτογσαρζ
ναβωλ εβολ αγω εφωλιχωρε εβολ φναψωπε ἐΝ
νετογονε̄ εβολ ἐΝ νετογναγ εροογ αγω τοτε πκωστ̄
ετογναγ εροq̄ εψή τκαс нау εтвe тагапи нтпистic̄ етe
оуңтaгc̄ ғa өн мпioчoeiψ πaлиn̄ сенасooчgoу
апетогоне̄ εвoл нeтnaг ғe εвoл ἐN νeтoгoнē εвoл
an̄ aхn̄ тфoрpī нaгapи сenatako ғm прфoуg фnивioc̄
mн̄ прaxx̄ m̄ [n̄] πкoшt̄ нoуkoгī нoуoеiψ
фaнteqвoл εвoл̄ нbи пeтoгoнē εвoл тoтe
сeнаwoпpē нbи ғeпeilawloп eмnteг morfH aгo
нtнihtе нntaфoс nceфoпe ғiхn̄ нkac nфa eneг ғn oуt̄
тkaс mн̄ oуtakо mжyxh (NHS 21)

good for you, since the visible things among men will go to ruin – for the vessel of their flesh will go to ruin, and when it is scattered it will be among visible things, among things that are seen. And then the fire which they see gives them pain because of love for the faith they formerly had. They will be gathered back to that which is visible. But, those who have sight among things that are not visible, without the first love they will go to ruin in the concern for this life and the scorching of the fire. Only a little while longer, until that which is visible will go to ruin; then shades will emerge without form, and in the midst of tombs they will be forever upon the corpses in pain and destruction of soul.”

Form

Chria occasioned by a disciple; revelatory discourse

Not only will there be a resurrection, but also some kind of purgatory. Finally there will be souls that will remain in a restless condition among graves as ghosts.

The author's Encratism comes out in criticism directed at promiscuous people:

<i>Thom. Cont. 144.10–12</i>	
οүoі нhtн nетmaeі ntcynhociā нtкnтcimē mн̄ pccфoпe nимmac eтcooq̄ aгo оyoeī нhtн nтоotoy nnezoycia mпietnсoмa xе netmimo гaр̄ сeнаoмkе tнnē (NHS 21)	Woe to you who love society with womankind and polluted intercourse with her! Woe to you under the powers of your body, for they will afflict you!

It is unclear, whether this is a general criticism of people that are not Encratite or whether it is not in fact specifically aimed at Proto-Orthodox Christians that practiced marriage, who were sometimes criticized for it by Encratites. In any case pollution and purity seem to be understood in a symbolic sense and come in handy to qualify sins. Purity is not important enough to be addressed.

5.2.1.6 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

The Book of Thomas the Contender is a combination of wisdom literature, Platonism and asceticism.²³ Jesus is presented as a wise teacher.²⁴ In the beginning the author characterizes the work as wisdom literature and seems to allude to the Gospel of Thomas:

Gos. Thom. 1	
ναεὶ νε ἔφαλε εοηπ̄ ἐντά τι ετον̄ χοογ αγω λαρσαιογ ῆδι διδυμος τογδας θωμας (NHS 20) ²⁵	These are the hidden words which the living Jesus spoke and which [Didymus] Judas Thomas wrote. ²⁶
Thom. Cont. 138.1–3	
*ἔφαλε εοηπ̄ ναὶ ενταρφαλε ἔμαγ ῆδι πιωρ ῆιογδας θωμας ναὶ ενταικασογ̄ ανοκ շաωտ̄ մաթալաս (NHS 21)	The hidden words that the Saviour spoke to Judas Thomas, which also I, Matthew, wrote.

Based on this incipit of the treatise Layton has proposed that there was a “School of St. Thomas.”²⁷ Poirier casts doubt on the existence of such a trajectory and feels that this incipit of *The Book of Thomas the Contender* is the only real point of reference to *The Gospel of Thomas*.²⁸ Poirier argues that the twin motif is not found in the Gospel according to Thomas, but is first mentioned in John (11:16; 20:24 and 21:2) and is then found in its full-blown form in *The Acts of Thomas* where he is called the twin brother of Jesus (*Acts Thom.* 31). The way Thomas is called in *The Book of Thomas the Contender* seems reminiscent of the way John’s Gospel puts it:

John 11:16	
εἶπεν οὖν Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος...	Then said Thomas, the one called Didymus...

²³ John D. Turner, “The Book of Thomas the Contender,” in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. J. M. Robinson; rev. ed.; San Francisco: Harper, 1990), 200.

²⁴ Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 400.

²⁵ Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοι οὓς ἐλά]λησεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰούδα ὁ] καὶ Θωμᾶς. The original Greek of the incipit of *The Gospel according to Thomas* is still extant in P.Oxy. 654.

²⁶ Poirier, “The Writings ascribed to Thomas and the Thomas Tradition,” 301 notes that the fragment P.Oxy. 654.2–3 does not contain “Didymus” but reads Ἰούδα ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς. For this reason the translation given above reflects that “Didymus” is a later addition to the text. The rest of the Gospel only calls him Thomas, so that the addition of “Didymus” seems to have occurred at a later period after exposure to John’s Gospel and/or *The Acts of Thomas*.

²⁷ Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 359–364. Writings he includes in this school are *The Gospel according to Thomas*, *The Book of Thomas the Contender*, *The Hymn of the Pearl* (found in *The Acts of Thomas*). Karen King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2003) mentions that the category Thomas Christianity will probably not stand the test of time after the article by Poirier, “The Writings ascribed to Thomas and the Thomas Tradition,” 295–307.

²⁸ Poirier, “The Writings ascribed to Thomas and the Thomas Tradition,” 303.

πεχεθωμας πεψλγμογτε εροq χε διδγμос ²⁹ (PapyCast 11)	Said Thomas the one who is called Didymus...
Thom. Cont. 142.7–9	
πλαδεq ῆσι ՚օγδας` πλ̄ι ετογμογτε εροq` χε θωμας χε ՚πτοκ πχοειс` πεтсрпрепеи` ՚nak` αψехе` ՚анок ՚де ՚птасвтн ερок` (NHS 21)	Jude – the one called Thomas – said, “It is you, Lord, whom it befits to speak, and me to listen to you.”

Poirer’s argument is even clearer in the Coptic version of John as can be seen above.³⁰ Nevertheless Poirier is undecided whether all of this is based on John or another source. *The Book of Thomas the Contender* does not seem to show any other Johannine parallels, probably because of a possible polemic against Thomas in John.³¹ The incipit is something that could have easily been changed by a later redactor who was familiar with *The Gospel according to Thomas*. Poirier does think that *The Book of Thomas the Contender* used *The Acts of Thomas* as a source.

It is important to know yourself, as in the traditional Greek sentence, and if you know yourself you will know all things (138.15). A Platonic influence is undeniable in this treatise: The soul is seen as imprisoned in the body and it can fly away if one seeks the truth of wisdom (140.2). Knowledge of yourself leads to eschatological rest (138.4–21, 141.1). Klauck notes that the document’s Christian character is only skin deep and wonders whether the document was not formerly a Platonic document mixed with Jewish wisdom similar to Philo of Alexandria.³² *The Book of Thomas the Contender* does not seem to be a Gnostic work. There is no charter myth as one would expect.³³ According to Marksches’ model there

²⁹ The text of Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament*, ad loc. and Wells, *Sahidica*, ad loc. agree with the oldest Coptic witness, PPala Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183, and is preferred to the three later manuscripts’ πεχαq ՚де ՚ῆσι θωμαс πεψлγμоуtе found in the *apparatus criticus* of Quecke, *Das Johannesevangelium Saidisch*, 152. The reading of the three younger manuscripts is even closer to that of *The Book of Thomas the Contender*, in that the subject, Thomas, has a postponed subject to emphasize it, cf. Bentley Layton, *Coptic in 20 Lessons: Introduction to Sahidic Coptic with Exercises and Vocabulary* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 102. Cf. also Bentley Layton, *A Coptic Grammar* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium 20; 3d rev. ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), §87b calling it an expansion of the personal dependent with ՚ῆσι.

³⁰ Pointed out by Poirier, “The Writings ascribed to Thomas and the Thomas Tradition,” 303. πεψлγμоуtе is a articulated relative while πλ̄ι ετογмоуtе is the appositive relative. Both use the dynamic passive (“they call him”) plus a preposition in the prepersonal state. Cf. Layton, *Coptic in 20 Lessons*, 51, 112, 150, 164; *A Coptic Grammar*, §175, 408, 411.

³¹ Ismo Dunderberg, “Johannine Traditions and Apocryphal Gospels,” in *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology* (ed. J. Schröter; Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 67–93.

³² Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 184.

³³ For charter myths, cf. John W. Rogerson, “Myth in the Old Testament” in *Myth and Scripture: Contemporary Perspectives on Religion, Language & Imagination* (ed. D. E. Callender Jr.; SBLRBS 78; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 21, 15–25.

are no indicators speaking for Gnosis. After Williams and Layton's research one cannot merely assume a Gnostic provenance for every work found at Nag Hammadi.³⁴

5.2.1.7 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

One similarity between P.Oxy. 840 and this treatise is the eschatological judgement awaiting their opponents – even other Christians. *The Book of Thomas the Contender* appears to relish in every opportunity of describing the fate of the damned. Some of these ideas ultimately hail from Plato. P.Oxy. 840 also seems to have taken up some Platonic language. An even more striking similarity with P.Oxy. 840, is the consistent use of σωτήρ when Jesus acts as subject. This treatise includes some Synoptic beatitudes, but has changed them significantly. Stylistically *The Book of Thomas the Contender* also often expresses itself redundantly and uses hendyades as it is also to be seen in P.Oxy. 840.

The Book of Thomas the Contender contains ascetic or even Encratite ideas (144.10–12) which seem to have their parallel in P.Oxy. 840's warnings about lust.

5.2.1.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Poirier has pointed out that the way Thomas' name is used is reminiscent of John. He means this needn't show Johannine influence, but otherwise we do not see any Johannine influence. There would have been many more interesting things to pick up from the Gospel of John than just the syntax of how the name should be written. The way *The Book of Thomas the Contender* uses the Synoptic Gospels seems to be more informal than P.Oxy. 840. Although the author of *The Book of Thomas* does use ideas from the Gospels he is at liberty to manipulate things to suit his theological goals.

5.2.2 The Gospel according to Mary BG, 1

5.2.2.1 Date

Composition around 150 C.E. This Gospel was evidently quite popular in Egypt as a handful of fragments thereof have been rediscovered. The papyri fragments, dating from the early third century, have pushed some scholars to date the work early second century.³⁵ This makes

³⁴ Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 5–216. Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 184 also does not see the document as a Gnostic work.

³⁵ Karen King, *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala: Jesus and the First Woman Apostle* (Santa Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge, 2003), 3 is dating it to the first half of the second century.

this Gospel quite significant for the reconstruction of early Christianity. It was first published in 1955 though it was discovered in 1896 (Codex Berolinensis 8502).³⁶

5.2.2.2 *Genre*

Dialogue of the Redeemer

5.2.2.3 *Sources*

If we look at the sources *The Gospel of Mary* used we clearly see Johannine elements.

Peter says the Saviour loved Mary more than other women (5.5) and this is further explained by Levi who says the Saviour loved her more than the rest of the disciples (9.9). 8.15–19 is indebted to Luke 17:21–23 and Matthew 24:4. Tuckett notes that all the parallels to Mathew and Luke form part of a cluster in *The Gospel of Mary* 8:14–22.³⁷ This may corroborate suggestions by scholars that *The Gospel of Mary* is part of a composite work that was Christianized by a later redactor.

One sees another reference to either Matthew or Luke in the following:

<i>Gos. Mary</i> 10.15–16	
πιμα γαρ ετερεπινους ήμαγ εσμμαγ νοι περο (NHS 11)	For there where the mind (νοῦς) is, that is where the treasure is.
Matt 6:21	
πιμα γαρ ετερεπεκαρο ηλφωπε ηχητρ φηλφωπε ήμαγ ηδιπεκκεχητ (Horner) ³⁸	For where your (sg.) treasure shall be, there shall be your heart. ³⁹
Luke 12:34	
πιμα γαρ ετερεπετηρο ηλφωπε ημορ ερεπετηχητ	For where your (pl.) treasure shall be, that is where

³⁶ The publication of this treasured Gospel suffered a number of unlucky setbacks including two world wars, cf. the whole story in King, *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala*, 3–12.

³⁷ Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 36.

³⁸ Wells, *Sahidica*, 18 has the form εφηλφωπε (Focalized Future). Both *Gos. Mary* 10.15–16 and Luke 12:34 have Focalized forms. The Middle Egyptian M144 has the following text: πιμε γαρ ετερεπεκαρα ηχητρ φητεπεκκεχητ ηεδοπε μημε. This lends support to the reading with the Focalized form, although the word order is slightly different, cf. Hans-Martin Schenke, ed., *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide)* (TUGAL 127; Berlin: Akademie, 1981). The Bohairic of George W. Horner, ed., *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect: Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic: With Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Literal English Translation*; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1898), 1: 40 also has the focalized form εεφεδωπι, but in the Present. Askeland, “The Coptic Versions of the New Testament,” 206, 222 warns that the Bohairic text is significantly younger than that of the other Coptic versions with the oldest manuscripts going back to the eleventh century (except Papyrus Bodmer III). The lectio difficilior remains φηλφωπε and is retained. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, §493, 43 notes that adverbial clauses with πιμα are usually used with relative conversion.

³⁹ Greek original ὅπου γάρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία σου (For where your [sg.] treasure is, there shall be also your heart).

ηλφωπε γιωωρ (PapyCast 6) ⁴⁰	your heart shall be. ⁴¹
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Here the author has made use of stylistic chiastic inversion, or *al-tiqre*, as Howard calls it.⁴² What is more the original Greek καρδία is changed to the semantically related νοῦς to emphasize its cognitive reference.⁴³ These changes complement the author's theology, but alter the meaning of the dominical saying. The author appears to have been familiar with the Fourfold Gospel, although one does not detect much reverence for the traditions contained. Tuckett is not convinced by this parallel and thinks that it may also show an independent secondary development of the original saying.⁴⁴ He notes that variants of the same saying are also found in Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Macarius.⁴⁵

We do find references to *The Gospel of Thomas* 2 and 92 in 8.21–22 (or Matt 7:7) and to *logion* 114 in 9.20 and 18.11.⁴⁶ The negative view of Peter is also shared with the last *logion*.

5.2.2.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise we see the following occurrence:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (πεστήρ)	13	72.22
Lord (προεις)	3	16.66
Jesus (ιησοῦς)	0	0
The Blessed One (πιμακαριος)	1	5.55
Son of man (πυγῆρε μηρωμέ)	1	5.55
Total	18	100

The title of σωτήρ is obviously preferred by the author.

⁴⁰ Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament*, ad loc. who has ημαλ has not considered the oldest manuscript of Luke, PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181, which contains the reading γιωωρ, cf. Quecke, *Das Lukasevangelium Saidisch*, ad loc.

⁴¹ Greek original ὅπου γάρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν ἔσται (For where your [pl.] treasure is, there also is your heart).

⁴² George Howard, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," ANRW 25.5:4037.

⁴³ The semantic range of πρητ covers "heart" and "mind," cf. Smith, "γητ," 51. καρδία also includes these references, cf. LSJ, "καρδία," 877.

⁴⁴ Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 41.

⁴⁵ Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 40. Justin, *I Apol.* 15.16; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 12.77; 4.6.33; *Quis div.* 17.

⁴⁶ Wilson & MacRae, "The Gospel according to Mary," 461.

5.2.2.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

There is some material that can be interpreted in an anti-Jewish manner. Jesus' last words before he departs are:

Gos. Mary 8.22–9.4	
μηδέκα λαγ̄ πέπονος εργάτη πάρα πενταήτοις οὐδὲ μηδέ τοις νόμος πάθε οὐδεμίοθετης μηποτε πέσεαμαστε πάμωτάν ουτά (NHS 11)	Do not lay down any limits beyond what I have determined for you, and do not give a law like the lawgiver lest you be captured by it.

Form

Testament

This criticism of Judaism need not be aimed at Jews only. It could also be a criticism of the Jewishness associated most Christians at the time. The proto-Orthodox seem to have kept the ten commandments.⁴⁷ Other Christians might have felt that they were too attached to their canon of the Tanak, so that a convenient criticism would be that they are legalistic like the Pharisees. The fact that it is mentioned twice emphasizes its importance. Marjanen is convinced that this is meant as criticism against the emerging Orthodox movement. Similar criticism of Proto-Orthodoxy is quoted by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.2.2) and *The Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,3 77.25–27). Andrew and Peter represent the Proto-Orthodox establishment and Mary and Levi are the Gnostics. Marjanen also refers to Andrew's anti-revelation attitude as a typical Catholic concern during the second century.⁴⁸ As we can imagine early in the second century it was not always that easy to distinguish between Jews and Christians. For this reason scholars like Runesson have invented terms like Apostolic Judaism to describe the Christian movement at this stage.⁴⁹

A very similar idea of a prohibition on new laws is found at the close of *The Gospel of Mary* (18.20).

⁴⁷ Malina, *Cultural Anthropology*, 192.

⁴⁸ Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 121.

⁴⁹ Anders Runesson, "Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius and Theodosius I," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity* (WUNT 226; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008), 72.

5.2.2.6 Theology

Some scholars like Till and Puech are of the opinion that the document in its current form is a compilation of different treatises.⁵⁰

The Gospel starts with the risen Jesus addressing his disciples before he leaves this earth. He gives them their commission, but emphasizes that they should not expect his return to this world, for “the Son of Man is within you” (*Gos. Mary* 8.18).⁵¹ Mary’s vision of the soul’s ascent illustrates the restoration of the soul to its root.⁵² Jesus does not single Mary out while speaking to the disciples – at least not in the text available to us – but after Jesus has departed and all the disciples start panicking (quite unwilling to respond to the commission), Mary stands up and consoles the other disciples. Peter asks the following:

<i>Gos. Mary</i> 10.1–9	
περὶ πέτρου μαρισάμ ρε τῷνε τῆνοογν ρε νερεπέωρ οὐλωηνογο πάρα πικεσεεπε νέζιμε ρω ναν νένωαχε ἐπέωρ ετεειρε μπεγμεεγε ναϊ ετεεογν ἔμοογ ἔνανον ἀν οὐδε μπένσοτμογ ασογωωρε νδι μαρισάμ πεχας ρε πεοηπ ερωτᾶ τηναταμα τηγτᾶ (NHS 11)	<p>Peter said to Mary, Sister we know that the Saviour loved you more than the other women. Tell us the words of the Saviour which you remember which you know, but we do not, nor have we heard them.</p> <p>Mary answered and said, “I shall inform you of what is hidden from you.”</p>

Form

Chria occasioned by fellow-disciple

Despite her initial reluctance Mary answers that Jesus spoke to her in a vision privately. She asked him the following question:

⁵⁰ Quoted in Robert McL. Wilson & George W. MacRae, “The Gospel according to Mary,” in *The Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI with Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (ed. D. M. Parrot; NHS 11; ed. M. Krause, J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 454.

⁵¹ πώηρε γαρ μπρωμε ερδοπ μπετέογν

⁵² Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 114.

Gos. Mary 10.16–23	
<p>πεχαὶ ναὶ χε πᾶς τένοι πετναγ εφορομα εψναγ εροψ ἡττηγχη ἡπεπνά</p> <p>ἀφογωψῆ πῖστηρ πεχαὶ χε εψναγ ἀν σῆ τεψγχη οὐδε σμ πεπνά αλλα πνογε ετψ[οπ] ση τεγμητε μπεγζναγ ἥτο[η] πετ]ηλαγ εφορομα λγ[ω ἥτοψ π[ετ]⁵³ (NHS 11)</p>	<p>I said to Him, Lord, he who sees the vision does he see it through the soul or through the spirit?</p> <p>The Saviour answered and said, He does not see through the soul or through the spirit, but the mind that is between the two of them that is what sees the vision and that is [...]</p>

Form

Chria occasioned by disciple

Finally Mary describes how the soul makes its journey from this world to an aeon of rest after being freed from the prison of the body. This is possible, because of the following reason that the soul gives the ignorant part of the body:

Gos. Mary 15.19–22	
<p>μπογζοψωντ ἀνοκ δε αἴσογωνογ εγβωλ εβολ μπιθηρ ειτε να πικαζ ειτε να τπ[ε] (NHS 11)</p>	<p>I was not recognized. But I have recognized that everything is being dissolved, both the earthly things and the heavenly.</p>

After sharing this vision with the disciples her vision and her person are mocked by Andrew and Peter. Mary weeps. Luckily Levi comes to her defence and says the following:

P. Ryl. 463	
<p>εἰ ὁ σωτὴρ ἄξιαν αὐτὴν ἡγήσατο, σῦ τίς εἰ ἔξουθένων αὐτὴν πάντως γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἰδὼς αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς ἡγάπησεν μᾶλλον αἰσχύνθωμεν καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν τέλειον ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἐκεῖνο τὸ προστάχθ[εν ἡ]μ(ε)ῖν ποιήσωμεν κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μηδὲν ὄριζοντες μήδε νομοθέτουντες ὡς εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Λευ[εις μὲν ἀπελθὼν ἤρχεν κη[ρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (NHS 11).⁵⁴</p>	<p>But if the Saviour thought her worthy, who are you to think her a nobody, for because He knows her fully He loved her more without faltering. Let us be ashamed and put on the perfect human put before us. Let us do the preaching of the Gospel without restricting or making laws as the Saviour said. After he said this, Levi for his part went away and began to preach the gospel...</p>
Gos. Mary 18.10–19.5	
<p>εψχε απωτηρ δε αλας ναζιοс ἥτκ νιм δε շառկ ենօհс եボլ πանտω⁵⁴ ըրեպիատηր սուցն միմօс աժֆալօс ետե</p>	<p>But if the Saviour made her worthy, who are you (sg.) for your part to cast her away? Surely the Saviour knows her very well. For this reason He loved her</p>

⁵³ Here the text breaks off, so that we do not have pp 11–14.

⁵⁴ Though the text is from NHS 11, the accentuation is my own.

<p>πλί αφογοῦσε ἕπογο ερον μαλλον μαρῆσιπε ἔτεντζίσων μηρωμε οτελιος ητῆχπος ηαν κατα θε ἔταρι ςων ετοοτην ἔτενταμεοειω μηρεγαττελιον ενκω αν εραι ηκεζορος ογδε κενομος παρα πενταπετρ χοοι ἔτερε[8 ±]αι αγω αγραρχει ηβωκ [ετρεγτ]αμο ησεταμεοειω (NHS 11)</p>	<p>much more than us. Rather let us be ashamed and put on the complete Man, and separate as He commanded us and preach the gospel, without laying down any other limit or other law beyond what the Saviour said.” When...And they began to go forth and proclaim and to preach.</p>
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After this the disciples take heart and obey Jesus' last words and the Gospel ends. Marjanen thinks that only Levi and Mary departed to spread the Gospel in the original narrative.⁵⁵ P. Ryl. 463 only mentions Levi departing to spread the Gospel, the Coptic implies they all depart to do so. This has to be qualified by the fact that the last sentence in the Greek was probably not the last sentence in the text – at least if the reconstruction of μέν were correct. Then we would expect at least another sentence about either Mary or the other disciples introduced by a corresponding δέ. The adversative force of this conjunction does suggest that the disciples somehow do the opposite of what Levi is doing. So we do have enough evidence to suggest that the Coptic translation is different from the Greek text. The canons of textual criticism would favour the Greek version as it is not only the original language of composition, but is also a much older material witness to the text.⁵⁶ This tips the scales in the favour of Marjanen's thesis. The Coptic translation might represent a later more conciliatory movement of Gnostics.

5.2.2.7 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

Gnosis.

Unfortunately we do not have the entire treatise. Of the original nineteen pages the first six are missing and so are pages eleven to fourteen.⁵⁷ The dialogue does appear to show indicators of Gnosis:

Gnostic Typological Model	
1. Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak;	—

⁵⁵ Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 118–119.

⁵⁶ Charles H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938), 3: 18–23 dates the Greek fragment to the early third century, whereas Walter C. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis* (ed. H.-M. Schenke; 2d rev. ed.; TU 60; Berlin: Akademie, 1972) date the Coptic manuscript to the early fifth century.

⁵⁷ Antti Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved: Mary Magdalene in the Nag Hammadi Library and Related Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 96.

2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	—
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	—
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	No mention is made of an ignorant Creator, of God, or the Father
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	The soul is divine (8.10–24)
6. knowledge ($\gamma\text{νώσις}$) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	—
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	The soul is freed from oblivion and with it from this material world to find its eschatological rest (8.22–24)
8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	Matter is evil (4.30)

According to our Gnostic typological model we do not have a charter myth so indicators one, two, three, four and six are not visible. The missing pages at the start might account for the absence of a few typological requirements. There are some indicators that the Gospel might be Gnostic. Like *The Book of Thomas the Contender* this Gospel betrays many Platonic elements. The soul is bound to the body, but can be set free from ignorance.

5.2.2.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy 840

There are two things this Gospel shares with P.Oxy. 840: the use of the subject σωτήρ for Jesus and an anti-legalistic slant. The title σωτήρ is only applied in a post-resurrection context in *The Gospel according to Mary*.

5.2.2.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The two anti-legalism remarks do not seem to betray a community in regular contact with Judaism. The author does not appear to be interested in conducting a polemic with Jewish opponents as it is so common in the New Testament and P.Oxy. 840. In P.Oxy. 840 there appears to be more of a Jewish threat to the Christian community. The author seems to be at pains to construct a unique Christian identity in opposition to the Jewish one. *The Gospel according to Mary* is not narrative history as is the case with P.Oxy. 840. Many of the Gnostic writings have what Klauck calls a supra-temporal quality.⁵⁸ This applies to *The Gospel according to Mary*, even if it may not be Gnostic. In P.Oxy. 840 we see Jesus walking about in the temple of Jerusalem speaking to Pharisaic gatekeeper specifically named Levi. *The Gospel according to Mary* is much more abstract, though this lack of setting may also be accounted for by the missing pages at the start of the document. Still when Jesus leaves his disciples it is only written that Καὶ πέριπατε ἐν τῷ ιερῷ.⁵⁹ There is no narrative embellishment. *The Gospel according to Mary* has an explicitly realized eschatology, in that the disciples are told not to expect Jesus' return for the son of man is within them (8:18). P.Oxy. 840 has more of a realistic eschatology, with a clear division between punishment now and punishment hereafter. Like much of the Proto-Orthodox literature we will refer to later, not just John is used as a source, but we also see clear synoptic elements, this also goes for fixed formulae like "He who has ears to hear, let him hear" (cf. Mark 4:9; Matt 11:15; 13:9) though this can also be explained by oral traditions. *The Gospel of Mary* manipulates its Gospel sources through *al-tiqre* to make its own points. Although this practice was legitimate in Jewish exegesis one does not find it often in Christian practice. P.Oxy. 840's dependence on the Gospels is also more indirect, but one does not get the idea that a text is manipulated purposefully. P.Oxy. 840's exegetical technique is more of a creative composition using fixed formulas familiar from the Fourfold Gospel (e.g. καὶ περιέπατε ἐν τῷ ιερῷ). *The Gospel of Mary* does not at all address the issues of purity that is so important to P.Oxy. 840.

⁵⁸ Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 176.

⁵⁹ "After he had said this he departed."

5.3 Sethian Works

5.3.1 The Trimorphic Protennoia NHC XIII,1⁶⁰

5.3.1.1 Date

Based on palaeography the manuscript is dated about 350 C.E. There are no other indications for dating purposes.⁶¹ Turner proposes a date around 150 C.E.⁶²

5.3.1.2 Genre

This tractate is a mixture of aretalogy and doctrine.⁶³ Divine first person speech plays an important role.⁶⁴ The narrator of this book is the First Thought herself which is another name for the Barbelo.

5.3.1.3 Sources

With regards to the references to the Word, *The Trimorphic Protennoia* seems to be dependent on ideas found in John's Gospel (cf. John 4:14, 7:37 and *Trim. Prot.* 46.16–25). The antithesis of “in order that I might abide in them and they also might abide in me” has a definite Johannine ring, as well as the idea that at the time of Jesus’ earthly ministry “they did not recognize me.”

5.3.1.4 Christological Titles

The treatise uses the following christological titles:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (πεστηρ)	0	0
Lord (πχοεις)	0	0
Jesus (ιησογ)	1	7.69
Christ (χριστος)	4	30.77
Son of man (ογυηρε οντε μπιφωμε)	1	7.69
Son of God (πουηρε μπινογτε)	2	15.38
Word (πλογοс)	5	38.46
Total	13	100

⁶⁰ This title can be translated as “The First Thought in Three Forms.”

⁶¹ Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 86.

⁶² John D. Turner, “NHC XIII,1: Trimorphic Protennoia,” in *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII* (ed. C. W. Hedrick, NHS 28; ed. M. Krause, J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 400.

⁶³ To get an idea of the popularity of the genre aretalogy, cf. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis Religion*, §1, 2, 4 under the heading “Selbstoffenbarung der Isis.”

⁶⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 257.

5.3.1.5 Theology

Bovon claims that according to this treatise true baptism is knowledge and that true baptism is made tangible by the initiate dressing in a special garment.⁶⁵ The closest the text comes to the Manichaean statement that true purity (*CMC* 84), or baptism for that matter, is knowledge is in 36.5–11.⁶⁶ Although the text does not mention baptism when in the spiritual realm, it hardly seems fair to suppose that this text is contrasting a true spiritual baptism with an invalid earthly baptism. The fact of the matter is only this one baptism is mentioned (45.16–19; 48.6–12). As often is the case in Gnostic works, the context is quite abstract and little is said pertaining to life as it is lived concretely on earth.

According to Brakke's interpretation of the text the baptism is described in spiritual terms, but this is only “stylized and symbolic.” What is actually referred to, is a baptism received on earth, marked by five seals.⁶⁷ According to his analysis (earthly) baptism played a very important role with Sethians – in fact he calls it one of their most distinctive features. Brakke's analysis is based on this treatise and on other works he associated with the Sethians, like *The Gospel of the Egyptians* and *The Apocryphon of John*.

Bovon's interpretation of this treatise as being anti-baptism is forced onto the text unnecessarily.

The significance of living water is seen in the following passage:

⁶⁵ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 725.

⁶⁶ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕΙΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΔΙ ΕΤ]ΜΗΤΕ ΝΛΑΜῆΤ[ε] ΔΛΑΚ ΠΕ[ν] ΤΑΕ[ι]ΒΕΒΕ [μ]ΠΙΜ[ΟΟΥ ΔΝ]ΟΚ ΠΕΤ'ΗΠΙ ΖΡΔ[ι] Σῆ ΣΕΝΜΟΟΥ Φ[ΥΓΓΡΗ]ΦΟΥ Υ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝΤ[ΔΕΙ] ΠΡΡΙΕ ΜΠΤΗΡΦ ΚΔΑ ΜΕ[ρ]ΟΣ ΖΡΑΙ Σῆ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΟΤΠ [μ]ΠΙΖΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟ[λ] ΣΤΟΟΤ··· ΕΦΑΣΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ [ν]δι ΤΤΝΩCΙC ΕΕ[ι]ΦΟΟΠ Σῆ ΝΙΑΤΦΔΧΕ ΦΙΜΟΟΥ Μῆ ΝΙΑΤ (I [descended to the] midst of the underworld and I shone [down upon the] darkness. It is I who poured forth the [water]. It is I who am hidden within [radiant] waters. I am the one who gradually (κατὰ μέρος) put forth the All by my Thought. It is I who am laden with the Voice. It is through me that Gnosis comes forth. [Turner]) At most one can equate the Trimorphic Protrenoia with water, in that she says she is hidden in the water. Still it is through the Trimorphic Protrenoia that knowledge is brought forth.

⁶⁷ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 84–85.

<i>Trim. Prot. 46.16–25</i>	
οὐοεινε εὐχήτι πε εφτ̄ πογκαρπος πῶντε εὐβεεεβε πογμοογ πῶντε εβολ ȝὴ τπηγη πάτ'ναγ ερος πάτχωμε πάτφιτφ' ετε πλι πε προογ ππεοογ πτηαγ πάτογλαμεφ' πεοογ ππαχπο ππνουτε ουπλαρεенос πγοутг' εвoл гitoотг' πoγнoуc εuчhнiп εte тaи te тmпtкaрoс eсzнiп aпtнrрo eco πάтou aзmec oуoein πáт' фiтf' tpihgi πpttн[р]q tnoynе mпaiѡn (NHS 28)	It (the Word) is a hidden Light, providing a fruit of life, pouring forth a living water from the invisible, unpolluted, immeasurable spring, that is, the unrepeatable voice of the glory of the Mother, the glory of the offspring of God; a male virgin through a hidden Intellect, that is, the Silence hidden from the universe, being unrepeatable, an immeasurable Light, the source of the universe, the root of the entire Aeon.

Here the *λόγος* is the one making the living water available to the believer (unmistakably a Johannine thought, cf. John 4:14; 7:37). In poetic language the water is described as the fruit of life, the water comes from an unpolluted immeasurable spring. Neusner has noted that purity did not disappear completely from Christianity, but that it has become entirely symbolic, often functioning as metaphor for the impurity that is sin.⁶⁸ The same thing has happened in this Sethian treatise, purity has become but a feature of the language.

5.3.1.6 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

(Sethian) Gnosis.

This work undoubtedly belongs to Gnosis. Not only fitting comfortably into Marksches' framework but also into Layton and Brakke's. According to the typological model we may note the following:

Gnostic Typological Model	
1. Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak;	Yes, the Father is described as an unbegotten male and called the voice (as opposed to the mother as speech and the Son as <i>Λόγος</i> , cf. XIII,36*,17–18). <i>The Trimorphic Protennoia</i> has a clear modalistic tendency. The first thought describes herself in the following terms: “I am Protennoia, the Thought that is in the Light. I am the movement that is in everything, she in whom everything takes its stand, the first-born among those who came to be, she who exists before everything” (35.1–6). ⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 78.

⁶⁹ Translation of John D. Turner, “Trimorphic Protennoia,” in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. J. M. Robinson; San Francisco: Harper, 1990). [ΔНОК] τε τπpφ[τpнnоia pм]jeеyе etp[oo]lр ȝ[ȝ] [πoγoeиn ΔНОK] πe πpкim

2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	Further aeons come forth through Christ's doing, the first is headed by Armedon, Nousanios, Armozel; the second by Phaionios, Ainios, Oroael; the third by Mellephaneus, Loios, Daveithai; the fourth by Mousanios, Amethes, Eleleth (38.34–39.8).
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	Yaldabaoth emerges from Eleleth which is part of the fourth aeon of creation (39*.12). Yaldabaoth creates men in the image of the Protynnoia (also of the Father because of the text's modalism, cf. 38.7–10; 40*.22–29). Yaldabaoth is compared to a tree under whose shade darkness dwells (44.22–24).
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	Out of Eleleth comes forth the great demon who rules over the lowest part of the underworld. He is called Saklas, Samael and Yaldabaoth. He usurped his power from Wisdom. (39.19–32).
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	Protynnoia comes down to the chaos of this world and dwells with "her own." She gives people their shape and is hidden inside of them (40.29–34).
6. knowledge (γνῶσις) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	Protynnoia says that Knowledge dwells within her. She lifts up the voice of mortals to the Sons of Light (42.11–16).
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of "that God (or the spark) in them";	Protynnoia is the thought dwelling inside people and they recognize her (36.15–16).
8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	This world is described as an abyss of the uttermost darkness. Corporeal and psychic things are resented (48.7–11).

The treatise associates the body and the soul with evil matter like the Valentinians did.⁷⁰

5.3.1.7 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Both *The Trimorphic Protynnoia* and P.Oxy. 840 often refer to the Gospel of John.⁷¹

επιφοοπ οὐ π[τηρ]οι ταῖ ετεπ]τηρ] ὥσε εράτοι γρα[ί π[ηγή π[ωφ]π[ήχπο οὐ ηενταγψ[ωπε τετφο]οπ ζα[θ]η
τηπτ[η]ρ]οι. Also cf. 38.7–10.

⁷⁰ Létourneau, "The Dialogue of the Savior," 83.

In *The Trimorphic Protenkoia*, the concept of “living water” or “water of life” is shared with P.Oxy. 840. It appears to be used in the very same way as in P.Oxy. 840. Baptism is living water, in that it has soteriological significance. In the *Trimorphic Protenkoia* the water of life is given to the believer to strip him of the darkness of the abyss: the bodily and the psychic. The believer is baptized in the living water by Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous. This trinity also seem to have their abode in this living water. Clearly this Gnostic treatise has embroidered on the concept of living water it received probably through the agency of John. This is unfortunately the place where the text of P.Oxy. 840 breaks off, so we do not know how P.Oxy. 840 would have embroidered on the concept. All that is clear from P.Oxy. 840, is that it is some kind of living water that is coming from somewhere.

Purity is only understood in a symbolic sense as a linguistic means of qualifying sin. This view of *The Trimorphic Protenkoia* is typical of Christian thinking. It is probably the same concept of purity as P.Oxy. 840 had. It is the literal and traditional application of the concept that P.Oxy. 840 is attacking.

5.3.1.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

From the outset it is clear that this treatise portrays a much different world to that of P.Oxy. 840. In *The Trimorphic Protenkoia* the Holy Spirit herself (Barbelo) is narrating the book. The frequent $\Delta\text{ΝΟΚ}$ πε/ΔΝΟΚ τε-statements are quite Johannine, but are not found in what is extent in P.Oxy. 840.⁷² Turner compares this to the Isis- and Osiris-Aretalogies quoted in Diodorus Siculus.⁷³ Rather than applying such an authoritarian rhetoric P.Oxy. 840 has to make its point by *argumenta ad absurdum*, metaphors and hyperboles.

Contrary to P.Oxy. 840 there is no anti-Jewish rhetoric in *The Trimorphic Protenkoia*. Curiously *The Trimorphic Protenkoia* does not refer to Jesus once as σωτήρ. This is the characteristic that made scholars suggest P.Oxy. 840 might reflect Valentinian ideas.⁷⁴

⁷¹ For the relationship between *The Trimorphic Protenkoia* and John, cf. Nicola F. Denzey, “Genesis Traditions in Conflict?: The Use of Some Exegetical Traditions in the Trimorphic Protenkoia and the Johannine Prologue,” *VC* 55 (2001): 25.

⁷² In the original Greek this would have been ἐγώ εἰμι-statements.

⁷³ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 1.27.3–5 quoted in Turner, “Trimorphic Protenkoia,” 25.

⁷⁴ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 8.

5.3.2 The Gospel of the Egyptians NHC III,2 and IV,2⁷⁵

5.3.2.1 Date

Terminus ante quem 350 C.E. based on the age of the manuscript.⁷⁶

5.3.2.2 Genre

Liturgy⁷⁷

This treatise is central to Brakke's reconstruction of the Gnostic (Sethian) baptism ritual. Brakke emphasizes the communal character of the treatise. One can imagine believers joining in some of the hymns found in the writing. Brakke postulates that this book was read as a prelude to actual baptismal ceremonies. The fact that two copies of this work were discovered at Nag Hammadi shows its importance (NHC III,2; IV,2). The armor of light (67.3 οὐγοπλὸν ἡγοεῖν) worn by the baptized is comparable to *The Trimorphic Protennoia*'s robe of light (NHC XIII,1 48.17 πίστολη ἡγιογοεῖν).⁷⁸

5.3.2.3 Sources

Böhlig & Wisse have noted a parallel to the Gospel according to John.⁷⁹ While speaking of Gnostics the following is said:

Gos. Eg. 66:7–8	
ἢ οὐ θαυμάσῃ τοιεν μήπομογ (NHS 4)	These shall not taste death.
John 8:52	
πετνασαρεὶς επαψαληὲς οὐθαλαχιτοὶς αὶ μήπομογ ψά ενεὶς (PapyCast 11) ⁸⁰	Whoever keeps my words will never taste death.

5.3.2.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise we note the following statistics:

⁷⁵ There is some confusion created by this work concerning its name, it is called πίστωμε $\pi\{\tau\}z[\iota\epsilon]\rho[\lambda] \pi\tau\epsilon\pi\pi\kappa\mu\epsilon$ $\pi\tau\epsilon \pi\pi\omega\delta \pi\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma$ ερ[ο]η $\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi$ (The Holy Book [of the Egyptians] of the Great Invisible Spirit) in both the *inscriptio* and in the *subscription*, but in the colophon it says πεγατέλιον $\langle\pi\rangle\pi\pi\pi\kappa\mu\epsilon$. (Gospel of the Egyptians)

⁷⁶ Bentley, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 101.

⁷⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 320.

⁷⁸ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 74.

⁷⁹ Alexander Böhlig & Frederik Wisse, eds., *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)* (NHS 4; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 37, 198. Unless stated otherwise, this study follows the referencing of NHC III,2.

⁸⁰ Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament*, ad loc. and Wells, *Sahidica*, ad loc. have the same reading as Quecke, *Das Johannesevangelium Saidisch*, 135.

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (πισωτήρ)	2	7.69
Lord (πάτερ)	0	0
Jesus (ιησοῦς)	2	7.69
Jesus Christ (ιησοῦς χριστός)	1	3.85
Christ (χριστός)	6	23.08
Son of man (πιστήρ εν πνεύμα)	1	3.85
Son of God (πιστήρ εν πνεύμα)	1	3.85
Ichthys (ἰχθύς)	1	3.85
Word (πιστήρ)	9	34.62
Logos (πλογός) ⁸¹	3	11.54
Total	26	100

The title *σωτήρ* occurs more than 7% of the times Jesus is spoken of. Clearly the title of Logos was the most important to the author.

5.3.2.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

The only instance of such rhetoric is the statement that Jesus came to crucify that which is under the law (65.18). This is said in the context of the long list of bringers of salvation. Nothing is said to explain the statement, but it is clear that the author and his community were not submitting to the law.

5.3.2.6 Theology

This treatise gives a clear concept of the Trinity with Father, Mother (Barbelo) and Son.⁸² Jesus seems to be Seth taking on human form (III 64.4; IV 75.15). Quite striking is the positive context in which Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned. In fact the seed of Seth seems

⁸¹ This statistic would be even higher if one were to include compounds of λογος. This statistic of the simple transliteration of the Greek λόγος is misleading, in that the same practice is not followed by NHC IV,2 (cf. esp. NHC III,2 49.16–22 and IV,2 61.18–23). The text of NHC IV,2 is to be preferred. Obviously the original treatise was composed in Greek and must have used the word λόγος, but the Coptic translation of NHC III,2 adds the three cases mentioned above, leaving it untranslated in addition to translating it afterwards with the customary Coptic πιστήρ. This trend of simply transliterating Greek words is characteristic of NHC III,2, in fact, it has double the amount of Greek words the text of NHC IV,2 uses. Cf. Böhlig & Wisse, eds., *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2*, 12, 177–178.

⁸² The Semitic conception of the Holy Spirit as feminine was taken over by Gnostics. This is also found in *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*. It was probably inevitable that the Western church had difficulty thinking of the Holy Spirit as feminine, because in Latin *spiritus* is of course masculine (and in the Germanic languages, i.e., “ahma (weiha)” in Gothic, and “gāst” in Old English). These Gnostics were influenced more by Semitic thought (in Greek πνεῦμα is of course neuter). Especially in Syria the Holy Spirit was seen as feminine, cf. my discussion of the fragment of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* quoted in Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.12.

to fall in Sodom and Gomorrah, so that they obviously have a big part to play in the population of the faithful. This is probably to be understood as criticism of the cruelty of YHWH in the Genesis account. After creating the world Saklas, the craftsman, says: “I, I am a jealous god, and apart from me nothing has come into being” (58.25; cf. Exod 20:5) identifying himself with YHWH.⁸³ This quotation often appears in Gnostic writings.⁸⁴ The hearer of the narrative of course knows this is untrue, because he has just heard about the invisible spirit, the trinity and all the aeons leading up to the craftsman’s creation.

The believer is saved by Knowledge, but also by baptism as made clear by the following:

<i>Gos. Eg. III 63.4–14</i>	
ἀδογωτῶς πέτρομε τῆς παρούσιας πτλαιχοογ ἔπορτί μῆν πκατακλυμος μῆν πρωκή μην περι τῆς πάρχων μῆν πληναμις μῆν πεζούσια ενογχή τη επιλλανα σιτη πρωτη μηποκομος μηπιβαπτισμα σιτη ουλογογενης πνωμα πταφετωτη ναρ πησι πνοσ πνησε · ση ουμυστηριον εβολ σιτοοτε τῆς παρθενος ετρογχο πνητογδαλα σιτη πεπηνα ετογδαλ ·(NHS 4)	He crossed the three parousias which I mentioned at first: the flood, and the conflagration, and the judgment of the archons and the powers and the authorities, to save her (the race) who went astray, through the reconciliation of the world, and the baptism through a Logos-begotten body which the great Seth prepared for himself in a mystery through the virgin, in order that the saints may be begotten by the Holy Spirit.

One of the luminaries, Yoel, is said to be given the authority to baptize with “the holy baptism that surpasses the heaven, this incorruptible baptism” (*πιβαπτισμα ετογδαλ ετογατω επε πιλφεαρτοс 65.24–25*). Perhaps this may refer to the afterlife or may be a Platonic reflection of the heavenly ideal of what happens on earth. This treatise also speaks of “living water” as does *The Trimorphic Protennoia*. “Living water” is a name for Jesus. Two mythical figures, Micheus and Michar, are thought to preside over the living water (64.15).

This treatise reflects the importance of baptism among the Sethians. As with *The Trimorphic Protennoia* one sees that it is not just Knowledge which redeems a person, but also baptism. This soteriological implication of baptism also prevailed among the Proto-Orthodox from an early age.

⁸³ πεχεσακλα πνεφα[τ]γελοс κε α]νοκ ανοκ ουνογ[τε πρερκω] αγω αχντ μηπελλα[γ ψωπε εφη]

⁸⁴ *Apoc. John; Testim. Truth; Ep. Pet. Phil.; Teach. Silv.; Gos. Truth.*

5.3.2.7 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

The work corresponds to Marksches' parameters of Gnosis, but also to Layton and Brakke's nominalist parameters. If measured according to our Gnostic model the following is clear:

Gnostic Typological Model	
1. Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak;	This is called <i>The Book of the Egyptians about the Great Invisible Spirit</i> , He is the Father whose name cannot be uttered. He is self-begotten and alien and the really true aeon. (40.12–41.7).
2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	Further aeons come out of this including a living Silence. All of the aeons together are called the Doxomedon-aeon or the Pleroma. (44.20–21).
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	The world is described as chaos and Hades (ἀδίκτυο). A cloud called Material Wisdom appears (56.25–57.2). Nothing is said about the creation of evil matter.
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	A great angel Gamaliel spoke “Let an angel come out, in order that he may rule over the chaos and Hades” (ὑπεργάλγειος εἰ εὐολ [χεκαλας εφερ β]ρο εχθι πεχδος [μν αδίκτυο 57.9–11]). Sakla and Nebruel come into being. Then Sakla, the great angel, sees the great demon that is with him, Nebruel (57.18).
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	The Seed of the great Seth is sown into the aeons: the totality of which seem to be found in Sodom (60.9–18). ⁸⁵
6. knowledge (γνῶσις) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	Hormos has just descended. After mention of the flood and some myths from Genesis Seth descends to earth and puts on Jesus (63.4–8; 64.1).
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	Jesus arms believers with the knowledge of this truth (64.6–7).
8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in	The seed of the archon is seen as defiled as opposed to the seed of Seth which is like the sun (59.21–60.2).

⁸⁵ The same Sodom that was destroyed by YHWH with fire and brimstone in Gen 19.

the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	
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The work is thus Gnostic and Sethian. This treatise (64.13) refers to “great leaders” appearing at the time of Jesus, namely “James the Great” (ιάκωβος πνοء) – obviously a reference to “James the Just.”⁸⁶ James is one apostle that consistently plays an important role in Gnostic writings and it is something that ties Gnosis to Jewish-Christianity. This reminds one of the fact that these different movements were not compartmentalized into neat and tidy boxes.⁸⁷

5.3.2.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The Gospel of the Egyptians is an important treatise to get an idea of the importance of the Sethian understanding of baptism. Bovon’s suggestion that Sethian writings reflect contempt for earthly baptism is not correct. The concept of living water is shared. As was the case in *The Trimorphic Protennoia* we also see that baptism has soteriological significance, explaining the predicate “living water.”

5.3.2.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Purity is not mentioned at all in *The Gospel of the Egyptians*. Because the genre of The Gospel of the Egyptians is different it makes comparison with P.Oxy. 840 difficult.

The supra-temporal and mythological character is completely different from P.Oxy. 840.

5.3.3 Zostrianos NHC VIII,1

5.3.3.1 Date

Terminus ante quem must be Porphyry (*Vit. Plot.* 16) who makes mention of the tractate some time between 244 and 266 C.E.⁸⁸ A reasonable inference for a date of composition is around 215 C.E.

5.3.3.2 Genre

Mystical ascents through the eternal realms to acquaintance with God⁸⁹

⁸⁶ According to the text of NHC IV,2 75.28 he is called πνοء ιάκωβ, “the great Jacob.”

⁸⁷ King, *What is Gnosticism?* 230.

⁸⁸ John H. Sieber, “Introduction to Zostrianos NHC VIII,1,” in *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII* (ed. J. N. Sieber; NHS 31; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 25. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.15) makes mention of a tractate of Zoroaster around 200 C.E. From Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 16 it is evident that there were two separate works in his time, Amelius wrote a refutation of the Book of Zostrianos (the work we are currently discussing), whereas Porphyry composed a refutation of Zoroaster (the work mentioned by Clement). Cf. Sieber, “Introduction to Zostrianos,” 19–20.

This work is not obviously Christian, but it is evident from Plotinus' writings that it was an important Gnostic work.⁹⁰ It has the same genre as another work also mentioned by Plotinus, *Allogenes* (Foreigner).

5.3.3.3 Sources

There is no obvious engagement of Christian sources like Gospels

5.3.3.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise we see the following statistics:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (παστήρ)	1	33.33
Lord (πατείς)	0	0
Jesus (ιησοῦς)	0	0
Christ (χριστός)	0	0
Son of God (πωνέ ο[τε πνογ]τε)	1	33.33
Word (οὐρανός) ⁹¹	1	33.33
Total	3	100

These figures stand in pale contrast to our analysis from other sources. It is not evident that one can call these Christological titles in the first place, as they may be referring to Zostrianos.

5.3.3.5 Theology

The author of this book claims to have been Zostrianos, grandfather of the priest and reformer of Persian religion, Zoroaster, who lived around 628–551 B.C.E.⁹²

Mystical contemplation plays an important part in the treatise, in fact that is what Zostrianos is busy with when he sees a vision (2). After he has pondered on it for a while the angel comes and escorts him to the heavenly realms (3). Central to the treatise is all the baptisms Zostrianos has to undergo. Bovon refers to a temple Zostrianos has to build and comes back to earth for. It is not clear what Bovon is referring to in this case. What is more

⁸⁹ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 40.

⁹⁰ Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 16. Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 60 agrees we have to trust Porphyrius' judgement on this.

⁹¹ 9.4 seems to be a pun, in that the world came into being through a word like John 1.

⁹² Zost. 1.1; 4.10f. Zostrianos was the father of Iolaos, father of Zoroaster. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 122. For information on Zoroaster, cf. Franz Cardinal König, "Zoroaster," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, 2015.

important is his understanding that Zostrianos preaches that people should not be baptized with death (131.2),⁹³ after having been baptized himself countless times.⁹⁴ This seems to be nothing more than a metaphor for dying: they should not allow their souls to die but to ascend to heaven. If the Coptic word χωκμ functioned anything like βαπτίζω it would be possible to use it in a metaphorical sense of “to be overwhelmed by.”⁹⁵ The Coptic χωκμ did function as a translational equivalent for βαπτίζω, but also for λούομαι/νίπτομαι (wash).⁹⁶ The Christian ritual of baptism was sometimes associated with death (e.g. Rom 6). Most important of all it would contradict the rest of the treatise and Sethian treatises in general if this were taken as an order to abolish baptism. As was argued previously, *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (143.22–144.2) also seems capable of applying baptism in a metaphorical sense (though with the lexeme ωμc). The transcendent god and his angels wanted Zostrianos to undergo all those baptisms.

These baptisms are so important that an angel tells Zostrianos:

Zost. 62.11–17	
πεχας ηλι ιηι ταν[ιεοογ] τηρου ιωθαλ χε ιιχ[ωκμ] τηρου ετσμπιψα η [xi]ωμc ιηητογ ακx[ιτογ] [α]γω ακψωπε η τε[λιοc [.] .οc πισωτη ιηε[τηρογ] (NHS 31)	Yoel who belongs to all [the glories] said to me, “You have [received] all the [baptisms] in which it is fitting to [be] baptized, and you have become [perfect] [...] the hearing of [...] all.”

Zostrianos goes on a mystical journey through ascending aeons of the Pleroma until he reaches the aeon of Barbello.⁹⁷ It is as Zostrianos reaches higher levels of abstraction and Knowledge that he has to undergo baptism after baptism – five alone in the self-originate aeon, after which he becomes divine (53.15–19). Brakke makes an important remark that the reference to Micheus and Michar as “the powers which are over living waters” (6.9 ιιδομ ιη ετ`ψοοπ` [σικη γεν]μοογ εγονz) points to the fact that Zostrianos is experiencing the same

⁹³ ιιπρχωκμ ιιμωτη ζη ουμογ`

⁹⁴ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 725–726.

⁹⁵ Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 53 notes how scholars have often misunderstood βαπτίζω to refer to a religious rite like baptism. Even if the Coptic lexeme does not overlap with the Greek word to that extent, it is still possible to understand the text metaphorically.

⁹⁶ Richard Smith, *A Concise Coptic-English Dictionary* (2d ed.; SBLRBS; Atlanta: SBL, 1999), 54. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 763. For χωκμ translating βαπτίζω, cf. John 3:22, for βαπτίζομαι, cf. John 3:23, and for νίπτομαι, cf. John 13:10. Egyptians seem to have been less willing to take over βαπτίζω than the Romans. For βαπτίζει cf. Mark 1:8.

⁹⁷ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 77.

Gnostic baptism that we find in *The Trimorphic Protennoia* and *The Gospel of the Egyptians*. After looking at the last three works we have discussed, Brakke concludes as follows:

Baptism, then, seems to have been the Gnostics' central and defining ritual, and it is possible that a Gnostic may have experienced baptism not simply a single time as an initiation into the group, but multiple times as a means to increasingly higher knowledge of God.⁹⁸

Often the first aeon of Barbelo, πικαλύπτος (the hidden one), is written as a *nomen sacrum* κάλ. ⁹⁹ In fact this happens 32 times in *Zostrianos*. Another *nomen sacrum* in the text is χρήστος for “kind” (χρήστος) used as an attribute for the Father in 131.14.¹⁰⁰ The fact that the treatise uses these and another more typical *nomen sacrum* (πίνα) bears further testimony that this is a Christian work. At the very least it shows it was read by Christians in the form of the manuscript known as NHC VIII. It is striking that these are the only three *nomina sacra* used in the whole document. This is true when one looks at the whole manuscript which also includes *The Letter of Peter to Philipp*, which is a more obviously Christian treatise. In this part of the manuscript one finds πίνα, κάλ. and Θεόν (the last mentioned for Jerusalem or τηλερογαλήν). Obviously the context of *Zostrianos* determines the possible *nomina sacra* that could be used. The word σωτήρ is spelt out. Kruger does note that this is one word which is not often used as a *nomen sacrum*.¹⁰¹ All the characters mentioned in the treatise from *Zostrianos* to Eleleth are written with supralinear strokes, but are not abbreviated like *nomina sacra*. Elsewhere Layton notes that non-Greek names are sometimes written with the supralinear stroke.¹⁰²

5.3.3.6 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

To fit the treatise into the typological model is not that difficult:

Gnostic Typological Model

⁹⁸ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 77. Other authors like Hans-Martin Schenke would of course prefer to speak of Sethians. Once again one has to remember that Brakke prefers to call Sethians “Gnostics.”

⁹⁹ Cf. Bentley Layton, “Introduction to Codex VIII,” in *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII* (ed. J. N. Sieber; NHS 31; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 5.

¹⁰⁰ Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, §41a lists this as one of the customary *nomina sacra* in Coptic.

¹⁰¹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 59.

¹⁰² Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, §41b.

1. Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak;	There is a loving Father of all “all [which] confines and is confined, with a body yet without a body” (2.17–19). ¹⁰³
2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	An angel takes Zostrianos through the aeons (7)
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	The ruler of the world is chastised for creating “matter born of lost darkness” (9.14–15). ¹⁰⁴ While on earth Zostrianos is said to put corporeal darkness...psychic chaos and desirous femininity behind him. ¹⁰⁵
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	The transcendent god condemns the ruler of this world to death who created the world because of a reflection he saw of the eternal realms (1; 9.12 and 10.1–3).
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	Every soul has a light within (11.9–13). This means they contain a portion of the eternal beings (23.17–21).
6. knowledge (γνῶσις) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	Zostrianos may be seen as the divine figure that first ascended to heaven and descends again proclaiming the gospel (1.10–15; 130.5–9). Also at the end it is said that the Father has sent the Saviour (131.15). Humans can be saved by knowledge (24).
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	One is not just saved by knowledge, but by becoming one with god (44.21–22). Also compare the third class of people who have a word of truth which exists in Knowledge and eternal life (28.12–16). Every human being contains part of the eternal ones (23).
8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	The ruler of the world creates a world full of “matter begotten from lost darkness” (9.14–15) Souls become illumined and seem to be immortal as in Platonic thinking (11). Man is bound to his body until he comes to Gnostic enlightenment (46.1)

¹⁰³ ἀγω οὐπίτηροι μη πι ε[τα-]μαζτε ἀγω ετογάμαστε μη[οι] μη ογκωμα ἀγω ογατσφ[μα]

¹⁰⁴ ἡγγλη [ετχ]πο ηκακε εττακνογητ

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 63.

The fact that the treatise mentions “Saviour” could be an allusion to Jesus, but one that would not have struck a non-Christian target audience as particularly Christian. Otherwise Zostrianos might also be the “Saviour” and this treatise might be a bridge between Christianity and Mandaeism. The Mandaeans keep a rite similar to Christian baptism, but reject Jesus as the Messiah.¹⁰⁶ “Saviour” is a very generic term. The readers could imagine anything to fill this concept – like the emperor, for example. The only other Christian title used is “Son of God,” though the text is incomplete in this instance. Such a title could of course also be understood in a generic fashion. This would be a Jesus that could be anything. Scholars agree for the most part that the treatise should be associated with Sethian Gnosis, but they do not agree whether it is Christian or not. Sieber thinks it is not Christian.¹⁰⁷ Whereas Layton and Brakke think it is a sly Christian work, designed not to look Christian.¹⁰⁸ The scribe of NHC VIII,1 delights in secrets as we see in two cases: The ironic *nomen sacrum* for καλύπτος (the hidden one); and the cryptogram at the end of the treatise. Doresse has solved this by reference to a code used in Theban convents so that it means: “Teachings of Zostrianos. God of Truth. Teachings of Zoroaster.”¹⁰⁹ The manuscript of *Zostrianos* is Christian, but a question mark remains behind the treatise itself.

5.3.3.7 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

There are two parallel thoughts, namely, the living water and the use of the title Saviour, “The kind Father has sent you the Saviour” (131.14–15 πιᾶρε οὐ εἰστὶ ἀγνῶος οὐκτόνη μητρὸς), though non-Christian readers would not necessarily have been able to recognize this as Jesus. The most obvious interpretation of the text is that Zostrianos is the “Saviour.” From P.Oxy. 840 it seems clear enough that Jesus is the “Saviour” because he is surrounded by his disciples in the temple of Jerusalem. The purpose of this Gnostic treatise was probably to broaden the audience through more converts, so that even the legendary Zoroaster believed what they did. It would have added to the prestige of the religion as it would have reflected its ancient roots.¹¹⁰ As is the case with the two other Sethian works, believers are baptized in

¹⁰⁶ Kurt Rudolph, “Antike Baptisten zu den Überlieferung über Frühjüdische und Frühchristliche Taufsektengeschichte,” in *Gnosis und spätantike Religionsgeschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. K. Rudolph; NHS 42; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 593.

¹⁰⁷ Sieber, “Introduction to Zostrianos,” 7.

¹⁰⁸ Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 122; Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 40.

¹⁰⁹ Jean Doresse, “Les Apocalypses de Zoroastre,” in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (ed. M. Malinine; Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute 2; Boston: The Byzantine Institute, 1950), 255–263.

¹¹⁰ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 111–112 speaks how Graeco-Roman culture had a preference for old ideas when it came to religion and philosophy: there can only be some truth involved if the tradition is old. Cf. also Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 12.

living water to become saved (6.10–11). Contrary to what Bovon argues baptism is not viewed as earthly and inferior to some kind of heavenly baptism. On the contrary, earthly baptism was a central ritual for the Sethian Gnostics, so much so, that they called it living water. That knowledge would replace purity is not found in these treatises, as it is a Manichaean notion. Purity is not explained systematically in the treatise.¹¹¹ It seems to be used for symbolic reasons, as opposed to mainstream Judaism.

5.3.3.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Although one cannot categorically state that P.Oxy. 840's Saviour is Jesus, it seems to be the most obvious reading. In *Zostrianos* it is much more open who the generic "Saviour" is supposed to be. Nevertheless, it is a far cry from P.Oxy. 840 that uses it as the typical subject for the person of Jesus, even prior to the crucifixion. *Zostrianos* uses it only once. Also the genre is not one typically used by Christians.

The supra-temporal quality of this treatise forms a stark contrast to P.Oxy. 840. The same is true of its revelatory quality. P.Oxy. 840 has more of a narrative history-quality.

5.4 Gnostic Works Defying Further Categorization

5.4.1 Testimony of Truth NHC IX,3

5.4.1.1 Date

Around 200 C.E. *Terminus a quo* is the Gnostic teachers mentioned.¹¹²

5.4.1.2 Genre

Homily and *midraš*

5.4.1.3 Sources

It seems clear enough that John was used. In the reference to Jesus walking on the sea (33.22–23) it is mentioned that they saw Jesus when about thirty stadia from the shore. The form "thirty" (ΝΑΜΛΑΒ) is not found in the fragmentary text, but is based on a conjecture. Only Matthew 14:24 and John 6:19 mention stadia in their account (as opposed to Luke 6), Matthew speaks of "many stadia" but John speaks of "twenty to thirty stadia." If the

¹¹¹ More than ten forms of τέρπο are used to express references like "purify" and "pure." For the single case (5.5) of ζεντριά εγογαλε "spirits that are holy; holy spirits" would be a more literal translation than "pure" as it is found in Sieber, "Zostrianos," ad loc. Therefore it is excluded from this tally.

¹¹² Birger A. Pearson, "Introduction to IX,3: The Testimony of Truth," in *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (ed. B. Pearson; NHS 15; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 118. Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 87.

emendation were correct the author would seem to be dependent on John's account here. Yet, we do not have enough evidence to make this conclusion. Tuckett mentions this passage as an example of Johannine influence, but does not consider that this is a textual conjecture.¹¹³ The fact that the author (45) believes in the virgin birth does not require dependence on Matthew or Luke. There seems to be a reference to the account found in the *Protevangelium Iacobi* as mention is made that even after Jesus' birth Mary was still found to be in her virginal state (45.16–18).

Tuckett thinks it plausible that *The Testimony of Truth* could have been familiar with both Matthew and Luke. Matthew 5:26 seems to be presupposed by 30.17 “until they pay the last penny (κοδράντης).”¹¹⁴ For this Luke 12:59 has λέπτον. Lukan redaction might be shown in the report of what the son of man achieved in 33.5–8. The lame, the blind, the paralytic, the dumb and the demon-possessed are granted (χαρίζεσθαι) healing.¹¹⁵ This is quite close to Luke 7:21. The fact that Elizabeth giving birth to John is mentioned, may refer to Luke's account of the nativity, or to the *Protevangelium Jacobi* which seems more likely, as Mary's virginity is said to be intact even after giving birth. That is only mentioned in the *Protevangelium Jacobi*. One must also remember that the *Protevangelium Jacobi* for its part relied heavily on Luke but also on Matthew as sources.¹¹⁶ The thought that those that gaze upon the serpent shall be saved is probably Johannine (John 3:14). Yet, this may go back to familiarity with Numbers 21:9.

5.4.1.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise we note the following statistics:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (πεστηρ)	3	9.68
Lord (πιστεις)	0	0
Jesus (ιησογ)	3	9.68
Christ (χριστος)	6	19.35
Son of man (πισηρε ηπρωμε)	16 ¹¹⁷	51.61
Word (πλογος)	3	9.68

¹¹³ Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 141.

¹¹⁴ ιαὶ... [ῳ]λτογ̄ ἀπαλε ἔκον[ΔΡΑΝ]ΤΗС:

¹¹⁵ Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 141.

¹¹⁶ Oscar Cullmann, “The Protevangelium of James,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; Cambridge: Clarke, 1991), 1: 423.

¹¹⁷ It must be noted that many of these 16 instances are based on textual emendations.

Total	31	100
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It is quite unique for any Christian work to refer to Jesus primarily as “son of man.”

5.4.1.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

This treatise is quite polemical. Jews (and Jewish Christians?) are criticized for upholding the law (29). The author speaks of the old leaven of the Pharisees and scribes. The old leaven is called drifting desire for angels, demons and stars. He argues that one must choose between the law and the truth as things that are mutually exclusive. Its severity in criticism leaves Paul far behind, “for the defilement of the law is manifest” (29.26–27 πχωρῆ γαρ ἄπινομος φογονῆ εβολ). The author obviously despises Jewish purity standards. One of the problems he has with the law is its approval of marriage and sexual procreation. Accordingly people multiply like the sand of the sea (30). Clearly the author feels that Jews are prone to lust. Jesus’ baptism is seen as the end of the dispensation of carnal procreation.¹¹⁸

Heroes and institutions from the Tanak are slandered. David, his temple and Jerusalem are denigrated. David is said to have been possessed by a demon and the temple had water pots enclosing demons till the Romans entered the temple and freed them. Whether this is a reference to Pompey entering the temple in 63 B.C.E. or Titus after the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. is uncertain. Pearson notes that this understanding of David and Solomon is paralleled in Jewish literature. Proof of David’s propensity to idol worship is mentioned (*b. Sanh.* 107a), examples of Solomon being assisted by demons in building the temple (*b. Git.* 68ab) and having control over demons (*b. Meg.* 11b).¹¹⁹

5.4.1.6 Theology

This homily has not been given a name in the manuscript.¹²⁰ Interestingly enough at one stage the manuscript (29) has a horizontal line drawn in the margin (*paragraphicus*) which

¹¹⁸ NHC IX,30.29, cf. Pearson, “The Testimony of Truth,” *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (ed. B. Pearson; NHS 15; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1981).

¹¹⁹ Pearson, “The Testimony of Truth,” *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (ed. B. Pearson; NHS 15; ed. M. Krause; J. M. Robinson & F. Wisse; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 191–192 also mentions many other passages. Especially the *Testament of Solomon* (datable somewhere in the third century C.E.) tells how Solomon subjects scores of demons to help him build the temple. The Qur'an (21.82) mentions demons assisting with the building of the temple. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45–49 mentions Solomon's magical powers over demons, stating that some of his spells are still applied in his day.

¹²⁰ Pearson, “Introduction to IX,3,” 101–102.

constitutes a clear dividing point for the text.¹²¹ Pearson thinks this indicates that we have a literary source clearly defined and previously existing on its own. After this margin follows the piece Pearson calls a Gnostic *midraš*.¹²²

It appears that Proto-Orthodox Christians are criticized in the following:

<i>Testim. Truth 31.22–32.12</i>	
<p>εγμεεγ[ε 2ῆ] πεγχητ` ἥδι ηλθητ [κε] εγμανομολογ[ει χ]ε ανον σενχριτιανος [2ῆ] πωλαχε ἡματε 2ῆ τβον αν εγ̄ ἡμοογ εραι ετμῆτ` α[τ̄]σοογ ογλαγ εραι εγμογ ἡμῆτρωμε ενεσεοογ αν κε εγ[β]ηκ` ετω[η] ογλε ἡσεοογ αν δε ηη πε πεχ̄ εγμεεγε κε σεναωη̄ ζοποτε σερπλανασθαι σερδιωκε φλαγογ εναρχη μῆ νεζογια. σεζε δε ετοοτ<ογ> ἥηαι ετβε τμῆτ` ατ̄σοογ ετ̄φοοπ̄ γραι ἥηητου· νευτογχοειτ` ταρ̄ ἥδι ἥψαχε ἡμετε ετρῆτρε· νεπικοσμος τηρ̄ πε [η]αρ̄γηπομινε επεισωβ [αγ]φ νεγναογχαι πε· (NHS 15)</p>	<p>Fools! – thinking in their heart that if they confess, “We are Christians,” in word only, not with power, while giving themselves over only to ignorance, to a human death, without knowing where they are going nor who Christ is, thinking that they will live, when they are going astray – hastening towards the principalities and authorities. They fall into their hands because of the ignorance that is in them. For if only words which testify were accomplishing salvation, the whole world would bear this thing and they would be saved.</p>

Form

Warning against false teachers¹²³

At this stage confessional formulae already played an important role in the Proto-Orthodox liturgies.¹²⁴ In the same breath martyrdom is criticized “If the Father were to desire a human sacrifice, he would become vain” (32.19–22 οερεπ[ι]ωτ ηλογεω ογθγια ἡμῆ[τρ]ωμε οεφναφωπε ἥκε[νοδ]οζοc).¹²⁵ The disciples are viewed in a very negative light “These are empty martyrs, that bear witness to themselves alone” (33.24–27 [ηάι] ηε ἡμαρτυρο[с ετφογ]ειτ εγρῆτρε [γαρωγ] ογλαγ). All trajectories did honour one of the apostles.¹²⁶ This

¹²¹ Birger A. Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 41. This occurs in the middle of 45.22 just before the words “It is written in the Law concerning this” (ζητε 2ῆ πιομος ετβε π[αι]).

¹²² Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity*, 42.

¹²³ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 144.

¹²⁴ Cf. my method chapter.

¹²⁵ Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 140 mentions that the Proto-Orthodox and Montanists claimed this characteristic for themselves and that Gnostics were not interested in and thought it unnecessary after Christ’s crucifixion. Also cf. Clement, *Strom.* 4.4 quoting Gnostics as viewing martyrdom as suicide. Perhaps this is just a form of slander on Clement’s part. *Test. Truth.* 32 presents another example where martyrdom is criticized by a Gnostic movement. The Valentinian *Apoc. Jas.* idealizes martyrdom.

¹²⁶ Cf. the method chapter under the discussion of Proto-Orthodoxy.

shows us that there is not a uniform attitude towards the apostles amongst Gnostic movements. This belittling of the apostles is also present in *The Apocryphon of James* (2.29–35; 4.24–5.6).

The practice of baptism is also criticized as Bovon has remarked.¹²⁷ The most poignant criticism is probably:

Testim. Truth 69.7–28	
<p>ογ̄ν ȝ[οε]ιη[ε] εγ̄ει εεογ̄ν εε̄πιστις εγ̄[χι ȏνο]γ̄βαπτि�ϲμα ȝως εγ̄ντεγ̄[c]ȝ ȏμαγ̄ ȏνγ̄ελπις ȏνγ̄χᾳ[ὶ πᾶ] ȏτογ̄μογ̄ ȝροq ȝe ȝ[ϲφραγ̄ιϲ] ȝенceę[ιme] ȝn ȝe ȝneiø[te ȝ]پک[օ]ϲмос ce[օγ̄]ѹн̄ ȝвoլ ȝ[pm̄a et]ȝȏμaγ̄ [allla] ȝt̄oq ȝѡφ[q ȝeim̄ x]e ϲeрcф[ra]гize ȝm̄oq [pø]ȝp̄e гap̄ ȝpi[рѡm̄e] ȝpięçp̄vap̄t[iz̄ ȝlalaγ̄ ȝn̄ neq[ma]ȝeht̄ic̄ [...] .. [enе]ȝcнk ȝe eȝ[ra]t̄ ȝpiѡn̄ [n̄di ne]ȝtoȝp̄vap̄tiz̄ ȝmooȳ nep[e ȝ]koscмos ȝaȝwap[e]ȝawoyeit̄ ȝe аȝw ȝeiote ȝpiȝap̄ticiϲma ȝeȝwoop̄ ȝyx[a] ȝm̄ keoȳa ȝe пe piȝap̄ticiϲma] ȝtm̄e ȝit̄n̄ taȝota[г]h [ȝpiкoc]mос eȝbine ȝm̄oq [allla ne]ȝt̄ ȝw ȝm̄oq ȝm̄ plac ȝm̄[at̄e x]e [ce]ȝap̄otacce ȝm̄oq ceхi ȝoł, аȝw ȝeñhnoȳ e[z]ra]i [epim̄a] ȝp̄te (NHS 15)</p>	<p>There are some, who upon entering the faith, receive a baptism on the ground that they have it as a hope of salvation, which they call the “seal,” not knowing that the fathers of the world are manifest (in) that place. But he himself knows that he is sealed. For the Son of Man did not baptize any of his disciples. But [...], if those who are baptized were headed for life, the world would become empty. And the fathers of baptism were defiled. But the baptism of truth is something else; it is by renunciation of the world that it is found. But those who say only with the tongue that they are renouncing it are lying, and they are coming to the place of fear (Pearson).</p>

Form

Apology

One is reminded of the five seals associated with baptism in *The Trimorphic Protynnoia*.¹²⁸ The claim of baptism as death (55.8–9) is not the first as even Paul compared baptism to death. Unfortunately the text is very fragmentary at this point so that the context remains obscure. The treatise denies that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist (30).¹²⁹ When Christ came to the Jordan the river turned back.¹³⁰ The water of the Jordan is equated with “the desire for intercourse” (30.1–3).¹³¹ Even the Valentinians are bombarded with criticism. Their baptism is criticized and their Knowledge is “vain” (57.6). Other trajectories, the Simonians

¹²⁷ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 725.

¹²⁸ The *Epistula Apostolorum* 41 also speaks of the single seal in the context of baptism.

¹²⁹ It is debatable of whom 62 is speaking that is baptized, but it seems reasonable to understand it as Jesus. The text is very fragmentary here. *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* also alleges Jesus was not baptized.

¹³⁰ This is similar to Achilles attacking the river Scamander in Homer, *Illiad* 21.

¹³¹ ȝmooȳ ȝe ȝpiорðan̄ic̄ ȝt̄oq пe тeпiоȳmia ȝt̄cyn̄oycia.

and Isodore are also criticized. One might have thought “Simonians” to be a rhetorical label Irenaeus would have manufactured to reify a Gnostic group (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.23.4; 1.29.1), but here we have another report from a Gnostic source that such a group really existed. The text is too fragmentary to learn much about them. Apparently they practiced marriage and might have practiced baptism by sprinkling.¹³² Baptism seems to be only valid when in the heavenly realms (74). “But the true baptism is something else; it is by renunciation of the world that it is found” (69.22 κεογά δε πε πιβαπτίσ[μα] ήτμε γιτῆ ταποτα[ρ]ή [μπικος]μος εγδινε μόμοq).

The midrashic interpretation of the fall of mankind in Genesis 3 identifies Jesus with the serpent in the garden. He instructs Eve about the god of this world and imparts knowledge to her.¹³³

5.4.1.7 Reason for the Text’s Identification with Its Trajectory

This treatise is quite critical of other trajectories. It confirms the polemics many would have expected to take place between the Proto-Orthodox and their opponents. Here we hear the voice of the Others. The treatise does not preserve a charter myth, so to fit it into a Gnostic framework is not that easy.¹³⁴ *The Testimony of Truth*’s reading of the account of the fall in Genesis 3 criticizes YHWH heavily and paints him as ignorant, as he has to ask Adam where he is (47.14–19).¹³⁵ After this criticism of YHWH, Exodus 20:5 is spoken by YHWH (48.4–7).¹³⁶ The following seems to reflect the origin of the soul in a transcendental world and that it can return based on this knowledge¹³⁷:

Testim. Truth 35.25–36.3	
αγω ί[ταγογω]νογ ογλαγ χε [νιμ νε'] η εγτων ίποq η[πιναγ] αγω χε αω πε π[τοπος] ετογηαπτον μιμο[ου] ηηητη] ?η τογμητ`ατ`ηητ` [εγπω] εεραι εxη ττηωωcic·(NHS 15)	And they came to know themselves, who they are, or rather, where they are now, and what is the place in which they will rest from their senselessness, arriving at knowledge (Pearson).

¹³² Another possibility is that they anointed each other with droplets of oil rather than baptism, the text is quite fragmentary here.

¹³³ Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity*, 43–44.

¹³⁴ 43.26–31 does seem to allude to a charter myth, cf. Pearson, “The Testimony of Truth.”

¹³⁵ Klaus Koschorke quoted in Pearson, “Introduction to IX,3,” 106 notes that these arguments were also used by Julian the Apostate (*Gal.* 75b–94a) in his criticism against the Christian establishment. This may show that the emperor used Gnostic sources (emperor from 361–363 C.E.).

¹³⁶ αγω πεχαq χε ανοκ πε πινογτε μρερεκωq

¹³⁷ Michael L. Williams, “Was There a Gnostic Religion? Strategies for Clearer Analysis” in *Was There a Gnostic Religion?* (ed. A. Marjanen; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2005), 79.

To fit this into the typological model is achievable:

Gnostic Typological Model	
1. Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak;	Father/God of Truth is known by nobody except those that forsake the world (41.4–8).
2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	Christ makes known the things about the unbegotten aeons (43.23–29).
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	The world is called the archon of darkness (30.13–16) eventually it will be destroyed (35.6–8).
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	YHWH is heavily criticized in the <i>midraš</i> on the fall of mankind in Genesis 3. His ignorance is shown by the fact that he has to ask Adam where he is.
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	Christ exists in everyone (43.5–6).
6. knowledge ($\gamma\hat{\nu}\sigma\iota\varsigma$) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	Those that know themselves and where they are now...
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	...they will arrive at knowledge that is rest (35.25–36.3).
8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	By the word of the cross the son of man “divides the day from the night and the light from the darkness and the destructible from indestructible, and he divides men from women” (40.25–29). ¹³⁸

Valentinians are criticized heavily. An important idea in this treatise is that there is no resurrection of the flesh (36.29–37.5). The idea of the virgin birth is believed (39.26–40.1;

¹³⁸ ερπω[ρχ Μῆφοογ] ετογψη αγω [πογοειν επ]κακε αγω πτε[κο ετμῆτ]αττέκο αγω ερ[πωρχ Η]Ν200γτ ενεζιομε
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45.9–11) and is also held as an example for the faithful to abstain from sex.¹³⁹ This Encratism is directed against the Jewish(-Christians) and the Proto-Orthodox.¹⁴⁰

5.4.1.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The Testimony of Truth applies strong anti-Jewish rhetoric. It shows that Bibliowicz and Ehrman's generalization that the anti-Jewish strand is limited to Proto-Orthodoxy does not always apply.

The *Testimony of Truth* often takes recourse to Jewish hermeneutics when reading the Tanak, and does not hesitate to use them against Jews.¹⁴¹ It is stated by analogy that one cannot serve two masters: not the law and truth, as if one must decide between the two. The “defilement of the law” is said to be clear to all. It seems that its main problem with the law was its sanctioning of marriage. The harsh language is reminiscent of things another Proto-Orthodox author, Barnabas, would say. The treatise is one of the few Gnostic treatises to concretely mention the Pharisees, saying they belong to the archons.¹⁴²

The Testimony of Truth argues that the law is used by Jews as a license to lust. It is striking that the water of baptism, or that of immersion like that of the Jordan River is despised as “the power of the body, that is, the sensation of lust, but the water of the Jordan is the desire of intercourse.”¹⁴³ Immersion and baptism were after all overlapping concepts in Greek. This might sound shocking that immersion and baptism could be associated with lust. But by applying allegory the author of *The Testimony of Truth* distances himself from Jewish literal exegesis toward Christian allegorical and typological exegesis. Christians viewed this literal exegesis of Jews as the explanation of their lust.¹⁴⁴ This brings the Encratite tendency of the author into focus. At the same time Proto-Orthodox Christians are criticized for the same lust. P.Oxy. 840 also insinuates that the Pharisees have a problem with lust. Although P.Oxy. 840 is also very critical of lust, it is not clear whether it had an Encratite inclination or not. Christians in general were opposed to lust.

Bovon argues that baptism in general is criticized in P.Oxy. 840. In *The Testimony of Truth* we do have such a criticism of baptism where a spade is called a spade. The Christian sacrament of baptism is abolished by moralizing it: true baptism is the renunciation of the

¹³⁹ πεχέ δε αρχωβε πογατε μπαρθενος' (But Christ passed through a virgin's womb).

¹⁴⁰ King, *What is Gnosticism?* 53

¹⁴¹ This is also the case with the Proto-Orthodox, cf. my chapter on Proto-Orthodox texts.

¹⁴² This seems to be reminiscent to how John's Gospel speaks of the Pharisees as οι τοῦ λαοῦ ἄρχοντες.

¹⁴³ πιορδανης δε περο πτο φε τ`δυναμις μπισωμα ετε ναι νε παισενης πηνηδονη πιοογ δε μπιορδανης πτο φε τεπιογμια πτcγνογια.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. my discussion of Barnabas in chapter 6.

world. The idea that baptism has soteriological powers is explicitly denied and the image of living water is ruined by speaking of a baptism of death.¹⁴⁵ Here the context of the rest of the document makes clear that πιβαπτ[ι][σμα] ἄπιμογ should not be understood as a metaphor. In the context of *The Testimony of Truth* there is no doubt as to the meaning of baptism as was the case in *Zostrianos*.

In contrast to most of the Gnostic writings discussed in this chapter *The Testimony of Truth* does seem to refer to a historical event taking place in the temple of Jerusalem with the Romans entering, so that it has less of a supra-temporal character than other Gnostic writings.

5.4.1.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Although the *Testimony of Truth* is anti-baptism as Bovon correctly points out, Bovon's reading of P.Oxy. 840 is by no means an obvious reading thereof. At face value P.Oxy. 840 is a controversy with Jews over the validity of immersion as opposed to inner and moral purity. Purification ceremonies are criticized by the Saviour and his disciples and not the sacrament of baptism. In fact baptism is referred to as living water.

The Testimony of Truth is a much more abstract and difficult treatise to understand than is P.Oxy. 840 which is characterized by clarity. So much so, that many thoughts come across as redundant. To a certain extent this is determined by the genre.

The Testimony of Truth hardly uses the title "Saviour" for Jesus.

5.4.2 The Paraphrase of Shem NHC VII,1

5.4.2.1 Date

Late second or third century C.E.¹⁴⁶

5.4.2.2 Genre

Apocalypse

5.4.2.3 Sources

It is not easy to find references to any of the canonized Gospels. Roberge thinks that the apocalypse described in *The Paraphrase of Shem* 44–45 makes use of various Jewish traditions including Mark 13, Revelation 12–13 *The Assumption of Moses*, *4 Ezra* and *The*

¹⁴⁵ *Test. Truth* 55.8–9 πλά [πε] πιβαπτ[ι][σμα] ἄπιμογ ετούγρ]παρ[λτη]ρι [Θ]

¹⁴⁶ Frederik Wisse, "NHC VII,1: The Paraphrase of Shem," in *Nag Hammadi Codex VII* (ed. B. A. Pearson; NHMS 30; ed. J. M. Robinson & H. J. Klimkeit; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 22.

Sibylline Oracles 3.¹⁴⁷ In the case of Mark 13 one hardly sees any parallels. Roberge argues that the way the history of salvation is portrayed in this treatise is the same as that found in Jesus' apocalyptic saying in Luke (17:26–30): the flood, the destruction of Sodom and the crucifixion.¹⁴⁸ To call this a history of salvation is perhaps to go too far. In Luke, Jesus merely compares the apocalypse of the son of man with the two most catastrophic events in Jewish tradition. Also Jesus does not even mention anything about the crucifixion in this context. The author of this treatise hardly needed access to Luke's Gospel to come up with his schema. There does not seem to be any Johannine parallels either.¹⁴⁹ Tuckett mentions the fact that Jesus was baptized by John is presupposed by 30.23–25, but feels that this is too indirect to prove anything.¹⁵⁰ This fact is after all reported by all of the canonized Gospels. Something like this could also have come to the author by way of the remotest oral tradition about Jesus.

5.4.2.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise we note the following statistics¹⁵¹:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (πεστηρ)	0	0
Lord (πιοεις)	1	4
Jesus (ιησους)	0	0
Christ (χριστος)	0	0
Son of majesty (πουηρ επιμεγεοс)	5	20
Derdekeas (Δερδεκεαс)	2	8
Soldas (содас)	2	8
Word (πλοгос)	14	56
Word (πωлхе)	1	4
Total	25	100

Derdekeas is called the son of the infinite Light, that is, son of the transcendent god. Soldas is what the earthly Jesus is called. Interestingly enough one christological title that is used often

¹⁴⁷ Roberge, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, 138.

¹⁴⁸ Roberge, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, 15 fn.34.

¹⁴⁹ Roberge, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, 68 speaks of a similar narration technique.

¹⁵⁰ Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, 141.

¹⁵¹ The term “Christological titles” might be misleading in analysing this treatise. Derdekeas is a mediating figure between heaven and earth and it is by no means certain that he represents Jesus.

is Word, but that is not enough evidence to postulate a Johannine source, at least not in written form.

5.4.2.5 Theology

Shem receives an ecstatic vision in which he ascends to the top of creation (1). He receives a revelation from Derdekeas, the son of the light. Stroumsa thinks the name Derdekeas is based on Aramaic *drdq'* (boy).¹⁵²

John the Baptist is portrayed as a demon as he is baptizing in the Jordan (30). Throughout the treatise water has a negative connotation (as it also had in Gen 1). This water of baptism tries to keep people imprisoned. Derdekeas descends onto the water and rescues the light of faith and reveals to the Noetics and Pneumatics passwords to allow their spirit entry into the heavenly spheres (30). The Pneumatics will eventually ascend to the place of the unbegotten Spirit, whereas the Noetics who are repentant will ascend to the Hymen. The Saviour foretells how Nature will try to seize him and how he will eventually ascend to heaven again. Nature will only be able to crucify Soldas (the earthly Jesus) (39)

It is made clear that Pneumatics (spiritual ones) may not undergo baptism (38). Of all the anti-baptism Gnostic treatises Bovon mentions *The Paraphrase of Shem* is the most radical.¹⁵³ John the Baptist is called a demon. Baptismal waters are described as harmful (37) and imprisoning. The following passage makes it very clear:

<i>Paraph. Shem 37.19–35</i>	
ω σhem\ σερπλανασοαι εβολ γ̄γ ɔα2 μ̄μορφη π̄τε π̄λαιμων\ εγμεεγε χε γ̄γ π̄βαπτισμος π̄τακαθαρσια π̄πιοογ πετρωοп ετακη εткоов εтօнаргон εтψорф\ զնալ բնօօե մ̄մաց\ այա սեսօօցն ան չե եボլ շ̄շ ոմօոց երալ ըմօոց բնի տ̄բրե մ̄ն տ̄լանհ\ մ̄ն տ̄կաթարսιа\ ուկաշ թատբե\ տ̄մօխեա\ տ̄մնտբնրե բնօց\ շեռքէց\ շենտարբ\ շենտպօյմիա\ շենմնտշաց բնված\ օյշանտ օյշայ օյնօօ (NHMS 30)	O Shem, they are deceived by manifold demons, thinking that through baptism with the uncleanness of water, that which is dark, feeble, (and) disturbing, he will take away the sins. And they do not know that from the water to the water there is bondage, and error and impurity, envy, murder, adultery, false witness, heresies, robberies, lusts, babblings, wrath, bitterness, great [...].

Form

Revelatory discourse (with Derdekeas speaking); catalogue of vices

¹⁵² Quoted in Wisse, “NHC VII,1: The Paraphrase of Shem,” 16.

¹⁵³ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” x.

In the context of this treatise one understands why baptismal waters are thought to be impure, for it refers to the chaos in which the world started and to which darkness sank after losing its mind. These same waters kept the light of the spirit bound. It was also in these waters that Darkness and Nature had coitus.¹⁵⁴ Water was never part of the spirit or of the light above. Even Christ is portrayed as having sex with Nature.¹⁵⁵ One can only imagine how offended many Christians would have been by such statements.

5.4.2.6 Reason for Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

Gnosis, though not necessarily Christian Gnosis.

It is not that difficult to fit this treatise into the typological model, although it remains debatable to what extent the writing is Christian:

Gnostic Typological Model	
1. Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak;	The Light
2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	The Darkness, Nature, Mind, daemons, winds, etc.
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	The universe is set in motion by Darkness mating with Nature. Every part of Nature is described as a power of the chaotic fire which is material seed (11.1–4).
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	The Darkness is unaware of the light that is above him, he is said to have a lack of perception (2.15–18), so that the work seems to have a Manichaeistic tendency.
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	The Noetics do not just consist of body and soul like other humans, but also have a part of mind. The Pneumatics possess what the Noetics have plus (divine) Thought.

¹⁵⁴ Roberge, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, 136.

¹⁵⁵ Roberge, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, 32 notes that the sexual language represents a cosmo-biological analogy that was also used in Stoicism and Middle Platonism especially as reinterpreted by Numenius and *The Chaldean Oracles*.

6. knowledge ($\gamma\omega\sigmaις$) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	The pre-existent Saviour descends at the time before the universe is set into motion, he prophesies his return. ¹⁵⁶
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	Thought and Mind are what saves people.
8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	Very dualistic: everything is about a struggle between Light and Darkness and the Light overcoming.

Derdekeas also makes clear that it is not he (Derdekeas) that will be crucified, but Soldas – the material Jesus. This reflects Docetism, a characteristic we have not seen with the other Gnostic treatises analysed so far. This treatise does not hesitate to talk about sex.

5.4.2.7 *Similarities between Text and P.Oxy. 840*

Only if Bovon’s reading of P.Oxy. 840 were correct, would there be any kind of parallel to this Gnostic treatise.

5.4.2.8 *Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840*

In *The Paraphrase of Shem* the heavenly revealer is never called Jesus, but Derdekeas. Bovon is certainly correct that *The Paraphrase of Shem* is anti-baptism. P.Oxy. 840, however, seems to be concerned with anti-Jewish polemic where immersion is criticized. This treatise does not make allusions to any of the canonized Gospels. P.Oxy. 840 language and thought is closer to that of the Fourfold Gospel, despite telling a formerly unknown narrative. The genre of *The Paraphrase of Shem* also complicates comparison.

5.5 Fragments Preserved by Church Fathers

Thus far we have for the most part discussed primary Gnostic texts, a possibility that was not open to scholars before the publication of the Nag Hammadi finds. Bovon has also referred to anti-baptismal language in some of the fragments preserved by the Church Fathers.

¹⁵⁶ The actual word $\kappaωτηρ$ is not mentioned in the treatise.

5.5.1 Justin the Gnostic (Hippolytus, Ref. 5.23–28)

5.5.1.1 Date

Terminus ante quem has to be Hippolytus life time (189–235 C.E.)¹⁵⁷

Hippolytus is our only source on Justin. He does not provide any details as to Justin's life or the place and time of his activities.¹⁵⁸

5.5.1.2 Sources

If one looks at the sources Justin uses it seems like he used one of the Synoptic Gospels and John at least. The following language is clearly Johannine τοῦ ζῶντος ὄδατος, ὅπερ ἔστι λουτρὸν αὐτοῖς, ὡς νομίζουσι, πηγὴ ζῶντος ὄδατος ἀλλομένου (John 4:14 “living water which is baptism for them, as they believe: a fountain of living springing water”).¹⁵⁹ And the fact that Justin quotes “Sit at my right hand” (Ps 110:1) seems to allude to either Mark 12:35/Matthew 22:42/Luke 20:41 or elsewhere in the New Testament. It needn't, but it seems quite reasonable. It is strange that Justin says Jesus used to be a shepherd when he was twelve even though it is often spelt out in the Synoptic Gospels that Jesus was a carpenter. Van den Broek remarks that many explain this by simply referring to John 10 where Jesus calls himself the good shepherd.¹⁶⁰ Van den Broek thinks Justin was familiar with Luke and John. The following seems to be dependent on Luke (23:46):

Justin quoted in Hippolytus, Ref. 5.26.32	
αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς χεῖρας παραθέμενος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀνῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθόν. (PTS 25) ¹⁶¹	But he gave into the hands of the Father his spirit and went up to the Good.
Luke 23:46	
καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· (NA ²⁸)	And crying with a loud voice Jesus said: “Father into your hands I give my spirit.”

¹⁵⁷ Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church*, 122. Of the fragments it is difficult to determine the genre of the work as well as the statistics of the Christological titles, as neither are extant anymore.

¹⁵⁸ Roelof van den Broek, “Gospel Tradition and Salvation in Justin the Gnostic,” VC 57 (2003): 364, 363–388.

¹⁵⁹ Interestingly van den Broek, “Gospel and Tradition in Justin the Gnostic,” 379–380 even though he admits this is a clear quotation from John, does not think that it was really part of Justin's writings, explaining that the same section speaks of Naassenes and Sethians quoting the same section of John. Van den Broek proposes that this is a later interpolation into the work of Hippolytus.

¹⁶⁰ Van den Broek, “Gospel and Tradition in Justin the Gnostic,” 377.

¹⁶¹ CCCPG 1899. The text of Miroslav Marcovich, ed. *Hippolytus. Refutatio omnium haeresium* (PTS 25; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986) was published after CCCPG 1899.

Van den Broek provides another parallel from John, though Justin has taken it entirely out of its original context. While on the cross Jesus addresses Eden and says:

Justin quoted in Hippolytus, Ref. 5.26.32	John 19:26
γύναι, ἀπέχεις σου τὸν νιόν, τουτέστιν τὸν ψυχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν χοϊκόν. (PTS 25)	γύναι, ἵδε ὁ νιός σου. (NA ²⁸)
Woman, you receive the son, the psychic human and the earthly.	Women, behold your son.

This seems to be taken from John, albeit in a strange context. It is evident that Justin did not have a high regard for the Jewish prophets as all of them (and the hero Heracles) had been deceived before Jesus came.

5.5.1.3 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

It does not seem to be coincidental that the villainous Eden is also called “Israel” (5.26.2). It is also emphasized that Eden/Israel does not know the Good. In Johannine language Justin argues that if Israel would have known the Good, she would not have punished the spirit inside them belonging to Elohim.¹⁶² This ignorance of Israel is called her paternal ignorance.

On more than one occasion Elohim sends Baruch to the Israelites to show them the way to the Good (5.26.24), but every time the soul of the messenger, be it Moses, or the prophets (or even Heracles) is tempted by Naas and prevails over the spirit. Of course the soul is Eden’s domain whereas the spirit is Elohim’s. Jesus is the only messenger in whom the spirit prevails and is able to point the way to the Father and the Good.

5.5.1.4 Theology

Bovon refers to the anti-baptismal slant found in Justin the Gnostic (Hippolytus, Ref. 5.27.3). Justin has preserved the following about the mysteries involved in this cult:

¹⁶² Cf. John 14:7 for the same language. Hippolytus, Ref. 5.26.37 «οὐκ ἔγνω με, φησίν, <οὐ πατὴρ λέγει>· Ισραὴλ· Ισραὴλ δὲ τὴν Ἐδὲμ <λέγει> – Ἐδὲμ γὰρ λέγεται καὶ Ισραὴλ, ἡ σύζυγος τοῦ Ἐλωείμ· – εἰ γὰρ ἔγνώκει, <φησίν>, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ εἴμι, οὐκ ὅν ἐκόλαξε τὸ πνεῦμά <μου>, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ὄγνοιαν ἐνδεθέν» ([PTS 25] He says that the Father says “Israel did not know me.” [Israel or Eden, for Eden is also called the spouse of Elohim] For he says, that “if Israel had known that I am with the Good, she would not have punished my spirit, which is inside humans because of her paternal ignorance”). The *double entendre* is clear.

Justin quoted in Hippolytus, Ref. 5.27.2–4	
<p>ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁμόσῃ τοῦτον τὸν ὄρκον, εἰσέρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ βλέπει «ὅσα ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὓς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίᾳν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη», καὶ πίνει ἀπὸ «τοῦ ζῶντος ὕδατος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ λουτρὸν αὐτοῖς, ὡς νομίζουσι, πηγὴ ζῶντος ὕδατος ἀλλομένου. διακεχώρισται γάρ, φησίν, ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔστιν ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος τῆς πονηρᾶς κτίσεως, ἐν τῷ λούονται οἱ χοϊκοὶ καὶ ψυχικοὶ ἀνθρωποι, καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν <τὸ> ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ζῶν <ον>, ἐν τῷ λούονται οἱ πνευματικοὶ ζῶντες ἀνθρωποι, <καὶ> ἐν τῷ ἔλούσατο <ό> Ἐλωεὶμ καὶ λουσάμενος οὐ μετεμελήθη.» (PTS 25)</p>	<p>After they [those about to be inducted into the mystery cult] have sworn the oath, they go into the Good and see “what no eye has seen, and what no ear has heard and what has not entered the heart of man” and they drink from “the living water” which is baptism for them, as they believe: “a fountain of living springing water.” For, he says, “the water above the midst has been separated from the water, and there is water below the foundation of the wicked creation in which earthly and psychic people are washed and there is water above the foundation of the Good: living in which spiritual living people are washed in which Elohim washed, and after having been washed he did not regret it.”</p>

Justin also classifies humans into the psychical and the spiritual as the Valentinians do. It seems that this movement of Justin had a different ritual of baptism in that they swore the same oath Elohim had sworn and then drank from a cup of living water. How they acquired this living water is a mystery – perhaps it was rain water they had caught up in pitchers.¹⁶³

The content of the oath was as follows:

Justin quoted in Hippolytus, Ref. 5.27.2	
<p>ὁμνύω τὸν ἐπάνω πάντων, τὸν ἀγαθόν, τηρῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα καὶ ἔξειπεν μηδενί, μηδὲ ἀνακάμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν. (PTS 25)</p>	<p>I swear by the one above all, the Good, to keep these mysteries and to tell no one, and not to turn back from the Good to the creation.</p>

One must remember that groundwater did have a very negative connotation in Jewish thinking. This is especially evident in Genesis 1, the myth of Noah and the flood in Genesis 6–9 and in the Psalms. The Jewish worldview proposed the earth was standing on pillars in the great deep. The Leviathan was thought to inhabit these waters. They were always scared the water from the great deep would engulf the earth. That is why in the account of Noah’s flood the following is said:

¹⁶³ For an in-depth discussion of what kind of water counted as living water, cf. Stuart Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels and Ritual Purity among the Jews of Roman Galilee* (Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2015), 32. From Miller’s analysis it becomes clear that the main concern with living water was that it was natural and not dependent on human culture, so that it was frowned upon that humans would carry around water in pitchers from one place to another. Nevertheless, man-made structures could still hold natural and thus living water.

Gen 7:11	
בָּשְׁנִינֵת שְׁשַׁמְּאוֹת שְׁנִיה לְחִינִּים בְּחִדְשֵׁה הַשְׁנִי בְּשֶׁבְעָה-צְעָר יוֹם לְחִדְשֵׁה בַּיּוֹם כֹּה נִבְקָעַוּ כָּל- מַעֲזִינָה תְּהוָם רָבָה וְאֶרְבָּתָה הַשְׁמִינִים נִפְתָּחוּ (BHS)	In the six hundredth year of the life of Noah during the second new moon on the seventeenth day of that month, on that day all the springs burst forth. The deep became swollen and the windows of heaven opened.

More is said about the danger of the ground water coming than about the rain. So this could also be a tradition shared by all Jews and Jewish-Christians.

5.5.1.5 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

It is a pity that we do not know more about this Justin. Hippolytus (*Ref. 5.23–27*) is our only source of information on him. Justin's teaching easily fits into the typological model:

Gnostic Typological Model	
1. The experience of a completely otherworldly, distant, supreme God;	Three eternal principles: The Good, Elohim and Eden. ¹⁶⁴ Of these three only The Good is omniscient. And only Eden is female (5.26). The last two are unaware of the first one.
2. the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	Elohim and Eden are drawn to each other by sexual desire and have 24 children: Twelve paternal angels and twelve maternal angels. The angels are called trees, Baruch being the Tree of Life and Naas (Snake) ¹⁶⁵ the Tree of Knowledge. The angels start forming human beings taking some of the earth (of Eden). Elohim blew spirit into them to make them alive. Eden gave them their soul. One day Elohim ascends to the highest part of heaven to inspect his creation when he sees, for the first time, the light that is the Good. He quotes Psalm 118:19 “Open me the gates, that I may enter and acknowledge the Lord.” The Good says to him “Sit at my right hand” (Ps 110:1). Before his enthronement Elohim must swear an oath of secrecy and be baptized. ¹⁶⁶ Upon seeing the heavenly realm Elohim regrets having made earth and humans and wants to destroy all humans (Gen 6) but the Good forbids him (<i>Ref. 5.27.17</i>). Elohim is commanded to stay in heaven and leave earth or Eden. After realizing that Elohim is not coming back, Eden becomes upset and sends her first angel Aphrodite to seduce men and destroy

¹⁶⁴ Εδέμ as the garden of Eden is spelt in the Old Greek. She is also called Israel and Earth (γοῖα [Ionic for γῆ]).

¹⁶⁵ This is from the Hebrew שָׁנָה.

¹⁶⁶ Van den Broek, “Gospel Tradition and Salvation in Justin the Gnostic,” 370.

	<p>marriages. Eden also commands Naas to chastise the spirit of Adam. In reply Elohim sends Baruch to warn Adam not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. Adam is eventually seduced and has sexual relations with Naas. It is striking that Elohim is called “Father” and not the omniscient Good (5.24.1).</p>
3. the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	The world is not as good as heaven where the Good lives. Elsewhere it is described as “wicked creation” (Ref. 5.27.3)
4. the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	Elohim and Eden both create on earth. Both of them lack foreknowledge and cannot see what the consequences of their actions will be. Eden is especially spiteful once Elohim abandons her. Elohim is not a foolish god, but his attempts are usually foiled by Naas.
5. the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	The spirit was blown into the first humans by Elohim.
6. knowledge ($\gamma\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\zeta$) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	At that stage Elohim could ascend to heaven and return at will, until he took the throne next to the Good. Usually he sends Baruch to do his work on earth after his enthronement
7. the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	Though Baruch was commissioned to show Moses and the prophets the way of worshipping the Good, they have all followed their soul (from Eden) instead of the spirit (blown into them by Elohim). Elohim even tried to get the message across through Heracles. Finally Baruch is sent to Jesus as a twelve year old, while tending sheep. Baruch tells him the whole story of the Good and how Moses, the prophets and Heracles have all been seduced. Jesus is obedient and proclaims the message about the Good and never falls into sin when tempted by Naas. Finally Naas has Jesus crucified so that he leaves behind body and soul to the earth and his spirit ascends to the Good (5.26.29–32).

8. a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	The dualism is reflected by Elohim and Eden, in love at first but eventually becoming enemies. The spirit is from Elohim and the soul from Eden. Baruch is opposed by Naas. One does not get the idea that flesh is evil or that sex is evil. In fact marriage seems to be idealized.
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Justin's message is quite unique among Gnostic systems. Van den Broek wonders whether he should not rather be grouped among Jewish Christians.¹⁶⁷ Jesus is referred to as the twelve year old son of Mary and Joseph, though it is not exactly clear whether Justin denies the virgin birth. It is striking that Jesus receives his vocation at the age of *bar mišwâ*. Justin's Jesus seems to be a normal human being with body and soul from Eden and spirit from Elohim. Jesus takes the same path all believers have to take to reach the Good.¹⁶⁸ Only his spirit ascends to the Good. When discussing Justin's harsh comments on the prophets van den Broek¹⁶⁹ thinks of the words found in the Gospel according to the Nazarenes, *etenim in prophetis quoque postquam uncti sunt spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati.*¹⁷⁰ He also notes that Jewish prophets are heavily criticized in the Pseudo-Clementines. Justin's view on marriage, procreation and sexual sin is also seen by van den Broek to be similar to Jewish thinking.¹⁷¹ Adultery and sex between males are condemned. Elohim and Eden are seen as the ideal couple (initially anyway).

5.5.1.6 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The living water that is parallel to both texts shows the importance of the concept in the second century. The oath the initiates of the mystery cult have to swear is striking. They swear by the one above all, the Good (ομνύω τὸν ἐπάνω πάντων, τὸν ἀγαθόν). This is a startling parallel to the text of P.Oxy. 840, but it is parallel to a textual conjecture.¹⁷² Justin shows familiarity with one of the Synoptics, probably Luke, and definitely John. The work of *Justin the Gnostic* shows how entangled early Christianities were. Justin reflects an anti-Judaism that emphasizes the disobedience of its messengers to the knowledge of the Good. These messengers like Moses and the prophets are responsible for Israel's failure to know the Good. The messengers sent to Israel were dominated by their soul like ψυχικοί rather than by

¹⁶⁷ Van den Broek, "Gospel and Tradition in Justin the Gnostic," 383–384.

¹⁶⁸ Van den Broek, "Gospel and Tradition in Justin the Gnostic," 382.

¹⁶⁹ Van den Broek, "Gospel and Tradition in Justin the Gnostic," 384.

¹⁷⁰ "For even among the prophets after they had been anointed by the Holy Spirit, there was found the language of sin," cf. the discussion in my chapter 6.

¹⁷¹ Van den Broek, "Gospel and Tradition in Justin the Gnostic," 386.

¹⁷² This emendation is by Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 68, 93.

their spirit. This is not that different from similar anti-Jewish ideas one will see in Barnabas and Justin.

5.5.1.7 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Justin's ideas form a more comprehensive system, although we only have the system as far as it is preserved by Hippolytus.

True baptism is only administered through living water as is the case in P.Oxy. 840. Justin sticks to the positive estimation of living water found in John, the *Epistula Apostolorum* and Sethian writings but applies it to another sacrament, that of drinking water, instead of baptism as it is found in P.Oxy. 840. Like *The Testimony of Truth* and *The Paraphrase of Shem* Justin also speaks of the contaminated water of baptism in which other Christians are washed. In P.Oxy. 840 there are also two kinds of water that are contrasted: the water associated with immersion and the water associated with baptism. The Saviour specifically states that he and his disciples have been baptized in water coming from heaven (According to Kruger ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ μονοῦ οὐς λέγεις μὴ βεβαπτίσθαι βεβάμμεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζῷσιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐλθοῦσι ἀπὸ [τοῦ πατρὸς ἔπανω]).¹⁷³

P.Oxy. 840 as Gospel must have been primarily concerned with the life and death of Jesus. Justin's teaching is more concerned with charter myths. Justin's creative and almost playful ideas give one a peek into the demand for Eastern cults in the Roman Empire.

5.6 Manichaean Christianity

5.6.1 Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis

5.6.1.1 Date

Fourth century C.E. This codex was discovered in Oxyrhynchus in 1969.¹⁷⁴ Like P.Oxy. 840 it is also a miniature codex from parchment.¹⁷⁵ It is the smallest codex from antiquity that has been found. Even though it contains 192 pages with a height of 3.5cm and a breadth of 2.5cm it averages about 23 lines per page. It is a Greek translation of a Syrian work.¹⁷⁶ On

¹⁷³ The underlined words are the reconstruction by Charles P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, eds., "Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1908), 15. For a translation cf. my introduction.

¹⁷⁴ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 65.

¹⁷⁵ Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen, "Ein Griechischer Mani-Codex: P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780," *ZPE* 5 (1970): 100–101 reported the find to the public. Colour images of every page of the *CMC* are available on the site of the Papyrussammlung in Köln, <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Manikodex/bildermani.html> It is very similar to P.Oxy. 840, except that the hand is a sloping pointed majuscule.

¹⁷⁶ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 65.

palaeographic evidence the manuscript is dated to the fifth century. The actual name of the treatise is περὶ τῆς γέννησ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ (*Concerning the Becoming of his Body*).

5.6.1.2 *Genre*

Apology compiled from testimonies of Mani's disciples.¹⁷⁷ In many respects the *CMC* is not that different from a Gospel. It tells the story of the founder of Manichaeism, Mani.

5.6.1.3 *Sources*

In *CMC* 91 the baptist synod asks Mani why he nullifies their laws, which is similar to ideas found in the life of Jesus, for example, Mark 7:1–23. Some people in the community (*CMC* 87) start wondering whether Mani is not a false prophet performing miracles and proclaiming new teaching (like Mark 13:22).¹⁷⁸ *CMC* 84 derogates the purification rituals like Matthew 23:25 and Luke 11:38.¹⁷⁹ Purity can only come through knowledge. When discussing the controversy between Mary and Martha the text from *CMC* 92 seems to be closer to that of the Diatessaron than to Luke.¹⁸⁰ The puzzlement of the locals (*CMC* 81) over whether Mani wants to go to the Greeks is clearly parallel to John 7:14 (*CMC* 80.16–18; 87.19–21).¹⁸¹ That this work refers to Synoptic Gospels as well as John needs not surprise us because Mani (216–277 C.E.) lived at a time when the Diatessaron was authoritative. Other parallels include Matt 26:26 and *CMC* 92.11 (institution of the cup), John 4:10 and *CMC* 84.9–85.1 (living water), Luke 10:6 (νιὸς εἰρήνης) *CMC* 66.4–67.18 (παῖδες τῆς εἰρήνης), and Mark 6:8, Matthew 10:9, Luke 9:2 and *CMC* 93.14–20 (when Jesus sent his disciples on their mission they took neither mill stone nor oven with them, because of the Batptists' insistence on eating bread of their own baking).¹⁸² The *CMC*'s references to the text of the Diatessaron are less direct than his quotes of Paul's material.¹⁸³

5.6.1.4 *Christological Titles*

¹⁷⁷ Johannes van Oort, “Manichaeism: Its Sources and Influences on Western Christianity,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 30/2 (2012): 2, Art. #362, 5 pages. DOI: 10.4102/ ve.v30i2.362. Online: <http://www.ve.org.za>. Cited 15 August 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 161 fn. 226.

¹⁷⁹ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 143 fn. 205.

¹⁸⁰ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 175 fn. 264. 1–72 83 fn. 109

¹⁸¹ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 137 fn. 186.

¹⁸² Henrichs & Koenen, “Ein Griechischer Mani-Codex,” 138.

¹⁸³ The ideas are taken over rather than the language, cf. Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780) περὶ τῆς γέννησ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ Edition der Seiten 1–72,” *ZPE* 19 (1975): 83 fn. 109. Cf. Matt 10:34’s μάχαιρα vs *CMC* 107.14’s ξίφος. Somewhere translation from a Syrian text might also have played a role.

The following titles are found in the *CMC*:¹⁸⁴

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	10	50
Lord (κύριος)	3	15
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	1	5
Lord Jesus (κύριος Ἰησοῦς)	1	5
Our Lord Jesus (κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς)	1	5
Jesus Christ (Ιησοῦς Χριστός)	3	15
Christ (Χριστὸς)	1	5
Total	20	100

The title σωτήρ is used on most of the occasions with κύριος and Ιησοῦς Χριστός joint second place.

5.6.1.5 Anti-Judaism

Because of the shaping of the narrative of Mani's life according to that of Jesus, the concept of law is typecast as the law of the Elchesaites (*CMC* 5.10 ὁ νόμος τῶν βαπτιστῶν). It is because Mani transgresses this law that he is tried. Mani's life is represented as a struggle to escape this law (*CMC* 30.3). Mani's consort is instrumental in separating him from this law with which he grew up (*CMC* 73.1). Some of the Elchesaites call Mani an enemy of their law (*CMC* 87.16). Other Elchesaites call Mani an apostate from their law (*CMC* 89.12). At his trial Mani is said to make the law of the Saviour void. Mani denies that he makes the law of the Saviour void, in the sense that the Elchesaites' law is not the same as that of the Saviour (*CMC* 91.10). The polemic of the *CMC* is directed against the Elchesaites, a Jewish-Christian Baptist grouping. Beyond this anti-nomism one does not see anti-Judaism.¹⁸⁵

5.6.1.6 Theology

When Mani was still a young boy he climbed into water one day and the water told him to get out because he was hurting it (*CMC* 12.1).¹⁸⁶ During Mani's defense at his trial he talks about the futility of baptizing food, something peculiar to the Elchesaites. The idea of baptizing

¹⁸⁴ The quotations from Scripture are ignored. Also note that although παράκλητος does occur, it is not counted because it refers to Mani. Often κύριος also only applies to Mani, so that such references are disregarded here.

¹⁸⁵ In *CMC* 137 Mani visits a synagogue where some kind of polemic ensues, but the text is too fragmentary to come to certain conclusions.

¹⁸⁶ Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 1–72," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 14 fn. 24. Even for the hearers this was seen to be the worst of sins.

food is called worthless (*CMC* 80.20). Based on the logical premise that baptized food causes impure human waste and that waste production only stops when ones stops eating, Mani proves his point with a syllogism. This corresponds to Mani's objective to refute the arguments and mysteries (λόγοι καὶ μυστήρια) of the Elchesaites (*CMC* 80.6–8).

Mani makes a mockery of the Elchesaites by saying that instead of being purified once and for all through a single baptism they immerse themselves daily because they are disgusted with themselves (*CMC* 83.10). For Mani it is clear that impurity comes from the body, something every human being has to live with.

This is where Bovon's quotation of Mani's anti-baptism view fits in.¹⁸⁷ Mani says the following:

CMC 83.20–85.1	
τοὺντεῦθεν <δ>ὲ [τί ἔστιν] ύμῶν ἡ καθα[ρότης, ἐξ] ἔαντῶν κατ[ασκέψα]σθε. ἀδύν[ατον γάρ], τὰ σώματα ύμῶν παντελῶς καθαρίσαι· καθ' ἐκάστην γάρ ήμέραν κινεῖται καὶ ἵσταται τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ἐκκρίσεις τῆς ὑποστάθμης τὰς [ἐ]ξ αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ γενέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα δίχα ἐντολῆς τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος. ἡ τοίνυν καθαρότης περὶ ᾧς ἐλέχθη αὕτη τυγχάνει ἡ διὰ τῆς γνώσεως, χωρισμὸς φωτὸς ἀπὸ σκότους καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς ζωῆς [κα]ὶ τῶν ζώντων ὑδά[τω]ν ἐκ τῶν τεθαμβω[μέ]νων, καὶ ἴνα γνοῖ[τε ὅ]τι ἐκάτερον τυγχά[νει...άνισ]ον ¹⁸⁸ ἀλλήλων καὶ κα[τ...]τὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐντο[λὰς ὅπω]ς ἀπολυτρώσῃ [...] τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ [τοῦ ὄλεθρο]ου καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας. (ZPE 32)	Therefore inspect yourself in what your purity exists. For it is impossible to purify your bodies entirely. For the body moves and sits because of the excretions of its waste. So that the deed becomes double the commandment of the Saviour. The purity concerning which it is spoken then is through knowledge: Separation of light from darkness, of death from life, of living waters from stagnant. And so that you may know that the one is quite different from the other, [and you should keep] the commandments of the Saviour so that he may save your soul from devastation and destruction.

Form

Apology

Based on the authority of a literary canon – the Diatessaron – the *CMC* makes Mani's case. It is evident that regarding purity the text of the *CMC* typecasts the Elchesaites in the same role the Pharisees are playing in Mark 7:1–23 (or any of the other purity controversies), while

¹⁸⁷ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 727.

¹⁸⁸ This reading has been confirmed as “unumgänglich” by Ludwig Koenen & Cornelia Römer, “Neue Lesungen im Kölner Mani Codex,” ZPE 58 (1985): 50, 47–54.

Mani is playing the role of Jesus. The Elchesaites are fighting for the formalism of ritual immersion, while Mani is fighting for an inward conception of purity, that is, knowledge.

In his defense Mani does not share his testimony as it plays out in *CMC* 12, but rather founds his argument on the hypocrisy of outer purity. Later though he tells of two similar experiences Elchasai himself had which convinced Elchasai on both occasions to leave the water (*CMC* 94) – this was when Elchasai wished to wash himself not to baptize himself.¹⁸⁹ On one occasion Elchasai gave a very interesting answer to the image of a man appearing out of the spring:

CMC 94.93	
ώστε θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀλχα[σαῖον καὶ ε]ἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὴν· [ἡ] πορνεία καὶ ἡ μιαρότης καὶ ἡ ἀκαθαρσία τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιρρίπτεται σοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπαυδῆς, ἐπ' ἔμοι δὲ λυπῇ; (ZPE 32)	With the result that Elchasai became astonished and told it: The fornication, defilement and impurity of the world are cast into you yet you do not prohibit it, but because of me you are upset?

Form

Report about visions and auditions

Mani's aversion towards baptism can be explained by bad experiences with baptists obsessed over baptizing during his childhood. They even baptized their food. All of this does not mean that he cut water out of Manichaean rituals entirely – before prayer Manichaeans had to wash their hands.¹⁹⁰

5.6.1.7 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

Despite its recent publication the *CMC* has become a pivotal Manichaean document.¹⁹¹ When he was 24 years old he got into trouble with the local Elchesaite (βαπτισταί as the document prefers to call them *CMC* 5.11; 98.10; 106.17; 109.21 etc.) community because of his refusal to obey their teaching. Contrary to their laws he consumes wheat (bread),¹⁹² vegetables, fruit

¹⁸⁹ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 186 explains the semantics involved in differing between λούεσθαι (washing yourself) and βαπτίζεσθαι (baptizing yourself).

¹⁹⁰ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 187 fn. 273.

¹⁹¹ Johannes van Oort, “The Study of the Cologne Mani Codex: 1970–1994: A Bibliographical Overview,” *Manichaean Studies Newsletter* 13 (1996): 22–30.

¹⁹² They sometimes call the bread Mani eats Ἑλληνικὸς ἄρτος (Greek bread) or σίτνος ἄρτος (wheat bread). Though this bread was well known in Babylon centuries before, Ἑλληνικὸς has an extra associative meaning here of “heathen” and “luxury.” This did not correspond with the ascetic taste of the community. The Elchesaites sometimes used it to describe Gentile Christians as well, frowning on Greek education. It is unclear what bread the Elchesaites preferred. Some suggestions are bran, or barley or most likely unleavened bread. Cf.

and drinks that are forbidden. He also does not baptize himself or his food as is the Elchesaites' custom. What is more, he refuses to farm. They call a synod to solve the matter which leads to Mani's excommunication. From the Manichaean model below many indicators of Manichaeism are found. The genre of biography might explain why a charter myth is missing.

Manichaean Model	
There is a good principle that is opposed by an evil principle	God is called light (φῶς 113.16–18). ¹⁹³
The introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote dualism	—
The estimation matter as a mixture of good and evil	—
Father of light creates the world from bodies of demons that are mixed with good. The world is mixed.	—
Everybody is a mixture of good and evil.	—
Mani is the last apostle of the light.	The <i>CMC</i> (62.1) makes the case for viewing Mani as the last in a long line of apostles.
The redemption of human beings through the separation from matter.	Since the time of Mani's youth he was wary of damaging the light particles inside water (<i>CMC</i> 12). This one must understand within the Manichaean dualistic worldview. There are five elements in the Manichaean worldview: light, water, fire, (lower) air, and wind. All of these elements are found in the kingdom of Darkness. Mani acts like one of the elect class of Manichaeans that has to abstain from harming plants and polluting water (<i>CMC</i> 85).
A tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	Even Mani's flesh is described as disgusting (<i>CMC</i> 22.11). ¹⁹⁴ The Elchesaites are described as bound to the flesh because of their insistence on the law (<i>CMC</i> 30.1).

Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780) περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ Edition der Seiten 72,8–99,9," *ZPE* 32 (1978): 162 fn. 229; 137 fn. 186.; *CMC* 87.19f; 89.13f.

¹⁹³ The text is somewhat fragmentary.

¹⁹⁴ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ τῇ βδελυρῷ (in flesh of this disgust).

<p>There are two groups of people in Manichaeism, the elect and the hearers. The elect has to abstain from sex, marriage, meat, wine, maltreating plants, and polluting water, so that they won't damage the particles of Light within them. They are looked after by the hearers who do all these things for them.</p>	<p>Mani becomes aware of the suffering as the vegetables appear to bleed and scream while they are cut off. On another occasion when he goes into water, the water speaks to him and tells him to get out (<i>CMC</i> 12.1). It is not as if Mani does not have respect for water. Mani teaches that impure water can harm the soul. The idea is that with baptism one can contribute to the mixing of good and evil water, whereas the task of the elect is to separate good from evil.</p>
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5.6.1.8 *Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840*

The *CMC* is similar in genre to a Gospel. It is clearly written to echo events of the Diatessaron he knew.¹⁹⁵ The big controversy between the baptists and Mani at his trial (synod) is a similar setting we have in P.Oxy. 840. When the water asks Elchasai to get out he is astonished and says the water does not complain about being defiled by rubbish or *πορνεία* (fornication). In P.Oxy. 840 the water is defiled by pigs and dogs. Both reasons put their finger on the wound that the means of purification, “natural” water (something which is infallible according to Leviticus 11:35–36) can in fact be contaminated.¹⁹⁶ The way in which it is contaminated in the *CMC* is through dirt and moral defilement, whereas in P.Oxy. 840 it is by means of the most loathsome animals.¹⁹⁷ But even if this observational insight is not found before in a Judeo-Christian context, it is not that inventive. It seems natural that even Israelite children would have eventually asked whether something can theoretically defile the water, so that this parallel may be a coincidence.

Bovon is struck by how P.Oxy. 840 mentions white clothes. He points to the importance of white clothing for the Elchesaites.¹⁹⁸ He notes that they sometimes referred to themselves as “white garments.” He thinks such a polemic might be a plausible explanation for the priest’s mentioning the white clothes he has put on. Of course the priest would be representing the Elchesaites according to this reading of Bovon. Kruger makes an elaborate defense of the importance of wearing white for pilgrims to the temple in Jerusalem. He understands P.Oxy. 840 as indicating pilgrims to the temple should wear white after purification. That is not necessary. Certainly the narrative implies laypeople need to be

¹⁹⁵ Henrichs & Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9,” 175 fn. 264.

¹⁹⁶ Miller, *At the Intersection*, notes that the most important property of water that was applied for purification was that it be reasonably “natural” and not dependent on human culture.

¹⁹⁷ Safrai & Safrai, “Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840,” speak of disgusting animals, which is close enough to Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 12.

¹⁹⁸ Bovon, “Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840,” 727.

immersed before entering the temple, but not that they should wear white clothes. The priest might simply be speaking of himself. White clothes were typically associated with priests on duty in Ancient Near Eastern, Greek and Roman temples.¹⁹⁹ This might be as good an explanation of white clothes for the priest as Bovon's. It is also the most obvious.

It also seems that Mani is not so much criticizing baptism as much as the over-emphasis on outside purity – just like P.Oxy. 840. All of this make for interesting parallels but do not prove any homologous connection. It is striking how the narrative of Jesus is mirrored in the life of Mani: Mani grew up in a Jewish Baptist sect (Elchesaites) that lived according to the law and that also appealed to the traditions of the elders.²⁰⁰ As he grows up Mani is at odds with his community's practice regarding harvesting, gathering firewood and ritual ablutions. He is eventually put on trial for this by his community and is beaten up. Luckily his father saves his life. Mani argues that these Baptists merely observe an outward purification.²⁰¹ For Mani knowledge is what brought real purity. These similarities with the life of Jesus are already emphasized in the *CMC* and it may even be that Mani himself emphasized this while still alive. This creates a problem for placing P.Oxy. 840 within its proper context. If P.Oxy. 840 were to pick up events from the life of Jesus, or from the life of Mani and how both of them related to purity, it would not be easy to separate between the two. In theory Bovon might be perfectly right. Because of the fact that Jesus is the more familiar figure that lived long before Mani that felt the same about outside purity and around whom much more literature was published it raises the question why Bovon would overlook Jesus and propose a Manichaean setting. What is more, Mani's life story seems to specifically emulate that of Jesus. Unless there is a good reason for Bovon's reading, it remains but a speculative theory. The available evidence can be easier explained by the earlier dating of P.Oxy. 840. It fits into the theological development one would expect around the time of 150 C.E. regarding purity, immersion, baptism, the Fourfold Gospel canon, anti-Judaism and supersession. The parallels between the *CMC* and P.Oxy. 840 can be explained by a common literary background (Gospels) and an overlapping genre.

¹⁹⁹ Angelika Berlejung, Ulrich Köpf, Horrace T. Allen Jr., Johann Schneider & Gianfranco Miletto, "Clothing and Vestments," *Religion Past and Present*. Cited 4 August 2016. First published online 2011.

²⁰⁰ Van Oort, "Manichaeism," 2–3.

²⁰¹ Eventually Mani will also be cruelly executed by the state, this time the Parthian. He seems to have been flayed alive.

5.6.1.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Bovon further mentions the treatise's use of the title σωτήρ when referring to Jesus, yet Henrichs & Koenen have noticed that this title is only used when Mani is addressing the baptists or their views.²⁰² In the rest of the treatise he prefers to refer to Jesus as Ἰησοῦς Χριστός or κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς. *CMC* is set in a fantastic world where animals, water and plants speak, this is different from the historical narrative found in P.Oxy. 840.

The way the *CMC* and P.Oxy. 840 use the Gospels is different. P.Oxy. 840 has more of an informal technique, although it is obvious that the author knew some of the Fourfold Gospel. The quotations by the *CMC* of Pauline material are quite accurate, but when quoting the Gospels it is rather imprecise. One problem is caused by the fact that the *CMC* used the Diatessaron, a harmony of the Fourfold Gospel, another possible explanation is that there might be an intermediate Syrian translation underlying the *CMC*.

The *CMC* is very clear that true purity is knowledge. In P.Oxy. 840 there are no indications that the chria is going that way. Rather true purity is simply inside purity, ethical purity. This is not different from the message of the Synoptic Gospels.

5.7 Sub-Conclusion

The Book of Thomas the Contender is not a Gnostic writing. Both it and P.Oxy. 840 make pitiless descriptions of the eschatological judgement that await their opponents. These ideas can be traced back to Plato. *The Book of Thomas the Contender* has a Saviour/Lord ratio of 56/37 of the times that it does refer to Jesus, but the context seems to be post-resurrection. It shows the same informal technique of using the Fourfold Gospel. *The Book of Thomas* seems to take even more liberty than P.Oxy. 840 with its sources, sometimes displacing the meaning to make its point. Unlike P.Oxy. 840, it does not seem to have known John's Gospel. Like P.Oxy. 840 it often uses hendyades and can come across as redundant. *The Book of Thomas the Contender* contains many ascetic or even Encratite ideas. P.Oxy. 840 is very concerned about lust, but it remains unclear whether it is ascetic. Unlike P.Oxy. 840, purity does not play an important role. The purity concept is useful to describe sins.

More than any other treatise discussed in this chapter *The Gospel of Mary* uses saviour to refer to Jesus with a 72/17 saviour/lord-ratio. These references are limited to the post-resurrection Jesus. It appears to have a similar anti-legalist slant to P.Oxy. 840. Nevertheless, the polemic is so short lived that one does not get the impression that the community was in

²⁰² Henrichs & Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-Kodex 72,8–99,9," 186 fn. 272.

contact with a Jewish community. Although there are chriae in *The Gospel of Mary* it seems to dissolve some of the immediate context of Jesus. It seems to have used both John and the Synoptic Gospel(s). It has an informal technique when referring to Gospels and does not hesitate to manipulate its sources' meaning by *al-tiqre* to make its theological point. *The Gospel of Mary* is not at all concerned with purity.

Like P.Oxy. 840, *The Trimorphic Protrennoia* also seems to use John, but not the Synoptics. The concept of living water is equally important to *The Trimorphic Protrennoia* and to P.Oxy. 840. *The Trimorphic Protrennoia* uses this concept to express baptism's soteriological function. Baptism and living water are used interchangeably. The concept of living water is so important, that the Trinity is thought to dwell in it. Purity is understood in a symbolic sense, and is unimportant otherwise. P.Oxy. 840 does not apply the form aretalogy that is so characteristic of *The Trimorphic Protrennoia*. Without the help of such authoritarian rhetoric, P.Oxy. 840 has to make its point through metaphors and argument. Unlike P.Oxy. 840, there is no anti-Jewish rhetoric in *The Trimorphic Protrennoia* nor is the title of Saviour used.

The Gospel of the Egyptians and P.Oxy. 840 are both familiar with John. Logos is the most popular title, followed by Christ with only 7% of the occurrences being saviour. Bovon's characterization of *The Gospel of the Egyptians* as an anti-baptism writing is not valid. Baptism seems to have played a central role in the religious practice of the Sethians. Because baptism has soteriological significance it is also referred to as "living water." Unlike P.Oxy. 840, purity is unimportant to *The Gospel of the Egyptians*. The documents belong to different genres. The mythological and supra-temporal character of *The Gospel of the Egyptians* is quite different from P.Oxy. 840 that prefers chriae.

In *Zostrianos* the living water also has soteriological significance and it is equated with baptism. Although *Zostrianos* is such a long writing, it only uses christological titles three times. Non-Christian readers would not have recognized the saviour as Jesus, so that we see an important function of the saviour-title. It could be used in a more generic application. This shows that this title was useful to the author, as any non-Christian reader could fill the concept with whatever idea he wanted. Here Jesus is almost stripped from the gospel and becomes a cosmic saving figure. This makes one wonder whether the saviour of P.Oxy. 840 is in fact Jesus, but the way he is presented among his disciples in a purity chria argues strongly for the reading that it is Jesus. P.Oxy. 840 uses the title as a matter of course. Bovon's analysis that baptism is viewed as something earthly, rather than something spiritually, does

not apply to this treatise. On the contrary baptism is an important part of the treatise. Bovon projects the view of the *CMC* onto Zostrianos that knowledge is purity. In the *CMC*, therefore, purity is merely a feature of the language. The genres of the documents are different and P.Oxy. 840 has more of a narrative history-quality. If the Sethian writings above equate living water with baptism it raises the question whether Gnostic writings were alone in referring to baptism as living water.

The Testimony of Truth shares P.Oxy. 840's tendency towards anti-Jewish rhetoric. At the same time it can capably use Jewish exegetic techniques and does not refrain from using these against them. It argues that one should choose between the law and truth. Its main problem with the law is its sanctioning of marriage which stands in direct contradiction to the author's Encratism. The author specifically targets baptism, associating it with Jewish lust. Bovon is correct in his reading of *The Testimony of Truth* as anti-baptism. It goes so far as to deny the soteriological effect thereof. *The Testimony of Truth* has less of a supra-temporal character than the other Gnostic writings discussed in this chapter and refers to historical events. Bovon's reading of P.Oxy. 840 is not an obvious reading. The most obvious reading is that it is about purity, but Bovon looks beyond this, arguing that it is the sacrament of baptism that is criticized. Baptism is, however, present in the text, but in the living water in which Jesus and his disciples have washed. *The Testimony of Truth* is a much more abstract writing than P.Oxy. 840. Jesus is addressed as saviour 9% of the times.

Only if Bovon's reading of P.Oxy. 840 were correct, would there be any parallel between it and *The Paraphrase of Shem*. In *The Paraphrase of Shem* the heavenly revealer is called Derdekeas, never Jesus. *The Paraphrase of Shem* criticizes baptism. P.Oxy. 840 criticizes immersion. There does not seem to be any parallels between *The Paraphrase of Shem* and the Fourfold Gospel. Although P.Oxy. 840 is telling a unique narrative, it does show familiarity with the Fourfold Gospel. As *The Paraphrase of Shem* is of a different genre, it is difficult to compare it to P.Oxy. 840.

Both Justin the Gnostic and P.Oxy. 840 hold living water in high esteem. Like P.Oxy. 840, Justin argues that living water has soteriological implications. Yet, it is not baptism that is equated with living water, but the cup from which initiates would drink when taking the sacramental oath. Baptism is despised, as it needs the waters below the firmament. Justin is especially concerned with charter myths, while P.Oxy. 840 as a Gospel is concerned with the life and passion of Jesus.

It is not just the material remains of P.Oxy. 840 that is similar to the *CMC*. Because the genre of the *CMC* overlaps with that of P.Oxy. 840, it makes for a meaningful comparison with P.Oxy. 840. The controversy between Mani and the baptist synod is also a similar setting to that of P.Oxy. 840. Elchasai notes that water can potentially be defiled by filth and fornication. In P.Oxy. 840 it is pigs and dogs that can potentially defile water. Both arguments undermine the Mosaic idea that natural water will always purify (Lev 11:35–36). This is exactly the same argument P.Oxy. 840 uses. Nevertheless, it does seem possible that such an argument could have been invented by more than one person at a time without one learning from another. The white clothes parallel suggested by Bovon is also something that can be explained as coincidence: historically speaking pilgrims visiting the Jerusalem temple wore white. This was no secret. It would hardly be surprising that white seems to have been the proper colour for many temples. Kruger’s argumentation overrules Bovon regarding the white clothes. The *CMC* criticizes outward purity at the expense of inner purity just as is the case with the Synoptics and P.Oxy. 840. The overlap between *CMC* and P.Oxy. 840 can be explained adequately by a common genre and a common literary background (Gospels). Bovon emphasizes how the *CMC* consistently uses the saviour-title to refer to Jesus, but it is in actual fact used when imitating the language of the Baptists. The *CMC* is set in a fantastic world where animals speak, while P.Oxy. 840 seems constrained by the critical properties of the chria. *CMC* cites scripture much more conscientiously than P.Oxy. 840. At the same time one should realize that *CMC* consciously imitates the Fourfold Gospel. For the *CMC* true purity is knowledge. In P.Oxy. 840 true purity seems to rather be ethical purity like in Mark 7:1–23.

Bovon does not take into consideration the metaphoric reference of baptism. This causes him to misunderstand “baptism of death,” so as to give it an anti-baptismal thrust. Of the writings looked at in this chapter, only *The Testimony of Truth*, Justin the Gnostic and the *CMC* have anti-baptismal ideas.

If one compares P.Oxy. 840 to the Gnostic typological model, the following can be seen:

Gnostic Typological Model	
Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak	—

the introduction of further divine figures, or the splitting up of existing figures into figures that are closer to human beings than the remote supreme God;	—
the estimation of the world and matter as evil creation and an experience conditioned by this of the alienation of the Gnostic in the world;	—
the introduction of a distant creator God or assistant: within the platonic tradition he is called δημιουργός (craftsman) and is sometimes described as merely ignorant, but sometimes also as evil;	—
the explanation of this state of affairs by a mythological drama in which a divine element that falls from its sphere into an evil world slumbers in human beings of one class as a divine spark and can be freed from this;	—
knowledge ($\gamma\text{νώσις}$) about this state, which, however, can be gained only through a redeemer figure from the other world who descends from a higher sphere and ascends to it again;	—
the redemption of human beings through the knowledge of “that God (or the spark) in them”;	—
a tendency towards dualism in different types which can express itself in the concept of God, in the opposition of spirit and matter, and in anthropology.	P.Oxy. 840's dualism seems to be a feature of its language only (hendyades and antithesis). The inside/outside dualism is typically Christian and found in Paul and Q already.

From this we can see there are **no positive indicators for associating P.Oxy. 840 with Gnosis**. All ties it has with Gnostic literature as analysed in this dissertation, are because they are all Christian documents and a certain amount of overlap would be expected. Parallels between P.Oxy. 840 and Gnostic writings are circumstantial: the use of the Christological title Saviour, and the shared concept of living water. One cannot even call it a parallel that it might have with writings that have an anti-baptism rhetoric. This would be based on a highly speculative reading of P.Oxy. 840.

6 JEWISH CHRISTIAN TEXTS COMPARABLE TO P.OXY. 840

6.1 Introduction

Goodspeed was the first author to suggest some kind of relationship between P.Oxy. 840 and *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.¹ Von Harnack thought P.Oxy. 840 might go back to a Jewish-Christian community where it was important to know what Jesus' view on Levitical purity was.² He also thought it meaningful to compare it to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*. In this chapter what used to be known as one *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is split up according to the reasoning of the Three Gospel Hypothesis: *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* and *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. Kruger has proposed that P.Oxy. 840 should be understood as a Jewish-Christian document.³ He is even more specific in noting that it is a Nazarene document. Kruger compares P.Oxy. 840 with Papyrus Egerton and with the three Gospels formerly known as *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.⁴ Finally Kruger also compares it to the *Pericope Adulterae* as interpolated into the text of John 7:52–8:11.⁵ Matthew has been compared to P.Oxy. 840 since the *editio princeps*.⁶ Kruger has also compared P.Oxy. 840 to the hypothetical document, Q. He notes that the language of P.Oxy. 840 is closer to that of the Matthean and Lukan redactors.⁷ This chapter takes us back to the earliest layers of Christianity when Christianity was but an obscure Jewish sect.

6.2 The Sayings Source, Q

Although Q is a hypothesis and one must be very careful in drawing firm conclusions, Q can make a significant contribution to the history of Jewish Christianity. Mark, Matthew and Luke appear much more critical towards the Pharisees and other Jewish sects than does Q.⁸

¹ Edgar J. Goodspeed, "The New Gospel Fragment from Oxyrhynchus," *BW* 31/2 (1908): 142–146.

² Von Harnack, "Ein neues Evangelienbruchstück," 244.

³ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 211ff; 229ff.

⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 249ff; 250ff.

⁵ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 253ff.

⁶ Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 4.

⁷ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 165, 170.

⁸ Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 142.

6.2.1 Dating

Just before or after the Jewish War (66–73 C.E.)⁹

6.2.2 Genre

Wisdom like Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Pseudo-Phocylides and even *The Pythagorean Golden Verses*.¹⁰ Significantly Q is not yet a Gospel.¹¹

6.2.3 Sources

Q is already a hypothetical source and we cannot go back any further than that. Although there are cases of a triple attestation where Mark has the same ideas,¹² Q is thought to have preceded Mark.¹³

6.2.4 Christological titles

Q uses the following titles¹⁴:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	0	0
Lord (κύριος)	0	0
Christ (Χριστός)	0	0
Son of God (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)	2	11.76
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	6	35.29
Son of man (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)	9	52.94
Total	17	100

Q does not refer to Jesus as σωτήρ or κύριος, but has a clear preference for ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

⁹ Llewellyn Howes, *Judging Q and Saving Jesus: Q's Contribution to the Wisdom- Apocalypticism Debate in Historical Jesus Studies* (Cape Town: AOSIS, 2016), 279. Some scholars like Kloppenborg and Oakman propose more daring datings for Q, but in the light of the hypothetical nature of the document, this is highly speculative.

¹⁰ Howes, *Judging Q*, 99.

¹¹ Howes, *Judging Q*, 90.

¹² Markus Cromhout, "The Reconstruction of Judean Ethnicity in Q," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pretoria, 2005), 237.

¹³ Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 54; Königstein, 1980), 151.

¹⁴ Text of James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffman, John S. Kloppenborg & Milton C. Moreland, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (International Q Project; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000). Seeing that Q is a hypothetical document this summary of christological titles in Q is rather daring.

6.2.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

Gager includes Q in his discussion of the origins of Anti-Semitism in Early Christianity.¹⁵

There are some harsh words spoken against those rejecting the proclamation, as can be expected between insiders and outsiders. The kingdom is intended for Israel, although some pious Gentiles are included. He concludes that Q reflects prophetic anti-Judaism.

In Q 10:21 Jesus thanks God for hiding these things from wise men and revealing them to children. Q 11:39–52 reports the denouncing of Pharisees or Lawyers in rather “uncompromising language.”¹⁶ Whoever it is that Q originally addressed here, they are held accountable for the death of the prophets and sages which is to be avenged on “this generation.” This generation seems to be a pejorative label for Jews that do not believe in Jesus.¹⁷ Q 11:39–42 calls this generation an evil generation because they request a sign. They are to be condemned by the Queen of the South. Q 13:34–35 reports laments over Jerusalem that has killed the prophets and stoned those that had been sent to them. “Behold your house is forsaken.”

Basser & Cohen and other scholars appear over-confident in isolating the anti-Jewish strand in Matthew. According to the *Zwei Quellenhypothese* Matthew is based on Q, so that the bulk of the denouncing of the Pharisees was taken over by Matthew. This includes the part that blames the Jews for all the prophets that have been murdered including Jesus. Neither can one argue that there existed some kind of Proto-Matthew to which Q was added at a later stage, for Q is at the heart of the Matthean composition. Without it there would be no sermon on the mount, no teaching on loving your neighbour. Bibliowicz is mistaken to suggest that Mark is the first to blame Jesus’ death on the Jews. Bibliowicz is also wrong to conclude that the Jewish culpability theme was limited to only one faction inside Christianity.¹⁸ Evidently Mark did not invent this idea as much as inherit it from his

¹⁵ John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes towards Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 140. Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, does not reflect on Q.

¹⁶ Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 138.

¹⁷ Cromhout, “Reconstructing Jewish Identity in Q,” 21, 240 prefers to speak of Judeans that do not believe in Jesus. This makes sense within the confines of looking at Q and understanding it within its temporal context, but in my dissertation that is more concerned with the second century the religious connotation of Ἰουδαῖος as something opposed to Χριστιανός is more relevant. This religious reference of Ἰουδαῖος seems to have gained momentum after the time of Justin, becoming the term of reference in anti-Jewish rhetoric. The teaching of Q was understood differently by this time. Cf. also Markus Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity: Reconstructing Jewish Ethnicity in Q* (Matrix 2; Eugene, Oreg.: Cascade, 2007), 257ff.

¹⁸ Abel M. Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles in the Early Jesus Movement: An Unintended Journey* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 44.

predecessors. Clearly this had already been the case in Q. If Q belongs to a more Jewish-Christian faction it cannot be denied that Q also blamed the death of Jesus on Jews.¹⁹

6.2.6 Theology

6.2.6.1 The Denouncing of the Pharisees or Lawyers Form

Rebuke and announcement of doom (of a deliberative kind), announcement of woes

Q 11	
<p>^{39b}οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, [[<τ>οῖ<ζ>]] Φαρισαίοι[[<ζ>]], ὅτι καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμι[[ουσιν]] ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας.</p> <p>^{40c}οὐαὶ ὑμῖν [[τοῖς]] Φαρισαίοι[[ζ]], ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον καὶ [[ἀφήκατε]] τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν πίστιν· ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κάκεῖνα μὴ [[ἀφιέ]]ναι.</p> <p>^{41b}οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις, ὅτι φιλ<εῖτε> [[τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις καὶ]] τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς.</p> <p>^{42a}οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, [[<τοῖς Φαρισαίοι<ζ>,]] ὅτι [[έσ]]τε [[ώς]] τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ ἄδηλα, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ περιπατοῦντες ἐπάνω οὐκ οἰδασιν.</p> <p>^{43b}[[καὶ]] οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς [[νομικ]]οῖς, ὅτι [[δεσμεύ]]<ετε> φορτία...[[καὶ ἐπιτίθ]]<ετε> [[ἐπὶ τοὺς ὕμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων]], αὐτὸὶ [[δὲ]] τῷ δακτύλῳ ὑμῶν οὐ [[θέλ]]<ετε> [[κινῆσαι]] αὐτά.</p> <p>^{44a}οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν, οἱ δὲ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς...⁴⁵μαρτυροῦ[[τε]] ἐαυτοῖς ὅτι νίοι]] ἔστε τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν.</p> <p>^{46b}διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία...εἴπεν· ἀποστελῶ [[πρὸς]] αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ σοφοὺς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν,⁴⁷ [[ἵνα]] ἐκζητηθῇ τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης,⁴⁸ ἀπὸ αἵματος Ἀβελ ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἀπολομένου μεταξὺ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου· ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐκζητηθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης.⁴⁹ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς [[νομικ]]οῖς, ὅτι κλείετε [[τὴν βασιλείαν]] τι[[<οὐ θεοῦ]]</p>	<p>^{39b}Woe to you, Pharisees, for you purify the outside of the cup and dish, but inside [they are] full of plunder and a lack of control. ^{40c}Woe to you, Pharisees, for you tithe mint and dill and cumin, and [neglect] justice and mercy and faithfulness. But these things one had to do, without neglecting those.</p> <p>^{41b}Woe to you, Pharisees, for <you> love [the first seat at dinners and] the front seat in the synagogues and acknowledgement in the markets. ^{42a}Woe to you, [Pharisees,] for you [are like] indistinct tombs, and people walking on top are unaware. ^{43b}[And] woe to you, [lawyers,] for <you> [bind] ... burdens, [and load on the shoulders of people, but] <they do not want «to lift» your finger [to move] them. ^{44a}Woe to you, for you built the tombs of the prophets, but your fathers killed them. ⁴⁵«Thus» [you] testify [against yourselves that] you are [the sons] of your fathers.</p> <p>^{46b}Therefore also...Wisdom has said: I will send them prophets and sages, and «some» of them they will kill and persecute,⁴⁷ so that the account for the blood of all the prophets poured out from the founding of the world may be demanded from this generation,⁴⁸from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, wiped out between the sacrificial altar and the House. Yes, I tell you, the account will be demanded from this generation!⁴⁹ Woe to you, [exegetes of the Law,] for you shut the [kingdom of</p>

¹⁹ Contra Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 212.

<p>ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων]]· ὑμεῖς οὐκ εἰσῆλθατε [[οὐδὲ]] τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν (IQP).</p>	<p><God> from people]; you did not go in, [nor] let in those trying to get in.</p>
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It is uncertain whether this rhetoric was originally directed against Pharisees as it is found only in Luke. According to Matthew it is directed against both Pharisees and scribes. The version of *the Gospel according to Thomas* addresses its audience in the second person plural. Whether this reflects the obliteration of context or the preservation of an older reading can be debated. It seems significant that the Pharisees are said to be full of plunder and a lack of control. According to the version of Luke they are said to be full of plunder and wickedness/ill-will (*πονηρία*). The age of this *logion* is confirmed by its wide circulation as it is found in Q, Matthew, Luke and the Gospel according to Thomas. Only Mark has resisted it, though including a similar message with Mark 7:1–23. Jesus criticizes the protective fence put up around the law by the scribes to extend the requirements of outer ritual purity which has come at the expense of inner moral purity.²⁰

Basser & Cohen note that according to Leviticus 11:33 if a dead animal like a lizard would fall into a clay pot, the cup and its contents would become unclean. If it happened with a pot it would have to be broken.²¹ The outside of the cup is unimportant halachically. If the inside is pure, all is pure. According to the same reasoning metal pots that became impure could be washed and purified, but the entire vessel would have to be immersed. Q is using the outside/inside of the cup as an allegory of inside purity. Jesus contends that Pharisees do not think in moral terms, but are obsessed with formal matters of ritual, so that the purity of their heart is forgotten.

In contrast to the version of Q, Matthew 23:23 directs this woe against scribes as well, and labels them hypocrites, as indeed is the case throughout Matthew 23. Matthew adds τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου after ἀφήκατε, so that the Pharisees and scribes “neglect the weightier things of the law,” underscoring the continued importance of the law for Matthew’s Jesus. The foodstuffs are slightly different in Luke, in that rue is substituted for mint and “every kind of herb” for cumin. For τὸ ἔλεος Luke has τὴν ἀγαπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ. This variant may be explained as a fossil of an originally Aramaic saying, in that “steadfast love,” or *hisda'*, was

²⁰ Herbert W. Basser & Marsha B. Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions* (The Brill Reference Library of Judaism 46; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 608. Although Basser & Cohen’s comments are meant for Matthew much of it will obviously apply to Q as Matthew and Luke appear to have incorporated the whole of Q. Cf. Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 350.

²¹ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 367–368.

either translated as ἔλεος or ἀγαπή.²² According to DeSilva Jesus enacts a conceptualization of holiness as mercy, love and compassion. When challenged by Pharisees for threatening their more traditional conception of purity, Matthew, more than anyone else, presents Jesus as taking recourse to the prophetic tradition by quoting Hosea (e.g. Matt 9:10–13)²³:

Hos 6:6	
כי חפְּצָתִי חֶסֶד וְלֹא־בָּהֵחַ	I desire steadfast love, not sacrifice
ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν.	I desire mercy and not sacrifice [DeSilva].

Although mercy is the word translators often use when referring to *hesed*, this gloss hardly covers the meaning of the concept.

Tannaitic literature is divided on whether garden herbs are to be subject to the Torah laws of tithing as applied to grains and produce (Deut 14:22).²⁴ Q appears to submit to the tithing of vegetables as it is found in the law, but clearly feels that the tithing of garden herbs is a scribal enactment. For this reason the last sentence notes that these things (tithing in general) ought to have been done without neglecting judgement, steadfast love and faithfulness. Basser & Cohen explains that herbs are not eaten in and of themselves, but serve as condiments. Because they would not have been stored when out of season, their leaves would not be subject to tithing according to the law. Jesus uses the scribal tithing rules regarding herbs to show how meticulous the Pharisees could be in legislating minutiae of ritual matters that cannot be considered as significant as doing justice and mercy. Q, Matthew and Luke are not alone in suggesting the Pharisees extended the scope of the law, this is also

²² For the Aramaic form of ַחֲסֵד, cf. David M. Golomb, *A Grammar of Targum Neofiti* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 34; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 94–95. According to the reconstruction of the Aramaic text of Q by Maurice Casey, *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 64 the Aramaic word would have been אַחֲמָמִים (compassion). Although the lexeme ַחֲסֵד was used differently in Standard Aramaic, it does seem to have been used in Palestinian Aramaic as the Targumim show. From the fact that Hosea 6:6 is so often quoted by Matthew it appears more reasonable to infer that אַחֲמָמִים might have been used in Jesus' teaching. Coming from a Social Scientific point of view, Bruce Malina, *Windows on the World of Jesus* (Louisville: Westminster, 1993), 103 notes that *hesed* refers to consistency to meet the obligations of your in-group. An example would be the legal guardian (לְגָנָן) of the family taking in his deceased brother's wife. In that case the thrust of the verse would be that God prefers that which is expected of his covenant partner, not sacrifices. What is expected of the covenant partner is to uphold the law, so that this amounts to an indictment of the Pharisees for not upholding their side of the covenant, instead making sacrifices that were not required in the first place.

²³ The quotation from Hosea is not in the parallel texts of Mark 2:13–17 or Luke 5:27–32.

²⁴ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 607. Herb appears to be a culinary classification of leafy parts of plants as opposed to “spices” which can refer to dry seeds, berries, bark, roots and fruit that can be used for food, flavouring, medicine and perfume. Cf. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herb>.

mentioned in Tannaitic and Amoraic literature or that it was at the cost of more important things.²⁵

<i>t. Menaḥ 13:22</i>	
<p>אמר ר' יוחנן בן תורה מפני מה הרבה שילוה מפני בזין קדשים שבתוכה ירושלים בנין הראשון מפני מה הרבה מפני עבודת זרhogoli עריות ושפיכות דמים שהיו בתוכה אבל באחרונה מכירין אנו בהן שהן עלמין בתורה וזהירין בעשרות מפני מה גלו מפני שאוהבין את הממון ושונאיין איש את רעהו [ללמדך] שקשחה שנהת איש את רעהו לפניו המקומם וشكلה הכתוב כנגד עבודת זרhogoli עריות ושפיכות דמים. (Zuckerman)</p>	<p>Said Rabbi Yohanan ben Torta: “Because of what was Shilo destroyed? Because of the disgrace of sacrifices that [was] within it. Jerusalem – first temple – because of what was it destroyed? Because of idolatry and the uncovering of nakedness and the spilling of blood which happened within it. But the last [temple] we know, yes, indeed these people were toiling in the law and were careful with tithes. Because of what did they go into exile? Because they loved Mammon and oppressed each other, to teach you how hard the Lord is on hatred towards each other. Scripture has put it on the same level as idolatry and the uncovering of nakedness and the spilling of blood.”</p>

Bibliowicz regrets the way Pauline-Lukan Christianity was able to appropriate Jewish self-criticism in order to attack them.²⁶

The Matthean version labels these leaders as whitewashed tombs, appearing to be beautiful, but full of dead bones and uncleanness inside. In a Jewish environment with the severity of corpse impurity looming large this label would have been quite offensive. Both versions use this label, though Matthew’s version is more aggressive. Basser & Cohen marks this verse as the turning point in Matthew 23 where later Christian interpolations were added to a text with many Jewish sympathies. They note that the invective lacks any basis in Jewish doctrine and appears to extend the claim of inner rot as found in the “impure vessel”-complaint in a crude manner. This is the point where “the venom runs over the top” and where one can no longer compare the rhetoric meaningfully to the Hebrew prophets whose criticism of Israelites was intended to spare them grief.²⁷ Although Matthew and Luke use similar imagery it seems debatable that both of them took this *logion* from the same source called Q as the content is quite different.

After φορτία Matthew adds a hendyades βαρέα καὶ δυσβάστακτα (heavy and hard to bear). Although in Pharisaic thinking the “fence around the Torah” may have been seen as a

²⁵ These parallels are provided by Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 606. Cf. also b. Abod. Zar. 17b.

²⁶ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 105–107. Indeed this is part of the tragedy of Jewish-Christian relations.

²⁷ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 612.

way to protect people, this criticism from Q shows not everyone was convinced of its merits. In mentioning that Zachariah was murdered between the altar and the House, the temple establishment is also implicated in the murder of the prophets.²⁸

Matthew's version is much more graphic than Q is, in mentioning the part the forefathers of the Pharisees have in the blood of the prophets. The Matthean motif of the blood also seems to be picked up in Matthew 27:25. Nevertheless Q accuses the Pharisees of being the sons of those having killed the prophets. In all probability there is an implicit accusation that the Pharisees are responsible for Jesus' death.²⁹

Howes notes that the original reading of ή σοφία in Q is reflected only by Luke and that Matthew makes Jesus responsible for this prophetic utterance.³⁰ Q reflects a period where Jesus' prophecy was not seen to be as authoritative as it would be later, in that divine Σοφία could add weight to his words.

Matthew's rhetoric is the harshest: according to his Jesus the Pharisees and scribes are to be held accountable for all the innocent blood that is shed from Abel to Zechariah (the Present tense shows this action still continues). Q limits the responsibility of this generation to the deaths of the prophets (and of Jesus). Indeed Q is halfway to *the* most often quoted verse in the New Testament to justify anti-Semitic persecution: Matthew 27:25 “And answering the people as a whole said: ‘His blood is on us and our children.’”³¹

Basser & Cohen note that Jesus is often associated with Jeremiah and Zechariah in Matthew (and by implication by Q). Jeremiah was imprisoned and almost executed for his complaints about the temple cult, priests, scribes and false prophets. Zechariah was the prophet foretelling the purification of the temple, even though Q mistakenly conflates him with the priestly prophet in 2 Chronicles 24:20–21.

Both Luke and *The Gospel according to Thomas* preserve this *logion* as “for you took the key of knowledge.”³² Nevertheless Matthew's version of Q is thought to be more

²⁸ Howes, *Judging Q*, 140.

²⁹ Indeed that is the way Matthew 23 is understood by Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 53; Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 613 also feel that this is more about Jesus' death especially with the focus on the guilt of “this generation.” Howes, *Judging Q*, 103 and Fleddermann, *Q*, 549 also understand Q 11 in this way.

³⁰ Llewellyn Howes, “The Sayings Gospel Q within the Contexts of the Third and Renewed Quests for the Historical Jesus,” (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2012), 206. Luke's text is the lectio difficilior.

³¹ καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἶπεν, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

³² Luke 11:52 ὅτι ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως: *Gos. Thom.* 39 αγχι πήθαψτ̄ πήτηνωςις αγχοπού οὔτε πηπογθωκ̄ (they have taken the keys of knowledge; they have hidden it and did not enter). This is one of the few places where *The Gospel according to Thomas* has not deleted the name of the opponents the saying is aimed at.

authentic, in that Luke 11:52 speaks of the “knowledge of salvation.”³³ The verb εἰσέρχομαι in the following clause would also fit better within the context as Matthew has it.

What stands out for deSilva in Jesus’ take on purity is the weight given to ethics as opposed to outward rites. Important in this regard is the denouncing of the scribes and Pharisees in Q 11:39–52 (Pharisees and lawyers in Luke) and Matthew 23:1–36.³⁴ Jesus accuses them of observing purity rituals to clean their body while being filled with greed and passion (Q 11:39b; Matt 23:25–28). Therefore Jesus says they clean the outside of the cup, but should be as concerned with cleaning the inside.

6.2.7 Reason for the Text’s Identification with Its Trajectory

If seen on a spectrum Q certainly does appear more Jewish than Mark and Luke.

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	Scribal enactments are challenged, but not the law as such. Two verses in Q appear to reflect continued law observance: Q 11:42c (about the necessity of tithing as quoted above) and 16:17 (heaven and earth passing away before a stroke of the law will fall away). ³⁵ The validity of the law is consistently confirmed throughout the document (Cf. Q 4:1–13; 11:39, 41, 42, 46; 16:16–17). ³⁶
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH’s abode, or the Torah, maintained?	The temple is criticized for its role in the prophets’ deaths (Q 11:51), though concern is also shown for it elsewhere (Q 13:34–35).
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	The image of Moses and allusions to a new exodus are also found in the document. ³⁷ Howes notes that Pharisees and scribes are the only Jewish groups expressly mentioned and that they appear as “rival analysts of Jewish tradition.” ³⁸ Gentiles that are mentioned appear to belong to the out-group, so that they are used to strengthen the in-group’s self-identification (Q 6:33–34; 12:30). Gentiles are often used as a foil to shame the pre-dominantly Jewish in-group (Cf. Q 7:1–10; 10:12–15; 11:31–32; 13:28–29).

³³ Harry T. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Biblical Tools and Studies 1; Leuven: Peters, 2005), 549.

³⁴ The parallel in Mark is very short: the denouncing of scribes in Mark 12:37b–40 (and Luke 20:45–47).

³⁵ Kloppenborg suggests that these are interpolations of Q³. Cf. John S. Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1987), 325–327.

³⁶ Howes, *Judging Q*, 140–141.

³⁷ Howes, *Judging Q*, 85.

³⁸ Howes, *Judging Q*, 135.

What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	Q 6:43–45 has Jesus call himself “lord,” but only as a form of respect in addressing your teacher. ³⁹ Other cases of κύριος refers to YHWH. At the same Χριστός is not found anywhere in Q. There is no reference to the salvatory effect of the cross, although Q 14:27 does refer to Jesus’ crucifixion. ⁴⁰
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Lord, an equal to God?	Jesus is associated with the prophetic tradition in figures like Elijah and Elisha, the eschatological son of man, the Sophia-figure and Moses. ⁴¹
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	Q only seems to discuss the baptism John administers. One does not get the impression that baptism is a rite of passage for the community (<i>argumentum ex silentio</i>).
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	Not clearly.

6.2.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The Jewish culpability-theme is already found in the earliest layer of Christianity – Q. This set Christianity on a collision course with Judaism – its parent religion. The duality of inside/outside purity found in P.Oxy. 840, is already present in Q. The purity that matters is not external, but is the ethical kind. The comparison with tombs and people coming into contact with them unawares also applies to the inside/outside purity theme. Q is familiar with the *halākā* applying to the time of Jesus and reflects Jesus’ view on whether one should tithe herbs or not. Like much of the material of the rest of the Synoptics it shows Jesus attacking a scribal enactment (but without using a chria). Q is not comfortable with the hedge around the law. Within a more Gentile Christian environment such a debate would probably have become obsolete rather soon. P.Oxy. 840 is about purification before entering the temple. Kruger feels that P.Oxy. 840 must be historically accurate because of the accuracy it describes purification rituals with. One should remember though that even Greeks and Egyptians had to undergo immersion before entering temples.⁴² In addition P.Oxy. 840 is familiar with the ideas that Jews immerse in pools with divided stairways and that pilgrims wear white cloths. Even if these aren’t necessarily exclusively Jewish traditions, an outsider

³⁹ Howes, *Judging Q*, 251.

⁴⁰ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 344.

⁴¹ Howes, *Judging Q*, 140.

⁴² Angelos Chaniotis, “Greek Ritual Purity from Automatisms to Moral Distinctions,” in *How Purity is Made* (ed. P. Rösch & U. Simon; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 125, 123–139; Joachim Friedrich Quack, “Reinigung durch Anschwärzen: Zum Motiv des Antagonistischen in ägyptischen Reinigungsritualen,” in *How Purity is Made* (ed. P. Rösch & U. Simon; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 105, 105–121.

might have also observed them.⁴³ It is not a halachic technicality as Q is describing here. Q has the same Jewish culpability theme, in that Jews are held responsible for the death of the prophets and of Jesus. Statements of woe and controversy dialogues play an important role in Q and was taken over by both Matthew and Luke. Whether P.Oxy. 840 was familiar with a written document Q seems unlikely as P.Oxy. 840 often agrees with the Matthean and Lukan redactors.⁴⁴ Whereas Matthew compares the Pharisees to “blind guides,” P.Oxy. 840, Q 6:39 and Luke call its opponents simply “blind.” P.Oxy. 840’s use of the formulaic “you are full of x”-gnome ultimately goes back to Q. If a dating of 150 C.E. for P.Oxy. 840 is correct, it seems likely that P.Oxy. 840 would have taken this saying over from either Matthew or Luke, as these Gospels had already been established by then. Q is more of a sayings source although there are narratives like the temptation and the healing of Jairus’ daughter.

6.2.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Q does not use the chriae as it is often found in the Fourfold Gospel and P.Oxy. 840. This might also reflect the hypothetical document’s more Jewish environment.⁴⁵

6.3 The Synoptic Gospels: Matthew

6.3.1 Dating

Because Matthew is dependent on Mark it must have been written after 66–70 C.E. The *terminus ante quem* is Polycarp’s citing Matthew in *The Epistle of Polycarp* around 110–115 C.E.⁴⁶ Therefore somewhere between 80–90 C.E. seems reasonable.

6.3.2 Genre

Gospel

6.3.3 Christological Titles

The following christological titles are used in Matthew:

⁴³ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 115 makes the point. He also notes that there are nowhere regulations that ritual pools had to have split stairways, so that this might be coincidence. Christian pools also tended to have split stairways, cf. Barnabas 11:11.

⁴⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 120.

⁴⁵ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, notes that the chria was not adopted into Jewish literature till after the Hellenistic period.

⁴⁶ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 478.

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	0	0
Lord (κύριος)	2	1.1
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	133	73.48
Jesus of Nazareth (Ιησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος)	1	0.55
The prophet, Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee (ὁ προφήτης Ιησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας)	1	0.55
Jesus Christ (Ιησοῦς Χριστός)	1	0.55
Son of man (ὁ γένος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)	28	15.47
The Son of God (ὁ γένος τοῦ Θεοῦ)	6	3.31
Son of [a] god (γένος θεοῦ) ⁴⁷	1	0.55
The Messiah, Son of the living God (ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ γένος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος)	1	0.55
Son of David (ὁ γένος τοῦ Δαυΐδ)	7	3.87
Total	181	100

With Matthew σωτήρ is not used at all. Ιησοῦς is used much more frequently than Q's ὁ γένος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

6.3.4 Sources

Q (25%), Mark (50%) and material unique to Matthew (M^Δ 25%)⁴⁸

6.3.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

Although the Matthean structure is less Gentile-centric than Mark's, Matthew reflects an openness to the Gentiles that is even more striking.⁴⁹ Matthew cites many portions of Scripture with a more Universalist slant.⁵⁰ Although Matthew and *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* are the only Gospels that report Jesus as limiting the disciples' mission only to Israel (10:5 [excluding Samaritans]; 15:24), this is overhauled by Jesus' commissioning the disciples to go to all nations at the close of the Gospel (28:19–20). The mission to the Gentiles appears to be a reaction to the Pharisees' rejection of Jesus.⁵¹

Matthew speaks of “their/your synagogues” (4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; 23:34)⁵² which for Pokorný & Heckel points to “the parting of ways.”⁵³ Bibliowicz is more cautious

⁴⁷ Matt 27:52 as taken over from Mark 15:37.

⁴⁸ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 335. Matthew has incorporated ⁸⁵⁵⁵/₁₁₇₀₈ of Mark's words (73%).

⁴⁹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 446.

⁵⁰ Matt 4:15 (Isa 8:23–9:1); 8:11 (Ps 107:3; Isa 43:5; 4 Macc 14:17).

⁵¹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 446.

⁵² Cf. also John 9:22, 34.

⁵³ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 456.

taking the non-official collegium-like structure of synagogues into account, implying that Jesus-groups would have started their own synagogues.⁵⁴ In Matthew 23 the harsh denouncing of the Pharisees is taken over from Q and intensified by, amongst others, the blood-motif. According to Bibliowicz the Gospel according to Matthew insinuates a monolithic Jewish opposition against Jesus.⁵⁵ The blame for Jesus' death is broadened so as to include "all the people." Bibliowicz notes an increased level of malevolence with Judas betraying Jesus for thirty pieces of silver, the field of blood, the dream of Pilate's wife and the first articulation of collective Jewish responsibility for Jesus' death (27:25), so that the blood-motif reaches its climax.

Matthew is complex regarding its views on Judaism. Bibliowicz agrees with scholars that argue Matthew is a layered document like Lowe & Flusser, noting that there are some anti-Judaic revisions.⁵⁶ Proto-Matthew seems to present Jesus and his followers as perfect Jews (Matt 5:17, 19, 20; 15:24). Gager tries to explain the disparities in Matthew by reflecting on the different sources the author must have used.⁵⁷ In such a scenario the redactor did not manage to seamlessly integrate his sources into his overall composition. This would explain why Matthew contains both prophetic and gentilizing anti-Judaism. A number of scholars have suggested that Matthew should not be understood as a Christian, but as an Israelite document.⁵⁸

Pokorný & Heckel agree that Matthew represents an early stage of supersessionism where the Pharisees' righteousness used to be valid under the previous aeon. In Jesus they have failed to recognize the signs of the time (21:32) and keep others from entering the kingdom (23:13). In Matthew 21:43 in the parable of the vineyard and the tenants after the demonstration in the temple, the Church becomes the "New Israel" when the kingdom of heaven is given to another nation that will bear its fruit. In the parable of the marriage feast

⁵⁴ Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, 87.

⁵⁵ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 50.

⁵⁶ Lowe & Flusser, "Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory," 26 speaks of AJ. Lowe & Flusser's research is similar to the Griesbach-hypothesis, which assumes Matthean priority to the other Synoptic Gospels. The structure of Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, vii seems to assume Markan priority, but Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 56–57 does advocate the priority of Proto-Matthew to Mark.

⁵⁷ Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 148. That would mean M^S is the material that emphasizes the Jewish character of Jesus and is responsible for Matthew's prophetic anti-Judaism, while the Matthean redactor was responsible for the gentilizing anti-Judaism.

⁵⁸ J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); Anthony Saldařini, *Matthew's Christian Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994; David C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Dennis C. Duling, "The Gospel of Matthew," in *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament* (ed. D. E. Aune; Chichester: Wiley, 2010), 297, 296–318.

(22:7) Jesus says “the king was angry and sent his troops and destroyed those murderers and burned their city.”⁵⁹ This seems to reflect the destruction of Jerusalem.⁶⁰

For Matthew (23:23) the most important part of the law is mercy ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilono\zeta$).⁶¹ The Pharisees cast in a legalistic mind-set are consistently resented for knowing about this precept, but neglecting it (9:13; 12:7). The fact that Jesus says that the whole law and prophets hinge on the love commands, lead to the insight that the whole Torah now depends on Jesus. This is made clear by the antitheses of Matthew 6. Because the law and prophets are fulfilled in Jesus it is *his* commands and *only* his that are valid for the future.

6.3.6 Theology

6.3.6.1 Luke 11:37–54; Matt 23: The Denouncing of the Pharisees Form

Rebuke and announcement of doom (of a deliberative kind), announcement of woes,⁶² *qīnā*

I) Matthew 23

Luke and Matthew seem to have taken this scolding discourse from Q. The Denouncing of the Pharisees seems to appear twice in Luke: once from Q (Luke 11:37–52) and once from Mark (Luke 20:45–47) as the Denouncing of the Scribes, constituting a doublet.⁶³

In Matthew Jesus is addressing the crowds and his disciples in Jerusalem after the cleansing of the temple and some other controversies between Jesus and different Jewish factions. Jesus starts off by saying that the Pharisees are sitting on Moses' seat and that his disciples and the crowd should observe whatever they tell them to do. Nevertheless, they should not do what they do, because they do not practice what they preach. The deeds that they do are done so as to be seen by other people, for they make their phylacteries broad and their fringes long. In addition to what Q 11:43 says about loving prominent seats they also love being called rabbi. Jesus then forbids his disciples to be called teacher, as they only have one teacher and because they are brothers. They are also not to call anybody on earth “father,” for they only have one heavenly Father. They are also not to call anybody master, for they only have one master, the Messiah. The greatest among them shall be their servant. Whoever exalts himself will be humbled, but whoever will humble himself will be exalted.

⁵⁹ The version of Luke 14:15–24 is much less aggressive. It seems likely that Luke's version is closer to Q, cf. Fleddermann, *Q*, 731.

⁶⁰ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 568.

⁶¹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 466.

⁶² Klaus Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle, 1984), 194, 70.

⁶³ In this section the focus falls on the versions of Matthew and Luke and how they differ from each other.

Not only is calling someone rabbi a threat to the community's egalitarianism, but all these functions have been absorbed by Jesus.

Woe to the scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites that cross sea and land to make one proselyte. When he becomes a proselyte they make him twice the son of hell⁶⁴ that they are. Woe to them, they are blind guides who say: whoever swears "by the temple," is nothing, but who swears "by the gold of the temple" is bound by his vow. Jesus calls them blind fools. What is greater, the gold or the temple that sanctifies the gold? And to those that say whoever swears "by the altar," is nothing, but whoever swears "by the votive gift on the altar" is bound by his vow. "Blind men! "For what is greater the votive gift or the altar that sanctifies the votive gift? The one taking an oath "by the altar" takes this oath by the altar and everything that is on it. And the one taking an oath "by the temple," takes this oath by heaven and the One inhabiting heaven. And the one taking an oath "by heaven," takes this oath by the throne of God and the One sitting on it.

Adding to the tithing of herbs and spices in Q 11:42c Matthew adds that they neglect the weightier things of the law. In addition to neglecting steadfast love and justice, Matthew adds that they neglect faithfulness. "Blind guides!" They strain out the gnat, but gulp down the camel.⁶⁵ To the comment about washing the outside of the cup in Q 11:39 Matthew adds a comment: "O blind Pharisee, first wash the inside of the cup, so that its outside may become pure!"

Then Matthew applies the label of tombs from Q 11:44 to the Pharisees and scribes, although he amplifies the rhetoric. According to Matthew they appear righteous to people on the outside, but on the inside they are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness. To Q 11:47–48 is added that the Pharisees adorn the monuments of the righteous. Matthew also adds their regret saying that if they had been around in the days of their fathers they would not have taken part in killing the prophets. As noted in the discussion of Q, Matthew's rhetoric is harsher regarding this murder charge. They are told to fill up the measure of their fathers. "Serpents, you brood of vipers, how will you escape the judgement of hell?" Jesus switches to the first person (as part of prophetic discourse reminiscent of Jer 7:25–34; 25:4) I will send to you prophets, sages and scribes, out of whom you will kill, crucify, flog in your

⁶⁴ The Synoptic Gospels and James are the only writings in the New Testament to transliterate the Hebrew מַיִם to refer to the place of punishment in the afterlife. Cf. also Justin, *I Ap.* 19.8.

⁶⁵ Perhaps not that long after Jesus it was declared by rabbinic legislation that someone inadvertently ingesting mites, gnats and worms was exempt from pollution (*t. Ter.* 7:11; *b. Hul.* 67b). Straining gnats from wine and vinegar was in fact condemned as heretical later on, cf. Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 35.

synagogues and persecute them from city to city. In a later Christian context few would refer to martyrs in such Jewish terms as prophets, sages and scribes.⁶⁶ Then comes the part of Q 11:51–52 blaming the Pharisees and scribes for all murders from Abel to Zechariah and that this generation will be held accountable. In Matthew Jesus starts a lament in the style of a *qīnā*, bewailing the destruction of the temple. “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning the ones sent to her. How often did I want to gather you together as a bird gathers her youngsters under her wing, but you did not want to? Behold your house is forsaken and desolate. For I say to you, you will not see me again until you say ‘Blessed is he that comes in the Name of the Lord.’”⁶⁷

In contrast to the version from Q, Matthew’s version is more sensitive to specifically Jewish elements that would not have been relevant to a Gentile audience, so that he adds the Pharisees’ phylacteries (Deut 6:8) and fringes (Num 15:37–39), and how they avoid swallowing gnats (Lev 11:29–38). Unique to Matthew’s version is the teaching on vows and oaths – a very controversial area within contemporary Judaism.⁶⁸ As in Q the Pharisees are blamed for the death of the prophets (and of Jesus), but the rhetoric comes across as much harsher in Matthew. The next narrative has Jesus explicitly prophesying the destruction of the temple, so that no stone will be left upon another. Fleddermann explains Matthew’s alteration of his source (Q) as due to his correcting his source by changing Abel the prophet to Abel the just.⁶⁹ The law does not state that Abel was a prophet. This might also be a plausible motive for Matthew to change the text of vengeance “for the blood of all the prophets” to vengeance “for all righteous blood” with an oath in addition. Perhaps in correcting this statement according to the law Matthew has inadvertently multiplied the perceived guilt of the Jews exponentially.

Matthew is willing to concede that there are weightier things in the law, so that one is still expected to uphold them. This seems to be in contrast to other Gospels.⁷⁰ This position is also confirmed elsewhere (7:23; 13:41; 5:17).⁷¹ Nevertheless, even Matthew represents a Jesus that is sometimes in conflict with the law (12:1–14 [Sabbath]; 23:25f and 15:1ff

⁶⁶ “Sages” is the translation of σοφοί from Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 586 and fits very well.

⁶⁷ Oaths dealt with people and their responsibility to fulfil them, while vows were concerned with property dedicated to something for a specific purpose, cf. Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 587. Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 587 explains the technical details. Jesus’ position is opposed to that of the Pharisees and R. Yehuda and is more similar to that of t. Ned. 1:3.

⁶⁸ Harry T. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Biblical Tools and Studies 1; Leuven: Peters, 2005), 546–547.

⁶⁹ Mark 7:19 declares all foods clean and Luke 11:41 notes that “all things are pure for you.”

⁷⁰ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 459.

[purity]; 5:23f [sacrifices] and 23:23 [tithing]).⁷¹ Pokorný & Heckel note that the love-command is central to Matthew's understanding of the law and that Matthew has a christocentric view of the law that Jesus has come to fulfil (5:17).⁷² Pokorný & Heckel feel that Matthew constitutes an important stepping stone in Christianity, in that the Matthean community appears to have practiced the law, but because of his christocentric orientation Christians of the second and third generation were able to abandon the cultic requirements of the law.

A problem in interpreting this discourse is how to limit the addressees. Bibliowicz and Basser & Cohen seem to assume that this polemic is directed against Jews in general.⁷³ In Luke it is directed against Pharisees and lawyers, whereas Matthew speaks of Pharisees and scribes. *The Gospel according to Thomas* directs it against “you.”⁷⁴ The fact of the matter is that in the reception history of the Gospels this criticism has been applied by Christians to Jews in general with devastating consequences.⁷⁵ This example illustrates that often the reception history is more significant than the author’s intention. Certainly in accusing the Pharisees of being responsible for the death of the prophets since the time of Abel to Zechariah the meaning of the lexeme seems to be stretched beyond breaking point, so as to open the door to also refer to Israelites in general.

II) Luke 11:37–54

Luke embeds the denouncing of the Pharisees into a chria where Jesus is invited for a meal by a Pharisee. The Pharisee notes that Jesus has failed to undergo an immersion before eating. Jesus starts with the saying from Q 11:39 about washing the outside of the cup, noting the inside of the Pharisees is full of plunder and wickedness. “Fools! Didn’t the one that made the outside also make the inside? Rather purify the things that are inside. And behold all things are pure for you.” Luke inserts a complaint from a lawyer that Jesus is also attacking them. Then Luke quotes Q 11:46–52 more or less faithfully continuing to call Abel

⁷¹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 466.

⁷² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 467. Cf. Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew’s Gospel* (WUNT 2/177; Tübingen: Mohr, 2004) criticizes David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism* (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 1998), 299 for assuming circumcision was practiced in the Matthean church. Pokorný & Heckel note that the theme of circumcision is conspicuous by its absence, so that the author probably felt it was not that important as is also the position in the Apostolic Council in Acts 15:28–29.

⁷³ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 610–611; 618; Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 53.

⁷⁴ Once again stripping the context of the *logion*.

⁷⁵ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 458.

a prophet.⁷⁶ Finally he reprimands the lawyers for taking away the key of knowledge from the people.

By changing Mark's setting of criticizing the disciples for not washing their hands before eating, to not immersing themselves, Luke is mistaken. The Pharisees did not undergo immersion before meals. The Essenes immersed before breakfast and supper.⁷⁷ The statement "behold, all things are pure to you" is reminiscent of "thus he declared all things clean" in Mark^R 7:19, so that both Mark, Luke and Paul (Gal 2:6; 1 Cor 8–10; Rom 14:14) understand that purity laws have been abolished. Luke's argumentation is only concerned with providing an ethical motivation (reminding one to care for the poor) as opposed to Matthew's more legal approach (after washing the inside the outside becomes pure). Pharisaic *hälākā* did not differentiate between inside/outside purity regarding cups affected by corpse impurity. It is noteworthy that Luke and *the Gospel according to Thomas* agree against Matthew as to the reading of the *logion* regarding shutting something off from the people.⁷⁸

6.3.6.2 Matt 5:17–20 Teaching about the Law

Form

Discourse on norms 5:17–20; Conditional announcements of salvation and doom 5:17, 19; Warnings in terms of deeds and rewards; Words related to entering the kingdom and inheriting its blessings; Warnings in terms of deeds and rewards theology 5:20; First person speech about having coming and having been sent; First person speech 5:17.

Matt 5:17–20	
¹⁷ μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἥλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας· οὐκ ἥλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι.	¹⁷ Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets. I have not come to abolish it, but to fulfil it.
¹⁸ ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν· ἔως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, ιδῶτα ἐν ἣ μία κεραίᾳ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἔως ἂν πάντα γένηται. ¹⁹ ὅς ἐὰν οὖν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων καὶ διδάξῃ οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· ὅς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ,	¹⁸ Amen, I say unto you: Before heaven and earth pass away, not one <i>yōd</i> or stroke of the law will pass away, until all things come about. ¹⁹ Whosoever relaxes one of the least of these commands and teaches accordingly, will be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever does and teaches it, he will be

⁷⁶ For this reason Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, concludes that Luke and the Gospel according to Thomas have preserved the authentic version of this *logion*.

⁷⁷ Lowe & Flusser, "Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory," 32 fn. 39.

⁷⁸ For this reason Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, concludes that Luke and the Gospel according to Thomas have preserved the authentic version of the *logion*. Scholars like Fleddermann, *Q*, 546 reconstructing Q prefer Matthew's version though, arguing the typical Lukan language has been taken over by the Gospel according to Thomas.

<p>οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. ²⁰λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.⁷⁹ (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>called the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.²⁰For I say unto you that unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will by no means enter the kingdom of heaven.</p>
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According to the form critical analysis of Luz this pericope appears to belong to the Matthean redaction, as the language is typical of him (*πληρώ*, *δικαιοσύνη*).⁸⁰ Only 5:18 is taken over from Q 16:17. There would be a plausible enough motive to add such a redaction, in that the teaching that immediately follows (Matt 5:21–48) taken over from Q, namely the six antitheses,⁸¹ actually undermine the law. Luke appears to have taken the sting out of Q by using less antithetic language. Basser & Cohen point out that scribes were not authorized to promulgate decrees and could only explain Scripture and edify other believers.⁸² With the antitheses Jesus transgresses this boundary, even if the content of his teaching is not that controversial.

6.3.7 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

It is evident that Matthew was absorbed by the emerging Orthodox Church, but it is not possible to specifically say from which kind of Christianity it developed. To speak of Matthean Christianity is not impossible, but is also not very helpful. All that being said the reception of the Gospel according to Matthew in Jewish-Christian communities also tells a story: the Jewish-Christian Gospels, the *Ιουδαικόν*-tradition, the Didache and the Epistle of

⁷⁹ D omits the last verse, perhaps because of its alleged anti-Judaistic tendency, cf. Eldon J. Epp, “Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. B. D. Ehrman & M. W. Holmes; 2d ed. Leiden: Brill, 2013), 556.

⁸⁰ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 211. The lexeme *πληρώ* is also found in the reconstructed text of Q 11:48 by Fleddermann, *Q*, 543. This is not the reconstructed text found in James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann & John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English with Parallels from the Gospels of Mark and Thomas* (CBET 30; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002). Indeed Fledderman notes that *συνενδοκέω* is typical Lukan language, but *πληρώ* is usually viewed as typical Matthean language. Cf. Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 444.

⁸¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments*, 70 notes that both Matthew (7:24–27) and Luke (6:47–49) incorporate the motif of the two ways, but that with Matthew the contrasts are bound up with his antitheses (you have heard [in the law], but I say unto you) whereas for Luke the two ways represent either blessing or woe *μακάριοι οἱ/oὐαί οἵ*. Luke 6:27 preserves the “but I say unto you...” This might mean Matthew is reflecting the text of his source more accurately than Luke. This might show that Lk⁸ tried to soften the antinomian rhetoric of Q. The other antitheses are often found in Luke but without the antithetic form and sometimes without the formula *μακάριοι οἱ/oὐαί οἵ* Berger proposes.

⁸² Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 113.

James.⁸³ Much of what Matthew says is difficult to reconcile with the Pauline gospel: Matthew emphasizes the importance of bearing fruit and doing the will of the Father (7:15–20; 24:10–12) and warns against lawlessness (ἀνομία 7:23; 13:41).⁸⁴ Matthew 7:21's redaction of Q 6:46 appears to criticize the magical conception of Romans 10:9 “if you confess with your mouth that Jesus is Lord, and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved.” At the time Matthew was published there does not seem to have been a division between Judaism and Christianity.⁸⁵ The argumentation portrayed with Pharisees may reflect inner rivalry for the heart of Judaism: Matthew is as much a Jewish document as it is a Christian document.⁸⁶ Matthew's hypothetical source M^S contains much material that was relevant for a more Jewish audience, but on occasion the same can also be said of Luke's unique material, Lk^S.⁸⁷ A later Matthean redactor may have added anti-Jewish material like the blood-motif which would account for the complexity of thought.⁸⁸ Matthew seems to have been instrumental in the myth of Petrine succession that became a staple of the later orthodox movement by the time of Irenaeus at least.

Matthew fits easier into the Jewish-Christian model than anything else from the Fourfold Gospel:

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	Matthew contains the same purity map and scribal enactment transgressions as Mark (and Luke), but omits the idea that Jesus declares all foods pure found in his source Mark 7:19 (and all things in Luke 11:41). Equally significant is his omission of the part of the <i>logion</i> of Mark 7:15 that nothing outside a human can defile him.

⁸³ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 456,721. James shows familiarity with the Matthean redaction in James 1:22 (Matt 7:21–27) and 4:12 (Matt 7:1). At the same time Matthew was the most popular Gospel in orthodox circles too, cf. Luz, *Matthew*, 47.

⁸⁴ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 460.

⁸⁵ Cf. Reed & Becker, *The Ways that Never Parted*, iii.

⁸⁶ The vigorous debate with the Pharisees in Matthew is to be expected from a Jewish-Christian. Objections against Matthew's misunderstanding of Judaism as reflected by his failure to differentiate between Pharisees and Sadducees in 16:12 and a failure to appreciate the parallelism in 21:5–7 are hard to justify, cf. Luz, *Matthew*, 46. One problem that does remain for Luz, *Matthew*, 3:103–104 is Matthew's application of the translational equivalent φυλακτήριον to describe the *tēfillin* (23:5) For Luz Matthew's Judaism is not proto-Rabbinic Judaism, but more of an 'am hāāreṣ kind of Judaism. Jeffrey H. Tigay, “On the Term Phylacteries (Matt 23:5,” *HTR* 72/1–2 (1979): 50, 45–53 quotes the post-Talmudic tractate *Masseket Tēfillin* 12 and 9 where it uses *qāmīa* (much the same meaning as φυλακτήριον) for *tēfillin*.

⁸⁷ Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 87.

⁸⁸ “His blood be on us and our children” (Matt 27:25).

Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH's abode, or the Torah, maintained?	Jesus nowhere transgresses the law. Although Jesus teaches the antitheses, this is neutralized by the idea of Q 16:17 and the law is specifically reaffirmed in Matthew's redaction thereof (Matt 5:17–20). For Matthew the law is reinterpreted through the teaching of Jesus, so that the love command, justice, mercy and faith overrule other laws (Matt 23:23)
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	It is striking that Matthew was used by Jewish-orientated sources, from James to the Didache, the Jewish-Christian Gospels to τὸ Ἰουδαικόν which seems to point to a Semitic version of Matthew. ⁸⁹
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	In calling Jesus <i>immānūēl</i> (god with us) it is clear what Matthew's community thought of Jesus. In a part unique to the Matthean redaction the disciples worship Jesus after the resurrection (Matt 28:17).
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Lord, an equal to God?	Matthew reflects a high christology where Jesus is raised from the dead and is transfigured (Matt 17:1–9) and is twice pronounced as God's son by a voice from heaven (Matt 3:17; 17:5). In speaking of the “son of man” Jesus presents himself as sitting on a throne and judging the nations (Matt 25:31).
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	Yes, Jesus' most famous call to baptize all nations is found in Matthew 28:19–20.
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	Although outward purity is criticized as in the other Synoptic Gospels it is not entirely clear from Matthew whether all purity regulations are to be abandoned. In reaffirming the law so emphatically it seems unlikely. Matthew shows resistance to make too strong an impact on the law.

6.3.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Matthew is unique among evangelists in asserting that the Pharisees sit on the seat of Moses and are to be obeyed. Matthew's concern in presenting Jesus as somebody loyal to his Israelite identity is made very clear here, in that Jesus' view of the *hälākā* regarding vows becomes manifest. Matthew corrects Q in carelessly calling Abel a prophet. At the same time Matthew broadens the implications of the Jewish culpability-theme by making them responsible not only for the prophets and Jesus' death, but of all the righteous. Matthew seems at pains to think outside of his Israelite identity in describing Christian heroes in terms of Jewish precedents. In contrast to Mark and Luke, Matthew takes for granted that the law is

⁸⁹ Luz, *Matthew*, 47 adds *T12 Patr.*, *Ps.-Clem.*, (Coptic) *Apoc. Pet.*, *5 Ezra*, and the Christian interpretations of the *Sibylline Oracles* (1.323.–401).

to be obeyed in its entirety. At the same time Matthew's rhetoric against the Pharisees and scribes is brutal, showing the complexity of his thought. His community is to do as they say, but not to do as they do. They are slandered as hypocrites, blind guides, white-washed tombs and brood of vipers. In P.Oxy. 840 the rhetoric against Israelites is as harsh as Matthew in comparing the Pharisees to prostitutes. Both use very strong images. One does get the idea that the author of P.Oxy. 840 is writing as an outsider criticizing insider Israelites as opposed to Matthew that is an insider criticizing other insiders.⁹⁰ The argumentation of P.Oxy. 840 is not based on the *ḥālākā* as one sees in Matthew time and again. The *deductio ad absurdum* (pigs and dogs) found in P.Oxy. 840 shows an outsider's perspective on Judaism. Matthew affirms the law in the strongest language, although it is the law somewhat modified by Jesus' interpretation thereof (the love command trumps everything else). P.Oxy. 840 undermines the law by attacking its mechanism of purification. P.Oxy. 840 seems to come from a time where the separation between Judaism and Christianity was more tangible. Like Mark, Luke can sometimes make a mistake in describing Jewish customs. We have already seen that Luke at other times offers accurate Jewish information absent from the other evangelists (Lk^S). The biggest difference between Luke and Matthew is that Luke feels that if your inside is pure all other things are pure. This is at odds with the law. It is something Luke shares with P.Oxy. 840.

The typical motif of Matthew of presenting Jesus as the fulfilment of Jewish expectations is not found in the extant text of P.Oxy. 840.

The importance of inside purity in the form of ethics plays an important role in all of the Synoptic Gospels. Matthew is very judgemental towards the Pharisees calling them "sons of Gehenna" and asking them how they are to escape the fire of hell. The first part of P.Oxy. 840 is also extremely judgemental. Perhaps Matthew may give us a clue as to the identity of the opponents in P.Oxy. 840: Pharisees. Jesus does not target other opponents with such aggression in the Synoptics. The demon calling itself Legion may reflect some criticism of the Roman colonists, but this is still very mild compared to the polemic aimed at Pharisees and other Jewish opponents. According the *ZweiQuellenhypothese* Matthew borrowed Mark's material. Matthew appears to have simply taken over most of Mark's purity controversies.⁹¹ Matthew also uses the language of "full of *x* and *y*."

⁹⁰ This is an inference.

⁹¹ Cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 80–81 for the list of chriae in the Gospels. Matt 12:10 only appears to add some extra argumentation to the Man with the Withered hand of Mark 3:1ff as is the case with Matt 15:12–15 to the Controversy over the Unwashed Hands found in Mark 7:1–23.

Matt 23:25 Inside they are full of plunder and a lack of control
 Matt 23:27 Inside they are full of dead bones and all impurity
 Matt 23:28 Inside you are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness

Nevertheless, the way P.Oxy. 840 uses it seems more reminiscent of Luke.

6.3.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Matthew's concern for the law and his presentation of Jesus as the fulfilment of the law does not seem to have influenced P.Oxy. 840 – at least not from the fragment known to us. It is interesting that Matthew often calls the Pharisees “blind guides,” whereas P.Oxy. 840 pleonastically calls them “blind that do not see.” If P.Oxy. 840 were dependent on Matthew one would have expected the combination “blind guides” as it is almost difficult to forget the strong image of Matthew. Nevertheless this might be an *argumentum ex silentio*. Matthew 23:26 also uses “blind” on its own as a predicate for the Pharisees. In Matthew the polemics between Pharisees and emerging Christianity is very harsh. Matthew has added the constant slander of “hypocrites” to the denunciation of the Pharisees found in Q. This label is absent from P.Oxy. 840’s equally harsh polemic.

Matthew (and to a lesser extent Lk^S) often adds details that are strictly speaking only relevant for an Israelite audience. P.Oxy. 840 does not show positive signs for this as one would have expected if it indeed were part of a Jewish-Christian Gospel.⁹² Of course with P.Oxy. 840 only a limited amount of text is available, but the text that is extant does not justify such a reading. P.Oxy. 840 does not appear to need *halachic* argumentation to make its point. Instead it uses unconventional argumentation not unlike Mark.

6.4 The Gospel according to the Hebrews

6.4.1 Dating

First half of the second century

6.4.2 Genre

Gospel with elements of wisdom

6.4.3 Sources

⁹² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Saviour*, 87.

No source within the Fourfold Gospel. The fragments preserved by Clement, *Stromata* 2.9.45.5 (and 5.14.96.3) is evidently dependent on the same tradition as *The Gospel according to Thomas* 2. It is difficult to say which one was first.

6.4.4 Christological Titles

Assuming these fragments all belong to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* the following titles are used in the Gospel.

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (<i>salvator/σωτήρ</i>)	0	0
Lord (<i>dominus</i>)	6	85.71
Son of man (<i>filius hominis</i>)	1	14.29
Total	7	100

Many of these fragments are introduced by something to the effect that ὁ σωτὴρ φησι. It is not clear whether Origen or Jerome is responsible for these introductory formulas, or whether they go back to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* itself. It should be noted that they are only found within these formulas and nowhere else, so that one is led to the suggestion that they go back to Origen and Jerome's redaction.

6.4.5 Theology

6.4.5.1 Fountain of the Holy Spirit

1. Jerome, <i>Comm. Isa. 11:1–3</i> ⁹³	
<p><i>nequaquam per partes, ut in ceteris sanctis, sed iuxta evangelium quod hebraeo sermone conscriptum legunt nazarei: «descendet super eum omnis fons spiritus sancti. dominus autem spiritus est, et ubi spiritus domini, ibi libertas»... porro in evangelio, cuius supra fecimus mentionem, haec scripta reperimus: «factum est autem cum ascendisset dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis spiritus sancti, et requievit super eum, et dixit illi: fili mi, in omnibus prophetis exspectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te. tu es enim requies</i></p>	<p>By no means partially as in other saints, but according to the Gospel written in the Hebrew language which the Nazarenes read: “The whole fountain of the Holy Spirit will descend upon him. The Lord is the Spirit. And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is peace...” Later in the Gospel to which we have made mention above, we find this passage. “But it happened that when the Lord came up from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down and rested on him and told him: ‘My son, amongst all the prophets I</p>

⁹³ CCSL 4.11.1.32.

<i>mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum.» (CCSL 73)⁹⁴</i>	was waiting for you to come and to rest upon you. For you are my resting place, you are my first born son who rules for eternity.’ ”
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Form

(Demonstrative) Acclamation

This fragment is important shows that it cannot be in the same Gospel as that found in *Adversus Pelagianos Dialogi* 3.2 as it contradicts it directly.⁹⁵ There Jesus cannot see a reason for himself to be baptized by John with a baptism toward the forgiveness of sins – or so Vielhauer & Strecker feel⁹⁶ – unless Jesus would just have opposed baptism by John the Baptist. Strictly speaking this verse does not mention John, so that it is a possibility that Jesus was baptized without John – at least theoretically. In Luke’s Gospel Jesus is also baptized while John is in prison.⁹⁷ It strikes one as odd that Jesus is here mentioned amongst the prophets without explanation. This passage appears to take the pre-existence of Jesus for granted, something reminiscent of John’s Gospel.⁹⁸ The idea that the Spirit remains on Jesus after baptism with John’s Gospel is also reconcilable with Johannine thought. One need, however, not assume Johannine influence, as the language of Wisdom Theology found in this passage is not Johannine. Proverbs speaks of pre-existent wisdom before the foundation of the earth.

Vielhauer & Strecker remarks that this resting of the Holy Spirit should not be equated with the idea of inspiration found in Isaiah 11:2, but rather reflects permanent union between Spirit and Son.⁹⁹

Commentators tend to see this fragment as reflecting wisdom theology.

6.4.5.2 My mother, the Holy Spirit, has taken me

2a. Origen, <i>Comm. Jo. 2.12</i> ¹⁰⁰	
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⁹⁴ CPL 584

⁹⁵ Luomanen, *Reconstructing Jewish-Christian Sects*, 120 with the Two Gospel Hypothesis feels these accounts needn’t contradict each other.

⁹⁶ Philipp Vielhauer & Georg Strecker, “Jewish Christian Gospels,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed; Louisville: Westminster, 2003), 148–149.

⁹⁷ Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*.

⁹⁸ Vielhauer & Strecker, “Jewish Christian Gospels,” 148–149.

⁹⁹ Vielhauer & Strecker, “Jewish Christian Gospels,” 174.

¹⁰⁰ This fragment is preserved also in Origen, *Hom. Jer. 15.4*; Jerome, *Comm. Isa. 40.9–11*; *Comm. Ezech. 16.13*.

<p>ἐὰν δὲ προσιήταί τις τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ φησιν· «ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μῆτηρ μου, τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾳ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκε με εἰς τὸ ὅρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ» ἐπαπορήσει, πῶς «μῆτηρ» Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τοῦ λόγου γεγενημένον «πνεῦμα ἄγιον» εἶναι δύναται. (SC 157)¹⁰¹</p>	<p>But if anyone accepts <i>The Gospel according to the Hebrews</i>, where the Saviour himself says “she has just taken me my mother, the Holy Spirit, by one of my hairs and has placed me onto the great mountain of Tabor,” he will be puzzled how the mother of Christ could be the Holy Spirit that exists through the Word.</p>
<p>2d. Jerome, <i>Comm. Mich. 7.5–7</i>¹⁰²</p> <p><i>...credideritque evangelio, quod secundum Hebraeos editum nuper transtulimus, in quo ex persona Salvatoris dicitur: «modo tulit me mater mea, sanctus spiritus in uno capillorum meorum,» non dubitabit dicere, sermonem dei ortum esse de spiritu et animam, quae sponsa sermonis est, habere socrum sanctum spiritum, qui apud Hebraeos genere dicitur feminino rūa. (CCSL 76)</i>¹⁰³</p>	<p>...and should believe the Gospel given out according to the Hebrews which we have recently translated in which it is said of the person of the Saviour “She has just taken me my mother, the Holy Spirit, by one of my hairs, he will not have scruples to say that the word of God originated from the Spirit and that the soul which is the spouse of the word has a mother-in-law, the Holy Spirit, which among the Hebrews is called by the feminine gender, <i>rūah</i>.”</p>

Form

Temptation of the righteous as part of a report on philosophers;¹⁰⁴ report about visions and auditions¹⁰⁵

Cameron connects this most quoted episode from any Jewish-Christian Gospel with Jesus' temptation (Mark 1:12–13 [in the wilderness of the Judean Jordan] Matt 4:1–11 [in the wilderness of the Judean Jordan with Jesus taken to the temple mount in a mythical narration]; Luke 4:1–13 [in the wilderness along the Jordan with Jesus taken to the temple mount in a mythical narration]).¹⁰⁶ Others have thought of Jesus' transfiguration (Mark 9:2–8; Matt 17:1–8 [between Caesarea Philippi and Capernaum]; Luke 9:28–36 [between Bethsaida and Samaria {Shechem?}]). For the transfiguration this would have slotted only

¹⁰¹ CCCPG 1453

¹⁰² CCSL 2.7.303

¹⁰³ CPL 589

¹⁰⁴ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 337. Determining the form of this fragment is dependent on whether it formed part of the temptation or the transfiguration of Jesus.

¹⁰⁵ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 285.

¹⁰⁶ Ron Cameron, s.v. “Hebrews, The Gospel of,” *ABD*. As do Vielhauer & Strecker, “The Jewish Christian Gospels,” 137, 173.

into Luke's narrative framework. Yet this also seems to be a mythical narration so that we do not have to make sense of geographical probabilities. Both are possibilities.¹⁰⁷

Cameron articulates the mythological character of this fragment and the former one. The Holy Spirit figures prominently in both. He thinks they presuppose a myth of divine wisdom "embodying herself definitively in a representative of the human race for the revelation and redemption of humankind." To understand this text one has to think of Wisdom personified in texts like Proverbs and apocrypha like Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon.¹⁰⁸

6.4.5.3 Rest after Becoming Ruler

3a. Clement of Alexandria, <i>Strom.</i> 2.9.45.5	
ἢ κὰν τῷ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ «ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει» γέγραπται «καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται.» (GCS 52) ¹⁰⁹	With which it also is written in <i>The Gospel according to the Hebrews</i> "he who has marvelled shall rule and he that has ruled shall rest."

Form

Sentence

This is the most prominent saying in this Gospel.¹¹⁰ It clearly reflects a wisdom saying. It does not reflect exclusively Christian teaching,¹¹¹ unless it is read with the previous fragments as part of the same work. Then Wisdom's rest is to be found in Jesus. They only have to seek Him.¹¹² This proximity of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* to wisdom literature makes Gregory doubt its Jewish-Christian affiliation.

¹⁰⁷ Klijn, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," *ANRW* 25.5:4002 leaves the issue undecided, noting that traditionally Tabor has been connected with Jesus' transfiguration (Origen, *Sel. Ps.* 88) but usually Jesus was with his disciples whereas in our fragment He is alone like with the temptation.

¹⁰⁸ Sir 24:7; Wis 7:27.

¹⁰⁹ CCCPG 1377

¹¹⁰ Cameron, "Hebrews, The Gospel of."

¹¹¹ Klijn, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," *ANRW* 25.5:4001.

¹¹² Similar ideas are to be found in Sir 6:28; 51:27; Wis 8:16; also in the Gospels Matt 11:28; *Gos. Thom.* 2; *Acts Thom.* 136; *Thom. Cont. NHC II,7* 145.12–14 and even the *Corpus Hermeticum* 4.2; 14.4; 9.10; 13.20.

6.4.5.4 Looking at Your Brother in Goodwill and Saddening the Spirit of Your Brother

4. Jerome, Comm. Eph. 5.4¹¹³	
<i>ut in Hebraico quoque evangelio legimus, dominum ad discipulos loquentem: et nunquam, inquit, laeti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in charitate. (PL 26)¹¹⁴</i>	Like we also read in the Hebraic Gospel of the Lord speaking to his disciples “and never” it says “should you be happy except if you look at your brother in goodwill.”
5. Jerome, Comm. Ezech. 18.5–9¹¹⁵	
<i>et in evangelio quod iuxta Hebraeos Nazarei legere consuerunt, inter maxima ponitur crimina: qui fratri sui spiritum contristaverit. (CCSL 75)¹¹⁶</i>	And in <i>The Gospel according to the Hebrews</i> which the Nazarenes are accustomed to read, among the greatest crimes is placed he who has saddened the spirit of his brother.

Form

Admonition in when-you-sentence with reference to your brother¹¹⁷

This fragment is easy to understand if we look at what is said in Jerome’s translation of Ezekiel 18:

Ezek 18	
<i>⁴Ecce omnes animae meae sunt. Anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur. ⁵Et vir si fuerit iustus, et fecerit iudicium et iustitiam, ⁶in montibus non comederit, et oculos suos non levaverit ad idola domus Israhel, et uxorem proximi sui non violaverit, et ad mulierem menstruatam non accesserit, ⁷et hominem non contristaverit, pignus debitori reddiderit... ⁹in praeceptis meis ambulaverit, et iudicia mea custodierit, ut faciat veritatem: hic iustus est; vita vivet, ait Dominus Deus (Biblia Sacra).</i>	All souls are mine. The soul that has sinned – <i>it</i> shall die. If a man were just and did the right thing and practiced justice, without eating on the heights, without lifting his eyes up at the idols of the house of Israel, without raping the wife of his neighbour, without going in to his menstruating wife, without saddening a human, repaying the settlement of his debtor...walking in my precepts and so that he guarded my judgements – this man is just, with life he shall live says the Lord God.

Jerome has translated the Hebrew verb נִזְבַּח (be violent; oppress)¹¹⁸ with *contristare* (sadden; make sorrowful).¹¹⁹ The Old Greek translation of καταδυναστεύω (exercise power over)

¹¹³ PL 3.552.43.

¹¹⁴ CPL 591

¹¹⁵ CCSL 6.18.330

¹¹⁶ CPL 587

¹¹⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 165. Seeing that Jerome reports *Comm. Ezech. 18.5–9* in indirect speech the “you” changes to “he.”

would have been closer to the Hebrew. Symmachus used ὁδυνάω (cause one pain, suffering [pertaining to body or mind]) which is closer to Jerome's choice.¹²⁰ This argument of Klijn shows how the meaning might have been displaced to "sadden." Oppressing the spirit of your brother is a great crime in *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* as it is in the prophetic criticism of Ezekiel. Here Ezekiel argues for more social justice. This links to the heart of the law as described in Matthew 23: justice, mercy and faithfulness.

6.4.5.5 Resurrection Appearance to James the Just

6. Jerome, Vir. ill. 2	
<p>[crebrius super testantur] evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos et a me nuper in Graecum sermonem Latinum que translatum est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur, post resurrectionem salvatoris refert: «dominus autem cum dedit sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Iacobum et apparuit ei,» (iuraverat enim Iacobus se non comesurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus) rursusque post paululum, «adferre, ait dominus, mensam et panem,» statimque additur: «tulit panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit Iacobo Iusto et dixit ei: «frater mi, comedere panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis a dormientibus.» (TUGAL 14/1a)¹²¹</p>	<p>...repeatedly [this] mentions [the Acts of the Apostles] and the Gospel According to Hebrews which has recently been translated by myself into the Greek and the Latin language, which is frequently used by Origen which reports the following after the resurrection of the Saviour: "But the Lord when He had given the fine cotton cloth to the servant of the priest went to James and appeared to him (for James had sworn not to consume bread from the hour in which he had drunk from the cup of the Lord until he saw him resurrected from the dead)." Shortly afterwards the Lord says: "Bring me a table and bread," and immediately it is added "He brought bread and thanked and broke it and gave it to James the Just and told him 'my brother, consume your bread, for the son of man is risen from those that sleep.'"</p>

Form

Report about visions and auditions

Klijn has found a Greek witness that has ἀφ' ἵς πέπωκει τὸ ποτήριον ὁ κύριος for *ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini*.¹²² The Perfective aspect of the Greek would indicate the verb still had a result at the time James spoke, so that the text may be referring to a cup of

¹¹⁸ William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon* (Brill: Leiden, 2000), 136.

¹¹⁹ D. P. Simson, s.v. "contristare," *Cassell's New Latin Dictionary* (4th ed.; London: Cassell, 1966), 149.

¹²⁰ Klijn, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," *ANRW* 25.5:4015. *LSJ*, s.v. "ὁδυνάω," 543.

¹²¹ CPL 616

¹²² Klijn, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," *ANRW* 25.5:4012.

suffering the Lord drank as referring to his death. This would solve the problem that James was not at the last supper as described by the Gospels, yet *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* need not fit in with the framework of the canonical Gospels.

Paul (1 Cor 15:5–8) mentions how the Risen Lord appeared to a list of people¹²³:

1. Peter
2. The rest of the twelve apostles
3. More than 500 believers
4. James
5. All the apostles
6. Paul

This fragment from *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* tells of such an appearance of the risen Lord to James, but in a different order. The fragment tells how the resurrected Lord appears to James higher up on the list above. This increases the authority of James, even if the tone is as harsh as Mark in describing the failure of the disciples to understand. Paul's account gives Peter the leading role. Paul's account also reflects the importance of himself and James as they are named. He lists himself last as if he is the opposite number of Peter and he spells out James' name clearly indicating his significance. Yet as far as Paul's list is concerned Peter and Paul's names are the prominent ones. James is not even in the middle. Whether Paul heard this same tradition as extant in our fragment is a matter of conjecture.

This is not the only place in early Christian literature where James is seen to be the most important apostle. Some passages of *The Gospel of Thomas* also reflect the primacy of James:

<i>Gos. Thom. 12</i>	
<p>πεχε Ἄμμαθητης οἵτινες τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ κναβώκ Ἀπόστολος οἷμα περιέπειρος εργάσιον εχων</p> <p>πεχε τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πίμα πατατεπήει Ἄμμαγ επεπταναβώκ ωδα Ἰάκωβος πλικαιος πλει πάτα τηε μῆ πικαλ φωπε επεβητή (NHS 20)</p>	<p>The disciples said to Jesus, “We know that you will depart from us. Who is to be our leader?”</p> <p>Jesus said to them, “Wherever you are, you are to go to James the righteous, for whose sake heaven and earth came into being.” [Lambdin]</p>

¹²³ List is perhaps a strong word, but the names are given in a hierarchy.

In these texts traces of James' historical importance are still visible. Catholic tradition has always been a trifle silent about the Lord's brother.¹²⁴ Yet it is clear that James was head of the church in Jerusalem from an early stage.

Although Gregory is skeptical of the category of “Jewish-Christian Gospels” he notes that the fact that James commits himself to an oath may be important to the Gospel’s portrayal of James as a law-observing Jew.¹²⁵ This is only a possibility Gregory leaves open.

6.4.5.6 Double Name-Dilemma

Klijn includes two other fragments of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, preserved by Didymus, the Blind¹²⁶:

Didymus, Comm. Ps. 3.184.9–10¹²⁷	
<p>καὶ ὁ Θωμᾶς λέγεται καὶ Διδύμος. καὶ πολλαὶ γέ εἰσιν τοιαῦται <δι>ωνυμίαι· τὸν Μαθθαῖον δοκεῖ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Λευνὶ ὄνομάζειν. οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὁ Μαθθίας καὶ ὁ Λευὶς εἰς διώνυμο<ι> εἰσιν. ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦτο φαίνεται. (Gronewald)</p>	<p>Thomas is also called Didymus. And there are then many similar double names. For it seems that in the Gospel according to Luke he calls Matthew Levi, but it is not he, but the one appointed in the place of Judas, Matthias and Levi is one person having a double name. This is apparent from <i>The Gospel according to the Hebrews</i>.</p>

It seems evident that *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* must be based on *The Gospel of Thomas* or John’s Gospel, if not on both. This is because it shows familiarity with Thomas’ nickname, Didymus and because of the authoritative role it ascribes to James. Ockham’s razor would suggest that *The Gospel of Thomas* could account for both of these, but chance suggests that either of the two options above are possible.

¹²⁴ Hegesippus quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.3–19 is one of our oldest Proto-Orthodox sources on James. He is thought to have lived somewhere between 130–192 C.E., though it is very difficult to pin him down with a date. For a summary of his work, cf. Glen F. Chesnut, s.v. “Hegesippus,” *ABD*. Older than Hegesippus’ report is Josephus, *Ant.* 20.197; 199–203 (of course he does not count as a Christian source). Eusebius’ Catholic account of James is found in *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.1–25. He incorporates the reports of Hegesippus and Josephus.

¹²⁵ Andrew Gregory, “Hindrance or Help: Does the Modern Category of ‘Jewish Christian Gospel’ Distort our Understanding of the Texts to which it Refers?” *JSNT* 28/4 (2006): 400.

¹²⁶ That Didymus’ Commentary on the Psalms has actually preserved a fragment of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* has been discovered by Sebastian Brock, “A New Testimonium to the Gospel according to the Hebrews,” *NTS* 18 (1971/72): 220–222. He (221) also provides testimonies from Clement of Alexandria believing this Levi was the same as Matthias (*Strom.* 4.6.35.2).

¹²⁷ Michael Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde: Psalmenkommentar* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 8; Bonn: Habelt, 1969), 3:184.

6.4.6 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

In looking at the indicators of Jewish Christianity as proposed by Luomanen, the following emerges:

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	With the appearance of Jesus to James, he appears to be observing an oath, suggesting some kind of law observance. ¹²⁸ The fragments about looking at your brother in goodwill and not saddening his spirit can be linked with law observance through the command to love thy neighbor. ¹²⁹
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH's abode, or the Torah, maintained?	The Hebraic grammatical gender of <i>rûah</i> (spirit) is applied to the theology. In the Greek world spirit was neuter and in Latin and the Germanic languages spirit was masculine. In this instance grammar determined theology. The idea of Wisdom personified is a Jewish concept not unlike the Logos.
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	The report of the appearance of Jesus to James illustrates his high esteem in the community. Evidently this happened just after the resurrection, increasing the prestige of James.
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	—
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Kyrios ("Lord"), an equal to God?	Jesus is most often called <i>dominus</i> . The acclamation by the Spirit at Jesus' baptism appears to point to Jesus' pre-existence as the Spirit had been waiting for Jesus all this time. ¹³⁰ Jesus is also called the Spirit's resting place, her firstborn who rules for eternity. This Christology appears higher than that found in the Synoptic Gospels.
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	—
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	—

There are indicators that *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* is a Jewish-Christian document, but these are not very strong.

¹²⁸ Gregory, "Hindrance or Help," 400 does concede that this is a moot point.

¹²⁹ Gregory, "Hindrance or Help," 400 concedes that this link is tenuous.

¹³⁰ This is also debatable. Vielhauer & Strecker, "Jewish-Christian Gospels," 148–149 think Jesus' pre-existence is reflected by this fragment.

6.4.7 Parallels with P.Oxy. 840

Like P.Oxy. 840 this Gospel has its own unique narrative framework.

6.4.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Wisdom personified seems to have played an important role in *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* and in Q. There are no indications of this in P.Oxy. 840. It is clear from *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* that James was the figure of authority. P.Oxy. 840 does not show which disciple was the most important. It is hard to imagine that this would not have come out somewhere in the complete document, but that is no longer available. It does seem that the disciples played more of a role of flat characters as in Mark – at least in the extant pericope. In *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* one finds wisdom theology containing many mythical elements. This is not true of P.Oxy. 840. Though the title σωτήρ does occur in the introduction to many of these fragments this most probably reflects the redactional work of the editors Origen and Jerome. The fact that Jerome uses the same quotation as Origen (where σωτήρ is used) in three places and twice calls Jesus *salvator*, combined with the fact that the fragment of James' fasting (Jerome, *Vir. ill. 2*) is introduced by *salvator*, do not show that this title was used in *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

6.5 The Gospel according to the Nazarenes

6.5.1 Dating

First half of the second century

6.5.2 Genre

Gospel

6.5.3 Sources

Definitely Matthew, either one or both of Mark and Luke. The one fragment that could have decided the issue, containing Mark's *praedicans baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum*, is taken over exactly by Luke.

6.5.4 Christological Titles

The following Christological titles occur:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Teacher (<i>magister</i>)	1	25
Lord (<i>dominus</i>)	2	50
Jesus (<i>Iesus</i>)	1	25
Total	4	100

6.5.5 Theology

For this Gospel the following fragments can be reconstructed:

6.5.5.1 Parable of the Talents

Eusebius, <i>Theoph.</i> 4.22	
έπει δὲ τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἥκον Ἐβραϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρισιν εὐαγγέλιον τὴν ἀπειλὴν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ἀποκρύψαντος ἐπῆγεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦ ἀσώτως ἔζηκότος – τρεῖς γάρ δούλους περιεῖχε, τὸν μὲν καταφαγόντα τὴν ὑπαρξίν τοῦ δεσπότου μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητρίδων, τὸν δὲ πολλὰ πλασιάσαντα τὴν ἐργασίαν, τὸν δὲ κατακρύψαντα τὸ τάλαντον· εἴτα τὸν μὲν ἀποδεχθῆναι, τὸν δὲ μεμφθῆναι, μόνον τὸν δὲ συγκλεισθῆναι δεσμωτηρίῳ – ἐφίστημι, μήποτε κατὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ λόγου τὴν κατὰ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐργασαμένου ἡ ἔξῆς ἐπιλεγομένη ἀπειλὴ οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου κατ’ ἐπανάληψιν λέλεκται, τοῦ ἐσθίοντος καὶ πίνοντος μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων. (PG24) ¹³¹	Since the Gospel come down to us in Hebrew letters directed the threat not against one who has hidden something but against one who has lived excessively – for it set forth three slaves, one who has squandered the wealth of his master with prostitutes and pipe girls, another who has multiplied his trade and the last who has hidden the talent. Thereupon the first one is accepted, the second is reprimanded, but only the third is locked up in prison – I wonder whether according to Matthew after the completion of the word against the one who worked nothing the next chosen threat is mentioned by way of resumption, not about him, but about the first one, who eats and drinks with the drunkards.

Form

Parable¹³²

This is not as much a translation of the Hebrew as it is a summary by Eusebius.¹³³ This passage is referring to either Matthew 25:14–30 or Luke 19:11–27. The account of Eusebius seems closer to that of Matthew, because Matthew refers to the money as *τάλαντα*, whereas

¹³¹ MPG24:685–688. This text of Eusebius in Henricus Valesius, Franciscus Vigerus, Bernardus Montfauconius & Angelus Maius (PG 24; Paris, 1857) has been omitted by the newer edition of *de Theophania* by Eduard Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* (GCS 9/1–3; Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903–1908).

¹³² This is more of a report of details of a parable, seeing that Eusebius is merely paraphrasing some ideas.

¹³³ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4007.

Luke only speaks of μνᾶ. Matthew's account implies a prison, whereas Luke's account ends in execution. Klijn is reminded of Luke's language ὁ καταφαγών σου τὸν βίον μετά πορνῶν (Luke 15:30).¹³⁴ It is not clear where to place this fragment, but it seems to be another case of *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes'* characteristic midrashic expansion of its sources. Eusebius does not seem to have been that familiar with Hebrew despite having lived in Caesarea.¹³⁵ Much has been made of the parallel with P.Oxy. 840 with the mentioning of prostitutes and pipe girls next to each other.¹³⁶ This fragment also seems to display a condescending attitude towards them.

6.5.5.2 Jesus' Refusal to Be Baptized by John and Forgiving Seventy Times Seven

Jerome, <i>Pelag. 3.2</i>	
<p><i>in evangelio iuxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, iuxta Matthaeum, quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia: «et ecce mater domini et fratres eius dicebant ei: Iohannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum eamus et baptizemur ab eo. dixit autem eis: quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi, ignorantia est.» et in eodem volumine: «si peccaverit, inquit, frater tuus in verbo et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. dixit illi Simon discipulus eius: septies in die? respondit dominus, et dixit ei: etiam, ego dico tibi, usque septuagies septies. etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati.» (CCSL 80)¹³⁷</i></p>	<p>“From The Gospel According to the Hebrews” – in “The Gospel According to the Hebrews,” which is any case in the Aramaic, that is in the Syriac language but written in Hebrew characters which the Nazarenes use until this day, “According to the Apostles” as many say, “According to Matthew” which is used in the library at Caesarea, the story narrates the following: “Behold the Lord’s mother and his brothers told him: ‘John the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized by him.’ But he asked them: ‘What have I sinned so that I should rush and be baptized by him? Unless perhaps this very thing I have said is ignorance.’” And in the same book: “If your brother has sinned with a word and has done enough by you accept him seven times a day. Simon his disciple said ‘seven times a day?’ The Lord answered and told him: ‘Also I say to you, as much as seventy times seven. For even among the prophets after they had been anointed by the Holy Spirit, there was found the language of sin.’ ”</p>

¹³⁴ Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 62.

¹³⁵ Lawrence Lahey, “Hebrew and Aramaic in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila,” *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Jehuda* (ed. W. Horbury; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 106.

¹³⁶ Edgar J. Goodspeed, “The New Gospel Fragment from Oxyrhynchus,” *BW* 31 (1908): 146; Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 236.

¹³⁷ CPL 615

Form 1

Chria occasioned by family

Form 2

Chria with occasion chopped off

According to Jerome the Gospel the Nazarenes read must have been Aramaic. The point that Jerome is making, is that the Gospel is not written in Hebrew, but in a form of Aramaic in the square script. Seeing that he had translated Aramaic portions for the Vulgate this was a language he was able to understand.

This fragment provides us with a good opportunity to compare *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* with Matthew. The relevant passages in Matthew's version as translated by Jerome have the following:

Matt 3:11	
¹¹ Ego quidem vos baptizo in aqua in paenitentiam. (Biblia sacra)	I at least baptize you in water toward repentance.

Matthew does not contain the phrase *Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum* as *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* does. This must be dependent either on Mark 1:4 or Luke 3:3 (both identical: *praedicans baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum*). Matthew has no problem to say John's baptism was for the sake of repentance (3:11). Matthew does mention that the others were baptized while confessing their sins (3:6).¹³⁸ Perhaps he did not want to overemphasize the authority of John the Baptist so that he might appear to be Jesus' equal. This tendency is present with most of the canonized evangelists.¹³⁹ This phrase might imply that John mediated between God and man in order to actively administer the forgiveness of sins. Only God and Jesus have authority to forgive sins (Matt 9:3, 6).

Matthew is willing to concede that John baptized Jesus, albeit reluctantly. Jesus answered he must be baptized by John in order to fulfill all righteousness (3:15). The Gospel of the Nazarenes denies this. Perhaps they also had a variant text of Matthew. This possibility is confirmed by *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. This chria about Jesus' refusal to be

¹³⁸ Acts 13:24; 19:4 also fails to mention the forgiveness of sins when describing John's baptism.

¹³⁹ Joan Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 2–4.

baptized by John might fit in better with Luke's version as Jesus is not baptized by John therein.¹⁴⁰ These two fragments from *Adversus Pelagianos* are the only ones Klijn assigns to *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*, which are not to be found in Jerome's Commentary on Matthew. He does this because of their alleged Matthean character and because of the Semitic style of *sermo peccati*.¹⁴¹ As we will see below the variant of Matthew 18:22 strengthens Klijn's case.

This fragment from *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* shows that not all Christians were satisfied with Matthew's motivation for Jesus' baptism. In fact some were embarrassed by it.¹⁴² John was evidently a significant person at the time and not all Christians were comfortable with assigning to him a similar authority to that of Jesus.

A comparison of the second part of the fragment with the versions from Matthew and Luke shows the following:

Matt 18:15, 21–22	
¹⁵ <i>Si autem peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade, et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum: si te audierit, lucratus es fratrem tuum...</i> ²¹ <i>Tunc accedens Petrus ad eum, dixit: Domine, quoties peccabit in me frater meus, et dimittam ei? usque septies? ²²Dicit illi Jesus: Non dico tibi usque septies: sed usque septuagies septies. (Biblia sacra)</i>	“But if your brother has sinned against you, go reprove him between you and him alone, if he has listened to you, you shall have gained your brother.” Then came Peter and said to Him: “Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me and I must forgive him? Up to seven times?” Says Jesus to him: “I do not say to you up to seven times but up to seventy times seven.”
Luke 17:3–4	
³ <i>Adjendet vobis: Si peccaverit frater tuus, increpa illum: et si paenitentiam egerit, dimitte illi. ⁴Et si septies in die peccaverit in te, et septies in die conversus fuerit ad te, dicens: Paenitet me, dimitte illi. (Biblia sacra)</i>	Pay attention! If your brother has sinned, rebuke him and if he does penance allow him. Even if he has sinned against seven times during the day and seven times during the day he has spoken to you and said, I am sorry, allow him.
According to the Nazarenes	
<i>Si peccaverit, [inquit], frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi</i>	“If your brother has sinned with a word and has done

¹⁴⁰ But cf. Acts 1:22 which seems to contradict this.

¹⁴¹ MSS 566 and 899 of Matt 18:22 (with colophon and τὸ Ἰουδαικόν. cf. Frey, “Die Scholien,” 126) adds λέγει αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰησοῦς, οὐ λέγω σοι ἔως ἐπτάκις ἀλλὰ ἔως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μετὰ τὸ χρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ εὑρίσκετο ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ἀμαρτίας. The Greek is λόγος ἀμαρτίας. The Greek ἐν αὐτοῖς is an additional Semitism. Cf. Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4020, 4024. Klijn also feels *ignorantia est* can be seen as a Semitism, but it seems like rather elegant Latin, cf. D. P. Simpson, s.v. “*ignorantia*,” Casell’s New Latin-English English Latin Dictionary, (4th ed.; London: Cassel, 1966), 285.

¹⁴² Taylor, *The Immerser*, 4.

<p><i>fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus eius: Septies in die? Respondit Dominus, et dixit ei: Etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagies septies. Etenim in prophetis quoque postquam uncti sunt spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati.¹⁴³</i></p>	<p>enough by you accept him seven times a day. Simon his disciple said ‘seven times a day?’ The Lord answered and told him: ‘Also I say to you, as much as seventy times seven. For even among the prophets after they had been anointed by the Holy Spirit, there was found the language of sin.’ ”</p>
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The second fragment preserved seems closer to Matthew (18:15, 21–22) than to Luke’s (17:3) account. According to Luke, Jesus teaches the disciples to forgive a repentant offender (no more than) seven times. All three versions imply that the problem must be sorted out verbally before forgiveness is to be given. In Luke Jesus has been teaching on other matters than conflict, as is the case in Matthew. Of his own accord Jesus says dogmatically that you must forgive people seven times a day – no more. In *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* Jesus says the same thing, but then Simon asks Jesus “are you sure Jesus...seven times a day?” To which Jesus replies seventy times seven. In Matthew Jesus spoke about how believers must sort out conflict in the assembly and Peter comes to Jesus and asks Him on his own initiative how many times he must forgive a brother that has sinned against him – “as much as seven times?” Jesus says not seven times, but seventy times seven. Matthew uses the Greek name Πέτρος, apparently a translation of the nickname *Kēpā* Jesus gave him, (Mark 3:16). In *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* he is called by his original Hebrew name, Simon.¹⁴⁴

What is the difference between the accounts? Matthew and *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* use chriae to get their point across. Luke does not use the figure of speech called climax like the other two do. Matthew emphasizes Peter’s leadership qualities by showing him as active even challenging Jesus (not disrespectfully), whereas *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* may be interested in showing Peter doubting Jesus as if he has little faith. Otherwise this may be little more than rhetorical polish. It is difficult to say for sure as we do not know the context from which this fragment came. If these two fragments really do come from *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*, then this Gospel reflects different rhetorical aims than Matthew does. We are not just talking about an addition as is the case with Jesus’ baptism by John, we see different motives than that displayed by

¹⁴³ The underlined part indicates agreement between the text of Matthew, Luke and *The Gospel according to Nazarenes*.

¹⁴⁴ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4021 has also noted that *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* prefers calling Peter by his original Hebrew name. The other place is Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.14.

Matthew. Frey has observed that if one disregards the fragments of the Zion Gospel Edition as Schmidtke has attached them to *The Gospel according the Nazarenes* it loses much of its Matthean character.¹⁴⁵ If Jerome is to be trusted, it would also mean that *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* was familiar with either Luke or Mark (if not both).

6.5.5.3 Healing of the Mason with the Withered Hand

Jerome, <i>Comm. Matt. 12–13</i>	
<p><i>in evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitae quod nuper in Graecum de Hebraeo sermone transtulimus et vocatur a plerisque Mathei authenticum, homo iste qui aridam habet manum caementarius scribitur, istiusmodi vocibus auxilium precans: «caementarius eram manibus victum quaeritans, precor te Iesu ut mihi restituas sanitatem ne turpiter mendicem cibos.»</i> (CCSL 77)¹⁴⁶</p>	<p>In the Gospel which the Nazarenes and the Ebionites use which we translated recently from the Hebrew language into Greek and which is called the authentic text of Matthew by many, it is written that the man with the withered hand is a mason, praying for help with words of this kind: “I used to be a mason earning my living with my hands, I beg of you, Jesus, to restore my health lest I must beg shamefully for my food.”</p>

Form

Chria

This text is an embroidering of a chria originally found in Mark 3:1–6 and taken over by Matthew and Luke. The author might be influenced by the version in Luke 6:6–11 where it is specified that it is the man’s right hand that is withered. There are two new facts in the version of *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*: the reader hears the occupation of the man with the withered hand, and a Calvinistic work ethic where it is seen as shameful not to work.¹⁴⁷ This economic interest seems to have been a characteristic of the Christian movement even before the time of Constantine.¹⁴⁸ Whereas the man with the withered hand acts as a foil in the Synoptic Gospels, *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* reinvents him as a character on his own: he is provided with a name, an occupation and some dignity.

¹⁴⁵ Frey, “Die Scholien,” 134–136.

¹⁴⁶ CPL 590.

¹⁴⁷ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (trans. T. Parsons; New York: Dover, 2003), 5.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Wilhelm Wischmeyer, “The Sociology of Pre-Constantine Christianity: Approach from the Visible,” in *The Origins of Christendom in the West* (ed. A. Kreider; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2001), 121–152.

6.5.5.4 The Breaking of the Lintel of the Temple

Jerome, Comm. Matt. 27.51	
<i>in evangelio cuius saepe facimus mentionem superliminare templi infinitae magnitudinis fractum esse atque divisum legimus.(CCSL 77)¹⁴⁹</i>	In the Gospel of which we have often made mention, we read that the lintel of the temple of immense magnitude is broken and split.
Jerome, Ep. 120.8	
<i>in evangelio autem, quod Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, legimus non velum templi scissum, sed superliminare templi mirae magnitudinis conruisse. (CSEL 88)¹⁵⁰</i>	But in the Gospel which is written in Hebrew letters we read that not the veil of the temple was torn, but in fact the upper threshold of wonderful scale of the temple fell to the ground.

Form

Report about visions and auditions

Vielhauer & Strecker note that this passage fits in well with what we would expect from *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* as it is a coarsening of the motive displayed in Matthew.¹⁵¹

6.5.5.5 The Good Ones Whom My Father in Heaven Has Given Me

Eusebius, Theophania Syrica 4.12	
<p>אָתָּה תְּבִרְכֵנִי בַּעֲמֹדָת וְלֹא תְּבִרְכֵנִי בַּעֲמֹדָת אֶלָּא כִּי מִתְּבָרְכָה ,מִתְּבָרְכָה בְּרוּךְ תְּבִרְכָה מִתְּבָרְכָה לְבִרְכָה וְלֹא בְּרוּךְ תְּבִרְכָה לְבִרְכָה מִתְּבָרְכָה לְבִרְכָה וְלֹא בְּרוּךְ תְּבִרְכָה לְבִרְכָה 152(Lee)</p>	The cause therefore of the divisions of souls that happen in the houses, He Himself taught, just as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said: I will select to myself those ones (souls). Those excellent, excellent ones (masc.) that my Father who is in heaven has given to me. ¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ CPL 590.

¹⁵⁰ CPL 620.

¹⁵¹ Vielhauer & Strecker, "Jewish Christian Gospels," 146.

¹⁵² CCCPG 3488

¹⁵³ This has been generously translated for this dissertation from the Syriac by a colleague, Louis K. B. Breytenbach and confirmed with Prof. J. F. J. (Hans) van Rensburg. The punctuation of the last sentence of Samuel Lee, *Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, On the Theophania or Divine Manifestation of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ: Syriac Version* (Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts; London: Madden, 1842) has been slightly modified to suit the grammar.

Eusebius quotes this fragment in the context of discussing Matthew 10:34–36/ Luke 12:51–53.¹⁵⁴ Eusebius discusses people abandoning their families for the sake of Jesus. Similar ideas are found in Luke 6:13, Acts 1:2 and John 6:70. Klijn notes the typically Johannine language of this fragment (John 17:2; 6; 9; 24; 18:9). Indeed if this came from a Jewish-Christian Gospel, it would be the only text with a parallel to John’s Gospel and with such a high Christology.

6.5.5.6 *The Rich Young Men*

Origen, <i>Comm. Matt. 15.14</i>	
<p><i>Scriptum est in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebreos (si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud, non ad auctoriatem sed ad manifestationem propositae quaestioneeris): «dixit inquit ad eum alter divitum: magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? dixit ei: homo, legem et prophetas fac. respondit ad eum: feci. dixit ei: vade, vende omnia quae possides et divide pauperibus, et veni, sequere me. coepit autem dives scalpere caput suum et non placuit ei. et dicit ad eum dominus: quomodo dicis: feci legem et prophetas? quoniam scriptum est in lege: diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahae amici sunt stercore, morientes praefame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon, fili Iona, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus quam divitem in regnum coelorum.» (GCS 38)¹⁵⁵</i></p>	<p>It is written by the way in the Gospel which is called according to the Hebrews (if it yet pleases someone to accept it not as authoritative but as making clear a proposed question): he said to him the other rich man: “Teacher, by doing what good thing shall I live?” He told him “Man, keep the law and the prophets.” He answered him: I have kept it.” He told him “hurry, sell everything you own and split it among the poor and come follow me.” But the rich man began to scratch his head and not did it please him. And the Lord told him: “In which way do you say ‘I have kept the law and the prophets’? As of course it is written in the law: ‘care for your neighbour as for yourself’ and behold many of your brothers, beloved sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth dying of hunger and your house is full of many good things yet never does some of that go out to them.” And he turned back and said to Simon, his disciple sitting by him: “Simon, son of Jonah, it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man in the kingdom of heaven.”</p>

Form

Instructional Dialogue¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Albertus F. J. Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (VC 17; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 63–64.

¹⁵⁵ CCCPG 1450

¹⁵⁶ Whereas the Synoptic versions of this story are still chriae, *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* has expanded on it, so that it becomes a dialogue with more than two questions.

This is the only fragment Origen is thought to have preserved of *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*.¹⁵⁷ The word *alter* seems to refer to a character that has already been introduced. Either there was a description of the rich men that has been lost, or there might have been a question and answer prior to this. All his other fragments of the Jewish-Christian Gospels are usually assigned to *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*. This teaching of Jesus appears to depend on Mark 10:17–18 and is not just handed on in Matthew 19:16–24, but also as a doublet by Luke 10:25–28, 29–37 and 18:18–25. In contrast to the other passages this fragment from *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is most concerned about the poor (usually thought to be a Lukan emphasis) and particularly about poor sons of Abraham. This gives the fragment a close affinity to fragments associated with *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* like Jerome, *Comm. Ezech.* 18.5–9; 4. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 5.4. This fragment is more reminiscent of Matthew's version as it has the typically Matthean *diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum* (have regard for your neighbour as for yourself).¹⁵⁸ Also typically Matthean is the phrase “kingdom of heaven” instead of “kingdom of God.” Klijn points out that this fragment has been interpolated into the text of Origen by its Latin translator.¹⁵⁹ Klijn does not doubt that it was part of *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*. As we have mentioned with regards to Jerome, the fragments of Origen's *Commentary on Matthew* refer to *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* – even though not put there by Origen. Gregory agrees that this fragment should be associated with Jewish Christianity as it shows the law is still binding.¹⁶⁰

6.5.6 Reason for Text's Identification with Trajectory

According to Luomanen's model of Jewish Christianity *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* can be analysed as follows:

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	The chria about the rich men emphasizes the continued importance of the law, specifically as it applies to the command to love your neighbor. Nevertheless it is equally emphasized in Mark and Luke's version thereof, so that this would hardly have separated the

¹⁵⁷ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4021.

¹⁵⁸ This fact is pointed out by Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4021.

¹⁵⁹ The fragment is not found in any of the Greek copies of Origen's work. Cf. Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4020.

¹⁶⁰ Gregory, “Hindrance or Help,” 402. As already mentioned due to his maximalist approach he associates this fragment with *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

	<p>community of <i>The Gospel according to the Nazarenes</i> from Christianity at large. This same pericope criticizes believers that neglect the hungry sons of Abraham. This ties up with the criticism of society found in the Prophets.</p> <p>The author's version of the parable of the talents reserves its reproach for the slave that has lived excessively eating and drinking with drunkards. This reflects a concern with ethics, but is not particularly Jewish. The text seems to have preserved something of the polemic between Jesus and John groups. This would make most sense in a Palestinian environment (but cf. Acts 19:1–8).</p>
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH's abode, or the Torah, maintained?	The coarsening of the motive of the torn veil of the temple to the broken lintel might be connected with the emphasis on the non-cultic law after the destruction of the temple, but this is far from clear. ¹⁶¹ The historical difficulty associated with this version in <i>The Gospel according to the Nazarenes</i> is not expected from a Jewish-Christian community that would have had better access to information on the temple. Klijn's interpretation of the document's penchant for midrashic expansion (chria of man with the withered hand, breaking of the temple's lintel) is hardly a trait that is typical of Jewish hermeneutics like that propounded by Hillel. As Davies says these hermeneutics were often common to all literati. In an oral environment traditions are easily expanded.
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	The fragments of <i>The Gospel according to the Nazarenes</i> appear to have been translated from Aramaic.
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	The preserved fragments are silent on this.
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Kyrios ("Lord"), an equal to God?	Although Jesus is called <i>magister</i> , this is simply an address of respect. Twice Jesus is called <i>dominus</i> by the narrator which does seem to suggest some kind of veneration for Jesus.
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	The idea that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist is objected to strongly. Luke's Gospel also has Jesus baptized while John has already been imprisoned. This does not exclude the possibility that the community did not practice initiatory baptism as it was common among Christians.
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	Unclear

¹⁶¹ Gregory, "Hindrance or Help," 401 suggests the theoretical possibility of linking it with the non-cultic observance of the law in *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*.

Other than the Fathers' connection of these fragments with Jewish-Christians there are some other indications that this hypothetical Gospel was Jewish-Christian, but the evidence is not entirely convincing. It seems difficult to make a firm conclusion on whether *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is Jewish-Christian.

6.5.7 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Kruger seems to assume that *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* hails from a specific group of Nazarenes, but as has been made clear in Chapter 3: Method, these names are simply scholarly labels for isolating the three different layers relevant to the Three Gospel Hypothesis.¹⁶² Like P.Oxy. 840, *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* seems to show familiarity with more than one of the writings of the Fourfold Gospel, Matthew and perhaps Luke. The Syrian fragment is clearly influenced by John' Gospel.

Like in P.Oxy. 840, the temple plays a significant role in this Gospel. In the first century the temple was central to the world view of the Israelites.¹⁶³ This did not go away after it was destroyed. By the time *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* and P.Oxy. 840 were written, the memory of the temple still haunted Jews. Whether the temple did play a big role in the entire document of P.Oxy. 840, or if it is no more than a setting for the dialogue between Jesus and the priests, is open to conjecture. It seems to have meant more, for a better setting for a controversy about purity and purification would be difficult to find. From a narrative-critical point of view the setting of P.Oxy. 840 within the temple might also reflect a coarsening of a motive like that found in Q 11:37 where Luke has embedded the denouncing of the Pharisees and Lawyers in a chria where Jesus dines with a Pharisee without undergoing immersion first. There is also an embroidering of details as the man with the withered hand is said to be a mason who can no longer earn an honest living.¹⁶⁴ With the narration of the rich young men this expansionist drive of *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* changes the genre of the narration from chria to dialogue. P.Oxy. 840 displays a similar tendency to over-detail. This embroidering reminds one of Klijn's description of

¹⁶² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 235–236 reifies *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* "Thus, we are not always certain whether the citations we have isolated really do belong to the Nazarene community." The first author to use this unfortunate title was the source critic, Hans Waitz, "die judenchristliche Evangelien in der altkirchlichen Literatur;" "das Matthäusevangelium der Nazaräer (oder das Nazaräerevangelium;," in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (ed. E. Hennecke; Tübingen, 1924), 10–17, 17–32; "Neue Untersuchungen über die sogenannte judenchristliche Evangelien," ZNW 36 (1937): 60–81. Waitz defines *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* as originally a Greek *Urmatthäus*, becoming normative only upon its translation into Aramaic, that was used by Syrian Nazarenes. Waitz simply applies this hypothetical layer he isolated to what he understands of the Nazarenes.

¹⁶³ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 29.

¹⁶⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 236.

“midrashic expansion.”¹⁶⁵ The embroidering in P.Oxy. 840 is, however, more of a literary embroidery as opposed to *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*’ embroidery of details. P.Oxy. 840 adds dramatic metaphors and redundant figures like henyades.

Something else the two Gospels share is its condescending tone towards prostitutes and pipe girls, something that you would not find in the Fourfold Gospel. At the same time *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is sympathetic to the plight of the poor sons of Abraham. Perhaps P.Oxy. 840 would have had a similarly complex attitude.

As opposed to John *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* seems to have used the medium of the chria to make its point like P.Oxy. 840. Papyrus Egerton also reflects this quality although it often incorporates ideas that are found in John, though typically in a more dialectical form in John.

In reflecting on these fragmentary Gospels one becomes aware of scholars’ need to connect isolated texts to other texts we are familiar with to minimize the diversity of Jesus-traditions. Although this is an important undertaking it will not always be possible.

6.5.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Jesus’ unwillingness to be baptized is only superficially similar to P.Oxy. 840. In *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* another motivation is given for not undergoing immersion, namely that He needs not repent of any sin. The reason provided by P.Oxy. 840’s is that He and his disciples have already been baptized in the living water coming from heaven. There we also see a polemic against the idea of the purifying power of water. The difference is that *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is attacking John’s baptism *not* Jewish immersion as seems to be the case in P.Oxy. 840. Although John’s baptism is genealogically related to immersion rites it seems to have developed into its own as an initiatory rite. Unfortunately we do not know the context in which Jesus said this. Was there also a polemical statement against the purifying power of water? The parallel in the language regarding prostitutes and pipe girls is striking, but it is not substantial enough to prove a theological connection. Kruger’s argument for connecting P.Oxy. 840 with *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is more because of his thesis of P.Oxy. 840 being a Jewish-Christian document, than because of a comparative analysis between the texts. He feels that the theology of P.Oxy. 840 as an Orthodox document with precise knowledge of the temple and Jewish practices of the day

¹⁶⁵ One would go too far in positing a typically Jewish exegetical strategy here. Expansion of literature was common in many cultures of the time.

corresponds to what scholars believe of the Nazarenes: an orthodox brand of Jewish Christianity.

6.6 The Gospel according to Ebionites

6.6.1 Dating

There have been scholars that have suggested in sensationalist fashion that *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* was actually primary to the Synoptic Gospels,¹⁶⁶ but the fact that this Gospel clearly harmonizes all of the Synoptic Gospels presupposes the existence of all of them.¹⁶⁷ As regards the dating of the Gospel there is not much to go by. Scholars are in agreement that there is a *terminus a quo* after the Synoptic Gospels about 90 C.E. and a *terminus post quem* at the time of Epiphanius' publication of the *Panarion* around 377 C.E.¹⁶⁸ More than that is a matter of inference, whether Irenaeus [*Haer. 1.26.2*] (or for that matter anyone before Epiphanius) knew about it, is difficult to say.¹⁶⁹ Irenaeus (*Haer. 1.26.2*) says the following concerning the Ebionites:

Irenaeus <i>Haer. 1.26.2</i>	
<i>Solo autem eo quod est secundum Mattheum Evangelio utuntur [Ebionaei], et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes [SC 264].</i> ¹⁷⁰	But only that which is according to Matthew do they [the Ebionites] use as a Gospel and the apostle, Paul, they reject calling him an apostate from the law.

That Irenaeus is referring to *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* (which Epiphanius quotes) seems to be a reasonable inference.¹⁷¹ For as we shall see below the Gospel may be a harmony of Mark, Matthew and Luke, but it still retains an account of Jesus addressing

¹⁶⁶ James R. Edwards, "The Gospel of the Ebionites and the Gospel of Luke," *NTS* 48 (2002): 568–586.

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Gregory, "Prior or Posterior?: The Gospel of the Ebionites and the Gospel of Luke," *NTS* 51/3 (Jul 2005): 351–353 refutes Edwards' reasoning.

¹⁶⁸ On the difficulty of dating the Gospel according to the Ebionites, cf. Howard, "The Gospel of the Ebionites," *ANRW* 25.5:4035–4036; Andrew Gregory, "The Non-Canonical Gospels and the Historical Jesus," *EQ* 81/1 (2009): 14. The dating of the *Panarion* used in this dissertation is dependent on Christoph Marksches, "Epiphanius," *DNP*.

¹⁶⁹ This would have been another matter if there were only one Jewish-Christian Gospel. Then we could have dated it according to the first mention of "The Gospel according to the Hebrews."

¹⁷⁰ CCCPG 1306

¹⁷¹ Klijn, *Jewish Christian Gospel Tradition*, 29. Not all scholars agree, cf. Gregory, "The Non-Canonical Gospels and the Historical Jesus," 14. Gregory says we know too little of the Gospel to make safe conclusions about whether it used John or not, or whether it can be dated prior to Irenaeus. The important argument is Irenaeus' testimony combined with the fact that Matthew is the Narrator. That it fits in with the time of the *Diatessaron* is of secondary importance. Another problem is how familiar Irenaeus was with the Gospel. Perhaps he is just reporting on hearsay without having read it in the first place. Gregory is correct that we have too little evidence to come to certain conclusions.

Matthew in the second person. So even if the author uses the other two Gospels, the Gospel is narrated from Matthew's perspective.¹⁷² Added to this is the fact that Epiphanius (*Pan.* 30.3.7) says the following of the Ebionites:

Epiphanius, <i>Pan.</i> 30.3.7	
<p>καὶ δέχονται [Ἐβιωναῖοι] μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, ὡς καὶ οἱ κατὰ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον χρῶνται μόνῳ. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ Ἐβραίους, ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἐβραϊστὶ καὶ Ἐβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔκθεσίν τε καὶ κήρυγμα.¹⁷³ (GCS 25)¹⁷⁴</p>	<p>And they [Ebionites] receive the Gospel according to Matthew. For they only use this one [Gospel] like the ones around Cerinthus and Merinthus, but they call it [the Gospel] "according to the Hebrews," which is to tell the truth because only Matthew composed the exposition and proclamation of the Gospel in Hebrew and in Hebrew letters in the New Testament.</p>

One can see that Epiphanius depends on Irenaeus in much that he says. What is more is that it was especially before the time of Irenaeus that gospel harmonies were popular. Here one might think of Justin's *Memoirs* and Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Even before the time of Justin there was already gospel harmonization in the form of the Old Syriac Gospels.¹⁷⁵ With Irenaeus living at a time before Source Criticism one would not be surprised if he overlooked the fact that this Gospel used by the Ebionites had also incorporated elements from Mark and Luke. Based on this inference it seems reasonable to posit a *terminus post quem* for *The Gospel of the Ebionites* at the time of Irenaeus. Now we may turn our attention to the analysis of this apocryphal Gospel.

6.6.2 Genre

Gospel harmony

6.6.3 Christological titles

Title	Amount	Percentage
Savior (σωτήρ)	0	0
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	2	50

¹⁷² Pointed out by Petersen, "Ebionites, Gospel of the."

¹⁷³ A similar thought appears in *Pan.* 30.13.1–2, where the Ebionites also call the Gospel they use "the Hebrew" (τὸ Ἐβραϊκόν) though that name should rather be associated with *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* as already mentioned.

¹⁷⁴ CCCPG 3745

¹⁷⁵ George Howard, "Harmonistic Readings in the Old Syriac Gospels," *HTR* 73 (1980): 473–491.

Lord (κύριος)	2	50
Total	4	100

6.6.4 Sources

Mark, Matthew and Luke. Because this Gospel addresses Matthew as “you” we would be unwise not to associate *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* with Matthew. Nevertheless, this apocryphal Gospel is an obvious harmonization of the three Synoptic Gospels.¹⁷⁶ Howard thinks that the phrase ἐγένετό τις ἀνὴρ ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦς points to a dependency on John 1:6 which says the following of John the Baptist: ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ, ὃνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης.¹⁷⁷ It is the only example he suggests for showing *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*’ dependency on John. As an example it is hardly convincing. Especially if one compares it to the clear parallels with the other synoptic Gospels. The only correspondence is ἐγένετο. The vocabulary is different. Instead of ἄνθρωπος we have ὄντηρ. The only other instance where the vocabulary corresponds we find a different grammatical construction: John uses ὃνομα with the Dative leaving the name in the Nominative which corresponds to classical Greek grammar,¹⁷⁸ whereas *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* has a Dative of Respect, also possible in classical Greek grammar.¹⁷⁹ The ὃνομα of John corresponds to what Wallace calls the Parenthetic Nominative which implies anacoluthon.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4035.

¹⁷⁷ “There was a certain man sent from God with the name of John.” Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4039.

¹⁷⁸ Eduard Bornemann & Ernst Risch, *Griechische Grammatik* (Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1978), §187 2A4.

¹⁷⁹ Bornemann & Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, §191.3.

¹⁸⁰ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 53–54.

6.6.5 Theology

6.6.5.1 Introduction

Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13.6	
ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίου ἔχει ὅτι «Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρόδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας <ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα,> ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἱορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ααρὼν τοῦ ιερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ, καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες.» ¹⁸¹ (GCS 25)	The beginning of their Gospel has the following: “It came to pass in the days of Herod, King of Judea, [during Caeaphas’ term as high priest] that John came baptizing a baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who it is said was out of the priest Aaron’s lineage, that is a child of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and everybody went out to him.”

Form

Laudatory biography

The Ebionites did not believe in the virgin birth of Jesus.¹⁸² Accordingly their Gospel begins with John the Baptist baptizing people so that no mention is made of Jesus’ birth.¹⁸³ The phrase ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων seems to be dependent on Mark’s version (1:4) ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης [ό] βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν.¹⁸⁴ With the Nestle-Aland editions the reader can evaluate the bracketed words independently, but the editors prefer the text with the bracketed words.¹⁸⁵ Without the article

¹⁸¹ Luke 1:5 has ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρόδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ιερεύς τις ὄνοματι Ζαχαρίας ἐξ ἐφημερίας Αβιά, καὶ γυνὴ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Ααρὼν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Ἐλισάβετ [NA²⁸]. Luke uses the same vocabulary as Mark with the ἐγένετο and Matthew with the ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, yet in a different narrative (the birth of John). *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* corresponds with Luke in terms of context here, but the text is quite different.

¹⁸² Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.1.

¹⁸³ George Howard, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” *ANRW* 25.5:4037.

¹⁸⁴ NA²⁷.

¹⁸⁵ NA²⁷, 7*. The editorial committee classified this reading as [C] admitting it “had difficulty in deciding which variant to place in the text,” cf. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary of the Greek New Testament*, xvi. Metzger comments that if one looks at the variants it is easier to account for the article than its deletion. Some manuscripts (A W ¹³ M sy^h sa?; the manuscripts D Θ 28.700 l 2211 lat sy^p also has the reading just with a different word order) testify that there is no article. Other witnesses (B 33 [892] 2427 pc bo^{mss} [without the καὶ] and Ξ L Δ pc bo)¹⁸⁵ add the article in which case the text would mean “there was a certain John the Baptizer.” Certainly, the variety of textual clusters favours the reading without the article. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* bears testimony to either of the first two variants and does not have the article. In charting the witnesses across Epp’s textual clusters it becomes obvious that it is a case of the B-cluster against the others.

Cluster	Without article	With Article
A	A M sy ^h	
B		Ξ L Δ 33. (892). bo ^{mss}
C	W ¹³	

the text has to be translated “John began baptizing...” This would be a periphrastic use of γίγνομαι which is not that common, but found especially in Mark.¹⁸⁶

Like Matthew and *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* has omitted the εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν found in Mark and Luke. One would have expected a harmony to include this idea, so that it seems obvious that the community did not agree that John’s baptism could forgive sins. Epiphanius’ point in quoting these first lines of this Gospel is to show that it has omitted the virgin birth which was in fact explicitly denied by the Ebionites.

6.6.5.2 *The Diet of the Baptist*

Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13.4f	
<p>καὶ «έγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν¹⁸⁷ καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα.¹⁸⁸ καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ βρῶμα¹⁸⁹ αὐτοῦ, φησι, μέλι ἄγριον, οὗ ἡ γεῦσις ἡ τοῦ μάννα, ὡς ἐγκρίς ἐν ἐλαίῳ» ἵνα δῆθεν μεταστρέψωσι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς ψεῦδος καὶ ἀντὶ ἀκρίδων ποιήσωσιν ἐγκρίδα ἐν μέλιτι. (GCS 25)</p>	<p>And “John began baptizing and Pharisees went out to him and were baptized and all of Jerusalem. And John had clothes of camel hair and a leather belt around his waist. And the food of him” it says “was wild honey and that of which the taste is like that of manna, as in a pancake in olive oil,” so that for this reason they turn the account of the truth into a lie and instead of locusts they make it a pancake in honey.</p>

Form

Laudatory biography

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¹⁸⁶ Friedrich Blass & Albert Debrunner, *Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. R. W. Funk; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), §354 note how the verb γίγνομαι can be used in periphrastic constructions to indicate the beginning of a state or a condition. Quite a few examples of its use in the New Testament are provided, including Mark 9:3, 7. Periphrastic constructions are typical of Markan style, and twice he uses the periphrastic construction with γίγνομαι. For a summary of Mark’s style cf. Gert J. C. (Jorrie) Jordaan, *Die Binnewerk van Antieke Grieks: Die Semantiek van Grammatiese Konstruksies* (Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom Teologiese Publikasies, 2014), §787.

¹⁸⁷ Luke 3:7 actually says ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ([NA²⁸] He was saying then to crowds coming out to be baptized by him) but our current fragment uses the Aorist (punctiliar action) with Luke as opposed to the Imperfect (action incomplete at the time of narration) used by Matthew and Mark.

¹⁸⁸ Epiphanius’ text is not consistent here, in 30.13.6 he says καὶ ἐξῆρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες (GCS 25) and in 30.13.4 καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα (GCS 25). Perhaps Epiphanius was quoting from memory in the first instance.

¹⁸⁹ Matt 1:4 has ἡ δὲ τροφὴ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες καὶ μέλι ἄγριον ([NA²⁸] But his food was grasshoppers and wild honey). And is closer than Mark 1:6 καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον (And he was eating grasshoppers and wild honey).

Here we see a confirmation of the Markan text and a repetition of Mark's characteristic use of the periphrastic construction. Some scholars feel that *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* is a harmony of Matthew and Luke, but this fragment clearly shows that Mark is also incorporated.¹⁹⁰ The Gospel makes use of the stylistic chiastic inversion where μέλι ἄγριον and ἀκρίδες is inverted and ἀκρίδες is swapped with the aurally and visually similar ἐγκρίς.¹⁹¹ This tradition appears to have been changed to validate the vegetarian practices of the Ebionites. Though this chiastic custom clearly annoyed Epiphanius, it actually is quite common in Hebrew literature where it is called *al-tiqre*. Here one can mention *Al-tiqre* readings found in rabbinic literature and the preservation of the *ketib-qere* system among the Masoretes.¹⁹² Something similar occurs with the *al-tiqre* adopted in Targum Neofiti of Numbers 8:11. Manna is described with reference to Exodus 16:31.¹⁹³

Tg. Neof. Exod 16:31	
(Díez Macho) וְתַעֲמֵה כְשִׁישִׁין בְדָבֵשׁ: [וְתַעֲמֵה כְצִפִּיתָה בְדָבֵשׁ] BHS	The taste of it was like pancakes in honey (MT: Its taste was like wafers in honey).
Tg. Neof. Num 11:8	
(Díez Macho) וְהַוֹּה טֻמִּיה כְטֻעָם שְׂשִׁיְנִין בְדָבֵשׁ: [וְהַנֶּה טֻמֵּה כְטֻעָם לְשָׁעֵד הַשְׁמָן] BHS	The taste of it was like the taste of pancakes with honey (MT: Its taste was like the taste of a cake baked in oil).

In contrast to Matthew 3:7 the Pharisees are not refused baptism by John or labelled as “brood of vipers.”¹⁹⁴ One could argue that *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* represents a more sympathetic portrayal of Pharisees.

¹⁹⁰ Gregory, “Hindrance or Help,” 363.

¹⁹¹ Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4044.

¹⁹² Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4046 also mentions various other examples of the technique among the Gospel writers, e.g. πτῦμα and σῶμα in Matt 24:28 and Luke 14:37.

¹⁹³ Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Muller & H. Sysling; Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 227, 217–253.

¹⁹⁴ In Luke 3:7 John labels the multitudes as “brood of vipers.”

Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13.7f <p>καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι «τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος¹⁹⁵ ἤλθεν καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου. καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἥνοιγησαν¹⁹⁶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ εἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς, κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα· σύ μου εἶ ὁ νιὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ηὐδόκησα, καὶ πάλιν· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.¹⁹⁷ καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα.¹⁹⁸ ὃ ἰδών, φησίν, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ τίς εἶ, κύριε; καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ νιὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ηὐδόκησα.⁸ καὶ τότε, φησίν, ὁ Ἰωάννης προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· δέομαί σου, κύριε, σύ με βάπτισον. ὃ δὲ ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα.»¹⁹⁹ (GCS 25)</p>	<p>And after much is said, it adds: “when the people were baptized Jesus also went and was baptized by John. And as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened and he [John] saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove coming down and going into him. And a voice from heaven saying: ‘You are my beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased,’ and then ‘today I have become your father.’ And suddenly a great light shone around the place. As he saw this,” they say “John says to him ‘who are you Lord?’ And again a voice from heaven to him says ‘This is my beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased.’ ” And then they say “John fell down before him and said: ‘I ask you, Lord. Baptize me!’ But Jesus stopped him saying: ‘Let it be. For so it is fit for everything to be fulfilled.’ ”</p>
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¹⁹⁵ It is quite interesting that *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* uses a Genitive Absolute with the people like Luke 3:21, but Luke used it with Jesus ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι ἄπαντα τὸν λαὸν καὶ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος καὶ προσευχομένου ἀνεῳχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανὸν [NA²⁸].

¹⁹⁶ Matt 3:16 actually uses the more classical ἡνεῳχθῆσαν as opposed to *The Gospel according to the Ebionites'* Aorist II form which did not come into use before the time of Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.1.3; 1.6.21; Aesop, *Fab.* 234.4; Dinarchus, *Or.* 82.1).

¹⁹⁷ According to NA²⁷ the witnesses D it; Ju (Cl) Meth Hil Aug testify that the words ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε are to be added to Luke 3:22. For a list of primary and secondary witnesses for the D-cluster, cf. Epp, *Textual Clusters*, 563. Epp, *Textual Clusters*, 560–562 refutes some of the objections of David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 290–297 against the D-cluster's validity based on the CBGM, 106 test passages in Acts. Epp makes his point that one should also take into account the limits of the methodology of the CBGM when analysing the text of Acts. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* could be one of our earliest witnesses for this reading as noted by William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance and History in Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 15. The manuscripts with this reading can be charted across Epp's clusters as follows:

Cluster	Including the words ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε
A	
B	
C	
D	D it Ju (Cl)

Clearly this reading is particular to the D-cluster.

¹⁹⁸ This passage is reflected only by the Latin witnesses, a (g¹), also examples of the text of the D-cluster: (according to a) *et cum baptizaretur lumen ingens circumfulsit de aqua, ita ut timerent omnes qui advenerant* (and as he was baptized a mighty light shone around over the water). And (according to g¹) *et cum baptizaretur Iesus lumen magnum fulgebat de aqua, ita ut timerent omnes qui congregati errant* (and as Jesus was baptized a great light shone over the water, so that all those that had gathered were terrified). Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 9 does refer to this, but only cites Epiphanius without acknowledging the Gospel according to the Ebionites.

¹⁹⁹ The sense of Matthew is very close if not always the words: ¹⁴ὅ δὲ Ἰωάννης διεκώλυεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ἐγὼ χρείαν ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρός με;¹⁵ ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἄφες ἄφτι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν ([NA²⁸]) But John hindered him

Form

Scribal Identification with “This is...”; Acclamation “You are...”; Reports about Visions and Auditions; Interpretation of Something Enigmatic

This corresponds to Mark 1:9, Matthew 3:13 and Luke 3:21. In contrast to Luke 3:20–21, John baptizes Jesus in agreement with Mark and Matthew. According to Luke John is imprisoned before Jesus’ baptism, whereas Mark and Matthew spell out that John is imprisoned after his baptism and temptation in the desert (but before the commencement of his ministry in Galilee). John is not portrayed as denying being the messiah (Luke 3:15) or saying that he is unworthy to untie the thong of the sandal of the one coming after him (Mark 1:7; Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16). John’s preaching is also absent (Mark 1:8; Matt 3:8–12; Luke 3:8–18). Whether Epiphanius is leaving something out between these two quotes is quite possible, so that one should not read too much into it. In contrast to Matthew and Luke, John the Baptist does not know Jesus before his baptism, perhaps in agreement with Mark, though there is no communication between John and Jesus reported by Mark, so that one cannot be sure.²⁰⁰ Whereas Matthew 3:14–15 presents John as trying to decline Jesus’ baptism request beforehand saying Jesus should be baptizing him, *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* presents John as requesting Jesus to baptize him after hearing the voice from heaven. In agreement with Matthew 3:15 Jesus argues based on the idea of fulfilment, but not of the specific *righteousness*, but the general *everything*. Actually *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* seems to present the *lectio brevior*, in that Matthew appears to modify πᾶς with δικαιοσύνη. John does not know Jesus before baptism. Because of their perception of the text as lacking flow, Basser & Cohen suggest that Matthew (3:11, 13, 16 with 14–15 being Matthean redaction) may have used a source that did not reflect prior acquaintance with Jesus.²⁰¹ Alison has suggested the words are from Q, the baptism from Mark and the rest Matthean redaction. Basser & Cohen suggest Matthew may have added these ideas so as to

and said: “I need be baptized by you and you come to me?” But Jesus answered and told him, “leave me already, for so it is fitting that all righteousness be fulfilled”). The big difference is that these two verses come in Matthew’s narration before Jesus’ baptism. In *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*, again, John asks Jesus who He is afterwards (it is probably the first time John meets Jesus). God speaks a second time – this time addressing the crowd (or John) as in Matthew. John offers *proskynesis* to Jesus. Jesus stops John from doing this. According to this Gospel Jesus says it is fitting for all things to be fulfilled.

²⁰⁰ That would be an argument ex silentio. As already mentioned Luke does not portray Jesus being baptized by John, but because they were family in Luke’s presentation they must have known each other (Luke 1:36). There is no communication between Jesus and John the Baptist at all in Mark. Luke reports that John communicates with Jesus via messengers while he is imprisoned (Luke 7:19; Matt 9:14).

²⁰¹ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions*, 93.

conceal the embarrassment caused by the baptism of Jesus being associated with repentance of sin. Certainly Matthew does not include the purpose of John's baptism as a baptism towards the forgiveness of sins, perhaps in order not to damage Jesus' reputation. According to Basser & Cohens' proposal Matthew's source would be closer to *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. Nevertheless, the part about the fulfilment of all things (cf. Matthew 3:15) comes after the baptism in *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. This might suggest that Matthew's redaction has transposed the text. In Matthew there is the scribal identification of "this is," in Mark and in Luke it is an acclamation of "you are." In Matthew it is from the Baptist's perspective that we witness the events and it seems to be the Baptist that is addressed by God. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* has the same He-She perspective (the Baptist's) as Matthew, except the versions are more conflated, so that one also sees the acclamation "you are" addressed to Jesus. Here the author's harmonization leads to redundancy in the narrative. Once again we see how all the synoptic accounts are harmonized. Back to back we have two of the most radical variants of the New Testament in the Gospel according to the Ebionites. It is quite interesting that one of our oldest Christian sources, the Apologist, Justin Martyr, also bears testimony to these variants.²⁰²

Because they rejected the virgin birth the Ebionites have also excluded a nativity narrative from their Gospel (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.6). They are continuously criticized by Church Fathers because of the rejection of this doctrine of the virgin birth (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.1; Origen, *Cels.* 5.61 and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.2).

6.6.5.3 The calling of Matthew and the other disciples

Epiphanius, <i>Pan.</i> 30.13.2f	
ἐν τῷ γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζόμενῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ (Ἐβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν) ἐμφέρεται ὅτι ² «ἔγένετό τις ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὃς ἔξελέξατο ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Πέτρου ²⁰³ καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· ἵπερεχόμενος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην	In the Gospel being named, at least among themselves, according to Matthew, not entirely the most complete Gospel, but corrupted and amputated (the Hebrew Gospel people call this one) it is pronounced: "There was a certain man by the name of Jesus and He was about 30 years old who chose us. And when he came to Capernaum he went into the house of Simon, called Peter, and He opened his

²⁰² Justin, *Dial.* 88.3, 8.

²⁰³ All three Synoptics include the nickname of Peter but in different words.



Τιβεριάδος ἔξελεξάμην 'Ιωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον, υιοὺς Ζεβεδαίου,²⁰⁴ καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Θαδδαῖον καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην, καὶ σὲ τὸν Μαθθαῖον καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσα καὶ ἤκολούθησάς μοι. ύμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύο²⁰⁵ ἀποστόλους εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.» (GCS 25)

mouth and said: ‘When I came to the Sea of Tiberias I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee and Simon and Andrew, and Thaddeus and Simon the Zealot and Jude Iscariot; and you Matthew I called as you sat at the tax table and you followed me. You I want to be 12 disciples then toward a testimony to Israel.’ ”

Form

Narrative Commissioning and Laudatory Biography²⁰⁶

Jesus' election of the twelve disciples is reported in Mark 3:13f; Matthew 10:1–5; Luke 6:12–17 (cf. John 1:35–51; 21:2).²⁰⁷ *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* has translated the Aramaic transliteration Καναναῖος (迦拿尼) used by Mark and Matthew with ζηλωτής, as Luke has done. In contrast to Luke naming a second Judas son of James, Matthew and Mark's Thaddeus is included. What is interesting here is the fact that the sons of Zebedee are mentioned before Peter and Andrew. All the synoptic Gospels mention Peter as the first disciple and then his brother, Andrew – at least Matthew and Luke. Mark mentions Peter first and then the two sons of Zebedee (James first) and then Andrew. Interestingly *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* also inverts the names of John and James, so we have a double case of stylistic chiastic inversion as Howard calls it.²⁰⁸ Does this point to the primacy of James over Peter? This can only be true in so far as Peter would not be mentioned as the first disciple. There is a difference between James the Son of Zebedee, and Jesus' brother James, first bishop of Jerusalem. Perhaps this would also explain the second inversion of James and John. Howard thinks this chiastic inversion highlights the Jewish-Christian viewpoint of the author.²⁰⁹ The final sentence is particularly ethnocentric: they are to be apostles to Israel more than anything else. In the Fourfold Gospel this is only included in Matthew's version (10:5) which is even more explicit prohibiting a Gentile and a Samaritan mission. Yet, later in Matthew Jesus nullifies this prohibition with the great commission sending the disciples to all nations (Matt 28:12). We do not know whether *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* would

²⁰⁴ Here we have an inversion of the names of the sons of Zebedee, John and James.

²⁰⁵ All the Synoptics speak of twelve disciples, but use the Classical form δόδεκα, only *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* uses the late form δεκαδύο.

²⁰⁶ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 315.

²⁰⁷ John does mention 12 disciples, but does not mention all of their names.

²⁰⁸ Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4044.

²⁰⁹ Howard, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” ANRW 25.5:4039 based on Daniélou.

have included that part, but the testimonies of the Church Fathers make mention of this rejection of the mission to the Gentiles.²¹⁰ We also see that Jesus addresses Matthew directly which shows that Matthew is the narrator of *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*. In this list he and John have the most prominent places first and last. Only eight disciples are mentioned.

6.6.5.4 Unless You Stop Sacrificing

Epiphanius, Pan. 30.16.5	
ώς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εναγγέλιον καλούμενον περιέχει, «ὅτι ἥλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πανησθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὄργη». καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτά τινά ἔστι τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς δόλια ἐπινοήματα. (GCS 25)	It goes around in the Gospel as it is called among themselves, that He came to make the sacrifices void, and unless you stop sacrificing the wrath will not desist from you. This and similar things are the deceitful thoughts amongst them.

Form

First person speech of being come and having been sent²¹¹

This passage corresponds closest to Matthew 5:17 (M^S) where Jesus emphatically says He has not come to abolish the law or the prophets but to fulfil it.²¹² In Matthew Jesus' statement seems to soften the antitheses typical of Matthew. It seems that *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* has taken this statement of having come and having been sent and changed it to Jesus defiantly abolishing the sacrifices commanded by the law. Howard thinks that this may be another example of inverse construction in this Gospel as it actually reflects the opposite meaning of what Jesus has said.²¹³ Theissen reflects on how this passage would have been understood in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple. Jesus' words would have been seen as a precise prediction of that devastating event.²¹⁴ Does it reflect an anti-temple cult attitude of the Ebionites like Rudolph, amongst others, has suggested? This has to be qualified by the report of the reverence they kept showing toward Jerusalem.²¹⁵ It is certainly

²¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.2 notes their anti-Paulinism which is probably related to this. Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 73 agrees that both Irenaeus' and Epiphanius' Ebionites held fast to a mission to Israel alone.

²¹¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 262. In Matthew 5:17 it forms part of the Sermon on the Mount.

²¹² Matt 5:17 has been discussed earlier in this chapter under Matthew.

²¹³ Howard, "The Gospel of the Ebionites," ANRW 25.5:4048.

²¹⁴ Gerd Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches: Creating a Symbolic World* (trans. J. Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 138.

²¹⁵ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.2; 3.21.1.

true that the Essenes of Qumran held a similar complex attitude toward Jerusalem and the temple. An anti-temple-cult attitude is also reflected in the rest of Epiphanius' reports on the Ebionites.²¹⁶ Even Luomanen has difficulty explaining the Ebionites' rejection of the temple cult as it is based on the law. This would be more understandable if the Ebionites descended from Samaritans as Luomanen proposes for Epiphanius' Ebionites.²¹⁷ Otherwise it could also be seen as way of coming to terms with the destruction of the temple *ex eventu*, so that even Jesus would have predicted the temple cult's demise. Here the diversity within first-century Judaism (and after) should caution us to make too firm conclusions on what one can typically expect from "typical" Jewish believers. Yet, the contrast to Matthew is clear: whereas Matthew reaffirms the entire law, this Gospel abolishes part of it with the very same language.

6.6.5.5 Preparation of the Passover

Epiphanius, <i>Pan.</i> 30.22.4	
<p>αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες ἀφ' ἔσωτῶν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκολουθίαν ἡλλαξαν τὸ ρήτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πᾶσι φωνερὸν ἐκ τῶν συνεζευγμένων λέξεων, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μαθητὰς μὲν λέγοντας «ποῦ θέλεις ἑτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν,» καὶ αὐτὸν δῆθεν λέγοντα «μὴ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα κρέας τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν.» (GCS 25)</p>	<p>But they, in order to remove the sequence of the truth from themselves, have changed the passage which is clear to all from the words joined together, and they have made the disciples say "we have prepared the Passover for you to eat as you like it" and him "not with desire have I desired to eat meat with you this Passover."</p>

Form

Introduction to Revelatory discourse: symposium

This passage is a harmony of Matthew 26:17 and Luke 22:15. Mark 14:12 is certainly similar but need not have served as a source for the Gospel of the Ebionites in this case. Significantly this Gospel has by way of the converse construction added κρέας to Luke's τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα to validate their doctrine.²¹⁸ This has been done rather elegantly as the direct object accusative simply shifts into an accusative expressing the duration of time (strictly speaking "for the duration of the Passover"). Even the Semitism of the Infinitive Absolute is taken over

²¹⁶ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.16.5; 30.16.7; Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 32–33.

²¹⁷ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 36, 44.

²¹⁸ Howard, "The Gospel of the Ebionites," ANRW 25.5:4047–4048.

from Luke, it is only negated. This is done so that the Ebionites can justify their vegetarianism.

The Community behind *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* did not believe in the virgin birth of Jesus. It felt free to change traditions of what the Lord had said or done or was reported in its sources. This makes it possible for the author to validate the vegetarian practice of the community. The gospel seems to present the Pharisees in a more positive light than is the case in Matthew. With the baptism of Jesus the emphasis is on the Father adopting Jesus as his Son. For this reason John the Baptist's request to be baptized by Jesus comes after the baptism itself, placing the emphasis on the magnitude of the occasion. On more than one occasion God is represented as Jesus' Father. The narrative of the election of the disciples is told so as to emphasize the importance of John and Matthew. It is concluded by Jesus' admonition that the disciples should serve as a witness to the house of Israel alone, so that the Ebionite community is ethnocentric rejecting the mission to the Gentiles. The sacrificial cult is rejected. The purity map of people is transgressed, in that Jesus elects the publican, Matthew, as his disciple, but election of the publican as a disciple is taken for granted in most Christian traditions.

6.6.6 Reason for Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	The community is vegetarian, a trait not shared by other Jewish groups, ²¹⁹ but this is something that may act as a hedge around the law. <i>The Gospel according to the Ebionites</i> applies Jewish hermeneutic techniques like <i>al-tiqre</i> .
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH's abode, or the Torah, maintained?	The text is anti-sacrificial cult, which strikes one as anti-Jewish at first, but writings like the Pseudo-Clementines and much of the Qumran literature show that is possible to have an anti-sacrificial ideology while remaining Jewish. This was not the mainstream Jewish point of view. If we remember Brown's proposal that Jewish Christianity covers a wide spectrum this makes it understandable how something like this paradox could occur.

²¹⁹ Philo's report of the Therapeuta show that they were also vegetarian, cf. Gert J. Steyn, "Perfecting Knowledge and Piety (Philo, *Contempl.* 3.25): Intertextual Similarities between Philo's Therapeuta and Lukian Early Christianity," *Neot* 43/2 (2009): 424–448.

What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	Only a mission to the House of Israel is endorsed.
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	After the confirmation of Jesus as the Son of God at his baptism the Baptist offers <i>proskynesis</i> to Jesus and calls him “lord.” This seems to indicate that the community did feel Jesus to be divine on some level.
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Kyrios (“Lord”), an equal to God?	Jesus is adopted by the Father at his baptism. The Baptist addresses Jesus as “lord.”
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	This is unclear from the extent text, but like <i>The Gospel according to the Nazarenes</i> John’s baptism is criticized to the effect that after Jesus is baptized John asks Jesus to baptize him (similar to Matt 3:14–15), so subordinating his baptism to that of Jesus.
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	According to Epiphanius, the Ebionites undergo immersion several times a day (<i>Pan.</i> 30.2.5; 30.15.3; 30.16.1) and after sex (<i>Pan.</i> 30.2.4). Luomanen notes that with the Ebionites baptism replaced sacrificing. ²²⁰ This is not mentioned in <i>The Gospel according to the Ebionites</i> . At the same time Levi, the publican is still called to be a disciple as is the case in the other Gospels. This transgresses the purity map of people.

With several of Luomanen’s indicators of Jewish-Christian identity ticked it seems reasonable to understand *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* as a Jewish-Christian work.

6.6.7 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

P.Oxy. 840 also takes recourse to the canonical Gospels, as well as to John in contrast to *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*.²²¹ This last-mentioned Gospel is a harmony. P.Oxy. 840 is definitely part of a unique narrative. With *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* it seems to share some indifference to the temple and its cult.

6.6.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Although Kruger notes a similar compositional technique between *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* and P.Oxy. 840, in that both draw on more than one Gospel source and add their own details, it seems invalid to argue that the big difference between them is the

²²⁰ Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels*, 45.

²²¹ Cf. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Saviour*, 156–157; 176–179 for P.Oxy. 840’s use of John (John 7:1–52); 179–182 (John 13:10).

heterodox teaching found in *The Gospel according to the Ebionites*.²²² After Bauer's research labels like heterodox and orthodox have become problematic from a historiographical perspective. In *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* Matthew's role is emphasized and he is the "you" of the narrative. John seems to be the most prominent disciple. In P.Oxy. 840 no disciple is singled out. They are twice referred to simply as οἱ μαθηταί. Perhaps other parts of P.Oxy. 840 would have had more to say about them as individuals. We can only speculate. In the narrative before us, though, the disciples are flat characters, Jesus is the protagonist and the gatekeeper the antagonist. From a narrative perspective the Jesus of *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* is the narrator of the story. At other times Jesus is only a third-person character, so that this Gospel lacks consistency.

The Gospel according to the Ebionites seems to manipulate the Fourfold Gospel to reflect doctrine that is peculiar to them. This is done by cutting out offensive parts and switching words through *al-tiqre*. Jesus is not born the son of God, but is adopted at his baptism. Similarly both Jesus and the Baptist are described as vegetarians as the Ebionites were. Although the sample of P.Oxy. 840 is shorter than for *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* one does not get the impression that something of the Fourfold Gospel is manipulated as to suit the author's agenda. The message of P.Oxy. 840 is rather one familiar from the Fourfold Gospel: ethical purity trumps ritual purity, making immersion for purification obsolete. Although this last portion is not spelt out in the Fourfold Gospel it expressed clearer since the time of Hebrews.

Although P.Oxy. 840 also tends to redundancy at times, it is more of a literary technique in the form of hendiadys. In P.Oxy. 840 it is a contrived redundancy as opposed to *The Gospel according to the Ebionites'* accidental redundancy as a result of its harmonizing methodology.

The Gospel according to the Ebionites only acknowledges the Israelite mission and ignores the mission to the Gentiles. Church Fathers also criticized the Ebionites for this point of view. P.Oxy. 840 does not specifically show its opinion on this matter. But the reading of this dissertation is that P.Oxy. 840 was part of the law-free gospel with Mark.

²²² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 252.

6.7 Papyrus Egerton 2

6.7.1 Dating

Early second century because of the manuscript's old age²²³

6.7.2 Genre

Gospel

6.7.3 Sources

Some have suggested that it is completely independent of the Gospels but contains traditions associated with Johannine Christianity²²⁴ and others that it must have been part of *The Gospel of Peter*.²²⁵ Papyrus Egerton appears to have an indirect dependence on the Synoptic materials. Schmidt & Jeremias have proposed that these fragments were written at a time where the tradition (of the Fourfold Gospel) was already documented by an author without written sources at hand at the time of writing.²²⁶ Daniels concludes that Papyrus Egerton either drew on the Synoptic Gospels from memory or knew independent traditions which came to be formulated differently in the written Gospels.²²⁷ The strongest parallels appear to be with John's Gospel.²²⁸ Even with John the parallels are not that precise, though the sayings material is definitely closer to John than the narrative, suggesting the sayings material was

²²³ The early dating should serve as a warning to us, that we cannot simply assume which came first, the chicken or the egg, a parallel from the Fourfold Gospel or that of Papyrus Egerton. The *editio princeps* of Papyrus Egerton (H. Idris Bell & Theodore C. Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935], 10) dated it palaeographically to 150 C.E., but when Michael Gronewald, *Unbekanntes Evangelium oder Evangelienharmonie (Fragment aus dem "Evangelium Egerton")* (vol. 6 of *Kölner Papyri* [P. Köln.]; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987), 137, 136–145 published another part of the manuscript as P. Köln. 255, it became clear that Papyrus Egerton should be dated a bit later to 200 C.E. because of the hooked apostrophe on ἀνένεγ' κον (frag. 1 recto).

²²⁴ Cf. e.g. Kurt Erlemann, "Papyrus Egerton 2: 'Missing Link' zwischen synoptischer und johanneischer Tradition," *NTS* 42 (1996): 13; especially at its publication and shortly thereafter scholars like Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (London: T & T Clark, 1992); J. Dominic Crossan, *Four Other Gospels: Shadows on the Contours of Canon* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf, 2008), 65–90 and Daniels, "The Egerton Gospel" have argued that it contains material older than the canonized Gospels. That this P.Egerton is rather dependent on all the canonical Gospels and simply reflects inconsistencies to be associated with an oral literature environment, cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (Zürich: Zwingli, 1948), 23; Charles H. Dodd, "A New Gospel," in *New Testament Studies* (ed. C. H. Dodd; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), 24–25; John W. Pryor, "Papyrus Egerton 2 and the Fourth Gospel," *ABR* 37 (1989): 10–11; Tobias Nicklas, "Papyrus Egerton 2 – The Unknown Gospel," *ExpTim* 118 (2007): 266.

²²⁵ David F. Wright, "Papyrus Egerton 2 – Part of the Gospel of Peter?," *Second Century* 5 (1985–1986): 129–150. This thesis has not gained much acceptance. Foster, *The Gospel of Peter*, 87–88 points out that the language and style seem to exclude such a possibility.

²²⁶ Karl F. W. Schmidt & Joachim Jeremias, "Ein bisher unbekanntes Evangelienfragment: Einblicke in die Arbeitsweise eines alten Evangelisten," *Theologische Blätter* 15 (1936): 44, 34–45.

²²⁷ Jon Daniels, "The Egerton Gospel: Its Place in Early Christianity," (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, California, 1991), 64.

²²⁸ Daniels, "The Egerton Gospel," 48.

fixed at an earlier stage than the narrative.²²⁹ Two possibilities remain for Daniels: Papyrus Egerton was familiar with a version of John not yet finally redacted, or both Papyrus Egerton and John were dependent on a common source.

6.7.4 Christological Titles

Title	Amount	Percentage
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	7	70
Teacher Jesus (διδάσκαλε Ιησοῦς)	2	20
Lord (κύριος)	1	10
Total	10	100

6.7.5 Theology

The three fragments were published in 1935 for the first time.²³⁰ In 1987 Gronewald published P. Köln 255 which must have been part of the same codex and presented five more lines.²³¹ P. Köln 255 is dated somewhere near the end of the second century.²³² Koester mentions the possibility that Papyrus Egerton may be older than the oldest papyrus of the New Testament, \mathfrak{P}^{66} , around 200 C.E.²³³ The provenance of the Gospel is probably in Egypt, though this is also based on conjecture.²³⁴ Papyrus Egerton has been involved in a few controversies. It contains more than one narrative: the first does not contain the beginning of the narrative but has Jesus telling the rulers (of the people):

P. Egerton frag. 1 verso	
ἐραν[νάτε τ]ὰς γραφὰς ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς δο[κεῖτε] ζωὴν ἔχειν· ἔκειναι εἰ[σ]ιν [αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ.	Search the scriptures in which you think you have life, those are the ones testifying about me.

²²⁹ Daniels, “The Egerton Gospel,” 138.

²³⁰ Bell & Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*.

²³¹ Michael Gronewald, *Unbekanntes Evangelium oder Evangelienharmonie (Fragment aus dem “Evangelium Egerton”)* (vol. 6 of *Kölner Papyri* [P. Köln.]; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987), 137, 136–145.

²³² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 249.

²³³ Incidentally the dating of \mathfrak{P}^{66} (as with \mathfrak{P}^{52} , cf. my discussion under dating of John’s Gospel in Chapter 7) is not without controversy. Victor Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer II: Evangile de Jean chap. 1–14* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1956), 15–18, the editor, dated it to 200 C.E., whereas Herbert Hunger, “Zur Datierung des Papyrus Bodmer II (\mathfrak{P}^{66})”, *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse* 97 (1961) 12–23 thinks the middle of the second century is more accurate. On the other hand Brent Nongbri. “The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P. Bodmer II (\mathfrak{P}^{66})”, *Museum Helveticum* 71 (2014), 35, 1–35 thinks early or mid fourth century is nearer to the truth. This shows the interpretive character of palaeography – especially of book hands.

²³⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 249. Tobias Nicklas, “Papyrus Egerton 2 – The Unknown Gospel,” *ExpTim* 118 (2007): 266 thinks Egypt and Syria are possibilities and dates it to around 150 C.E.

(NTS 42/1)	
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Form

Interrupted dialogue

The lawyers are also part of this same dialogue.²³⁵ The language is clearly reminiscent of John 5:39, 45 and 9:29. The rulers answer that they know the Lord had spoken to Moses, but they do not know about Jesus. He answers that if they had believed Moses, they would also have believed Him. Following this (theoretically this folio could have preceded the encounter) the rulers try to stone Jesus.

P. Egerton frag. I recto	
[συνεβουλεύσαντο τῷ] ὄχλῳ [ίνα] β[αστά][σαντες τὰς] λιθους όμοιοι λι[θάσω]σι[ν αὐ]τὸν· καὶ ἐπέβαλον [τὰς] χεῖ[ρας] αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ [ἄρχοντες] [ίν]α πιάσωσιν καὶ παρ[αδί][δωσιν] τῷ ὄχλῳ. καὶ οὐκ ἔ[δύναντο] αὐτὸν πιάσαι, ὅτι οὕπω ἐ[ληλύθει] αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδό[σεως]. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κ(ύριος)ς ἐξελθὼν [διὰ μέσου αὐ]τῶν ἀπένευσεν ἀπ' α[ὐτῶν]. (NTS 42/1)	They advised the crowd to pick up stones there and stone him. The rulers laid their hands on him to seize him and hand him over to the crowd. But they were not able to seize him for the hour of his capture had not yet come. But the Lord Himself going out through the midst of them departed from them.

Form

Interrupted dialogue

Pryor points out how clumsy the idea is that the rulers hand somebody over to the mob to get stoned.²³⁶ Pryor thinks the author has used the content and style of John (typical Johannine words and phrases like πιάζειν, λιθάζειν, ἡ ὥρα ἐληλύθει) and compounded it with a synoptic-like structure. The last sentence reminds one of Luke 4:30, αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο (though the text is based on conjecture).

Pryor thinks that this fragment's way of changing the Johannine narrative may reflect the rising Jewish hostility towards Christianity in the second century, but the crux of the narrative is that they did not stone Jesus. The phrase ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ could be understood as a way of shifting the blame for Jesus' death to key role players rather than to the Jewish people collectively.

²³⁵ Lawyers as interlocutors of Jesus are usually associated with Luke.

²³⁶ Pryor, "Papyrus Egerton 2 and the Fourth Gospel," 10.

After this comes the healing miracle of a leper:

Purity Map Not Transgressed

People

<i>P. Egerton frag. 1 recto</i>	
<p>καὶ [ἰ]δοῦ λέπρος προσελθ[ών αὐτῷ] λέγει διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) λε[προῖς συν]οδεύων καὶ συνεσθίω[ν αὐτοῖς] ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ, ἐλ[έπρησα] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ· ἐὰν [ο]ὗν [σὺ θέλῃς] καθαρίζομαι· οὐ δὲ κ(ύριο)ς [ἔφη αὐτῷ] θέλ[ω] καθαρίσθητι· [καὶ εὐθέως] [ἀ]πέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπ[ρα· λέγει] δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησ(οῦς) [...] πορε[υθεὶς σεαυ]τὸν ἐπίδειξον τοῖς[ιερεῦσι] καὶ ἀνένεγκον [περὶ τοῦ κα][θ]αρισμοῦ ως προ[σ]έ[ταξεν Μω(υσῆς)] καὶ [μηκέτι ἀ[μά]ρτανε. (NTS 42/1)</p>	<p>And behold, a leper coming to him says, “Teacher Jesus, while traveling with lepers and eating together with them in the inn, I myself also contracted leprosy. If therefore you will, I am clean.” Accordingly the Lord said to him, “I will, be clean,” and immediately the leprosy left him. Jesus says to him: “Go show yourself to the priests and offer concerning the cleansing as Moses commanded and sin no more...”</p>

Form

Dramatic chria

One can compare this to Mark 1:40–44 and Matthew 8:1–4.²³⁷ It is worth noting that some Diatessaronic witnesses reflect a Matthean text that is closer to Papyrus Egerton. Petersen reconstructs Tatian’s Diatessaron of Matthew 8:4 as ὑπαγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τοῖς ιερεῦσι καὶ νόμον πλήρωσον (“go! Show yourself to the priests and fulfil the law”).²³⁸ Ultimately Petersen views the text of Matthew we know today as a corruption of Scripture to assist law-free Greek Christians in their polemics with Jewish Christians.²³⁹ Indeed Papyrus Egerton bears testimony to the instability of this Synoptic text during the second century.²⁴⁰ Clearly the community of Papyrus Egerton was not the only one to understand the law to be still binding in this instance. Nicklas comments on how unsympathetic Jesus is towards the leper (as opposed to Mark 1:41).²⁴¹ It is probably because this person admits that he became a leper

²³⁷ Nicklas, “Papyrus Egerton 2,” 263.

²³⁸ Petersen, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 22–23, Based on Ephrem’s *Commentary on the Diatessaron* and Romanos Melodos, *Hymn on the Healing of a Leper*.

²³⁹ Matt 8:4 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅρα μηδενὶ εἴπῃς, ἀλλ’ ὑπαγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ιερεῖ, καὶ προσένεγκον τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς ([NA²⁸] And Jesus says to him, watch that you do not tell anybody, but go show yourself to the priest and take a gift as Moses has commanded for the sake of proof for them).

²⁴⁰ Petersen, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 10.

²⁴¹ Nicklas, “Papyrus Egerton 2,” 264.

when he had partaken of a meal with other lepers, something the law forbids as lepers were placed in quarantine (Lev 13). Therefore Jesus heals him and tells him to sin no more. Here Jesus argues for the validity of the law. It is important to note that Jesus does not transgress any purity laws by healing this leper. He further submits to the priests' authority by referring the leper to them.²⁴²

Following this is another controversy with unidentified people. In a parallel passage in Mark 12:13 (and Matt 22:15) Pharisees and Herodians come and ask Jesus this question. According to Luke the interrogators are the chief priests and scribes (Luke 20:19). Papyrus Egerton takes the diplomatic route without saying who is trying to trap Jesus (earlier reference has been made to the lawyers). Once again the language of John is used, though from the dialogue with Nicodemus (John 3:2).²⁴³

Despite the brevity of Papyrus Egerton we see a discrepancy between these words and that of fragment 1 recto where the rulers said οἴδαμεν ὅτι Μω(υσεῖ) ἐλάλησεν ὁ θ(εό)ς· σὲ δὲ οὐκ οἴδαμεν [πόθεν εἶ] (“we know that God spoke through Moses, but we do not know whence you are”).²⁴⁴ One might wonder whether the same subject is used here. It does seem to be the case, as they are trying to trap Jesus. We do not have a direct answer from Jesus as the text breaks off but he does refer to the hypocrisy of those questioning him:

<i>P. Egerton frag. 2 recto</i>	
οἱ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) εἰδός [τὴν δι]άνοιαν [αὐτ]ῶν ἐμβριψ[ησάμενος] εἶπεν α[ὐτοῖς]· τί με καλεῖτ[ε τῷ στόματι ύμ[ῶν δι]δάσκαλον, μ[ὴ ἀκού]οντες ὁ [λ]έγω; καλῶς Ἡ[σ(αί)α]ς περὶ ύμῶν ἐπ[ρο]φ(ήτευ)σεν εἰπὼν· ὁ [λαὸς οὐ]τος τοῖς [χειλ]εσιν αὐτ[ῶν τιμῶσιν]με, ἡ [δὲ καρδί]α αὐτ[ῶν πόρῳ ἀπέ]χει ἀπ' ἐ[μοῦ μ]άτη[ν (δὲ) σέβονται με] ἐντάλ[ματα]... (NTS 42/1)	But Jesus knowing their plan, rebuked them and said: “Why do you with your mouth call me your teacher without listening to what I say? Well did Isaiah prophesy concerning you when he said: ‘This people honour me with their lips, but their heart keeps itself far from me. In vain they worship me... [teaching] commandments [and teachings of men]...’”

Form

Chria occasioned by opponents

Jesus uses the rhetorical strategy of pointing out the hypocrisy of his opponents. Once again we see the diplomacy of Papyrus Egerton, the closest he comes to naming the opponents in

²⁴² Van Eck, *Galilee in Mark*, 87; Daniels, “Papyrus Egerton,” 149.

²⁴³ Nicklas, “Papyrus Egerton 2,” 265.

²⁴⁴ Nicklas, “Papyrus Egerton 2,” 265.

the chria is the prophet's words ὁ [λαὸς οὗ]τος ("this people").²⁴⁵ It is striking that the quote from the prophet is more accurate than any of the allusions to the Fourfold Gospel. The fact that the last two words are inverted in Papyrus Egerton might be explained by the fact that some witnesses move διδάσκοντες before καί.²⁴⁶

The last page displays a unique miracle of Jesus. It is difficult to decide whether it was part of a dramatic chria or a dialogue with a symbolic act. He walks along the Jordan and picks up a seed, plants it and gives it water, so that it bears fruit in front of everybody.²⁴⁷ Obviously this is material unique to Papyrus Egerton, though it might be interacting with the text of the Withered Fig Tree (Mark 11:13f, 20f).

6.7.6 Reason for Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

Papyrus Egerton slots into the Jewish-Christian model without difficulty:

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	Purity laws regarding leprosy enforced by Jesus. The leper's behaviour of associating with other lepers is regarded as sin by Jesus.
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH's abode, or the Torah, maintained?	The Scriptures are said to testify about Jesus (John 5:39)
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	Jesus submits to the authority of the priests by referring the leper to them for confirmation of purity
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	A similar high christology to that found in John: the scriptures testify about Jesus, Moses accuses the rulers of the people before God. Jesus cannot be killed by the mob for his hour has not yet come. At the end of the fragment come the Johannine words "we are one" perhaps a reference to John 10:30.
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Kyrios	The opponents occasioning the chria flatter Jesus by calling his actions beyond that which the prophets did (<i>frag. 2 recto</i>).

²⁴⁵ Isa 29:13 LXX καὶ εἶπε κύριος ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσι με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας. ([SVTG 14/2] And the Lord said this people draw near to me, they honour me with their lips, but their heart is far removed from me, in vain do they worship me, teaching commands and teachings of people).

²⁴⁶ As one can see above there are a few gaps in the text, so that the emendation is not necessarily correct. For the text of the Old Greek, cf. Joseph Ziegler, "Isaias," in vol. 14 of SVTG (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1967), ad loc.

²⁴⁷ P. Egerton frg. 2 verso.

(“Lord”), an equal to God?	
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	—
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	The healed leper has to show himself to the priest and perform the cleansing ritual as prescribed by the law.

To fit into the Proto-Orthodox mold is more difficult:

Proto-Orthodox Model	
A Receding Eschatological Hope	—
A Receding Importance of Prophecy	—
Increasing Institutionalization (spectrum: congregational, presbyterian or episcopal)	—
Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms	—
The Propaganda of Martyrdom	—
The Primacy of Peter	A more individualistic Jesus is presented. The disciples are not mentioned.
Anti-Judaism	Papyrus Egerton seems undecided on naming Jesus' opponents in controversies. Only the lawyers are explicitly mentioned. This is quite different from John's Gospel that keeps referring to Ἰουδαῖοι. Nevertheless the same material found in John 5 and 9 is used where Jesus' opponents want to kill him, laying the table for the Jewish culpability-theme. If anything Papyrus Egerton seems to reflect more complexity than John surrounding Jesus' controversies: Sometimes it is with lawyers, sometimes with “this people” and sometimes with the leaders of the people. ²⁴⁸
Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)	—
It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel	The emphasis on Jesus and his Father implies Jesus' deification. The fact that Jesus can disappear through <i>deus ex machina</i> when they want to stone him, also implies supernatural powers. John's modalism of “the Father and I are one” appears to be present, although the text is fragmentary.
No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak	Yes, in fact, the law is still kept.

²⁴⁸ Also pointed out by Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 249.

Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy: Doctrine of the Λόγος Apophatic Predications for God	Mythological elements from John are also found here, like the <i>deus ex machina</i> . Nevertheless the mythological elements play a smaller role than that usually associated with Gnosis.
Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel	Yes, Papyrus Egerton has a Johannine affinity with indirect dependence on Synoptic Gospels.
The Tanak Is Retained, but Interpreted from a Christological Perspective	Moses thought to testify about Jesus (as in John 5:39).
Jesus Was Born of a Virgin	—
Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible	The quotation from Isaiah 29:13 matches the Old Greek perfectly.
Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving	The law still seems to be in force.
Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity	—

In the end Papyrus Egerton appears to be an interesting blend of Jewish Christianity and Proto-Orthodoxy. The crux is the pericope about the healing of the leper. Papyrus Egerton might bear testimony to a variant of Matthew's text from the D-cluster that would make it into the Diatessaron. In that case, it would not be more Jewish than the Matthew it depended on.

6.7.7 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Papyrus Egerton is an important text to compare to P.Oxy. 840.²⁴⁹ Papyrus Egerton contains one dialogue and two chriae and another narration which is either a dialogue or a chria. Indeed the dialogue is thoroughly Johannine.²⁵⁰ There is a homology that binds Papyrus Egerton and John's Gospel together. Papyrus Egerton should serve as a reminder to us that P.Oxy. 840 might have been part of a document that contained Synoptic chriae and Johannine dialogues, even though P.Oxy. 840 only contains two chriae. This author of Papyrus Egerton appears to be concerned not to implicate all Jews in Jesus' execution.²⁵¹ Both Papyrus Egerton and P.Oxy. 840 contain controversies between Jesus and rulers of the Jewish people. All but one of the narratives, concern controversies between Jesus and leaders of the (Jewish)

²⁴⁹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 249 is the first author to compare the two texts.

²⁵⁰ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 250 notes the mixture of Synoptic and Johannine elements like in P.Oxy. 840.

²⁵¹ Nevertheless, there is still an "anti-Jewish apologetic tendency" shared with *The Gospel of Peter*, cf. Wright, "Papyrus Egerton 2 – Part of the Gospel of Peter?", 137–138.

people.²⁵² Ironically, the lexeme, Ἰουδαῖοι, is a feature of the text even if the author seems to avoid naming them. The opposite tendency is visible in John’s Gospel. This is the Jewish culpability-theme already visible in Q. Papyrus Egerton makes more than one reference to “the rulers of the people.” “This people” is quoted in Isaiah’s prophetic criticism of Israel whose heart is far from God and teach commandments of men. The most specific Papyrus Egerton is when speaking of Ἰουδαῖοι, is when the author calls them lawyers. In the light of this, anti-Judaism is not absent from the Papyrus Egerton.

At the same time Papyrus Egerton appears to be a Gospel that is still Jewish. Both Papyrus Egerton and P.Oxy. 840 portray a Jesus that is consistent with the Fourfold Gospel. Although both works appear to be indirectly dependent on the Fourfold Gospel, Papyrus Egerton is much more reminiscent of John than P.Oxy. 840.

Like John, Papyrus Egerton and P.Oxy. 840 seem to be Gospels that are not bound to the Synoptic narrative framework. Therefore Papyrus Egerton includes unique material like the miracle scene next to the Jordan. The living water theme seems to go back to John, though this is not necessarily true. The language of P.Oxy. 840 is unthinkable without Synoptic precedents, but concretely one struggles to determine exact scriptural sources. In this lies a lesson: in the second century the Fourfold Gospel was important enough to cite whether from memory, or from a document if available. Justin and especially Irenaeus’ citations are more exact and Justin seems to set a new standard for citing Gospels.²⁵³ This accuracy must have coincided with a certain reverence for the Gospels or its canonization. The inaccuracy of citing the Fourfold Gospel also seems to be paralleled by the unstable textual transmission thereof in the second century.²⁵⁴ It remains debatable what the relationship was between John and the Papyrus Egerton.

6.7.8 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Papyrus Egerton is concerned to uphold Judaism’s traditional purity rules, this is clear from Jesus telling the leper to “sin no more.” The purity rules are enforced by Jesus contrary to Mark 7:19 (specifically concerned with purity pertaining to food). From Epiphanius’ testimony we know that the Ebionites were an example of a Christian group that was still living by the purity laws. By contrast, P.Oxy. 840 seems to emphasize the fact that the purity rules are no longer valid. This seems to be the most important difference between the two

²⁵² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 250.

²⁵³ Here the emphasis is on Justin’s accuracy, even if Justin did not view John as authoritative as the Synoptics. Petersen, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 14–16.

²⁵⁴ Petersen, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 10.

Gospels. Papyrus Egerton is still a Jewish document, whereas P.Oxy. 840 appears to be more Christian than it is Jewish.²⁵⁵ By applying such strong rhetoric with the hyperbole of dogs and pigs lying in the pool, P.Oxy. 840 comes across as ignorant and indifferent to Jewish concerns. Papyrus Egerton does not use the title σωτήρ. Ἰησοῦς is used when Jesus is subject of the sentence and when the leper and the unnamed Jewish leaders address Jesus, then διδάσκαλος is used. This is also one way Papyrus Egerton deviates from John, who uses the transliterated form ραββί in the vocative five times.²⁵⁶

6.8 An isolated chria from Didymus: Pericope adulterae

Klijn discusses another fragment from Didymus in reflecting on *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.²⁵⁷ He is not proposing that it was part of that Gospel. Nevertheless it makes for an interesting comparison with P.Oxy. 840.

Didymus, <i>Comm. Eccl. 7–8.8 cod. 223.7–13</i>	
φέρομεν οὖν ἐν τισιν εὐαγγελίοις· «γυνή, φησίν, κατεκρίθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδ[αί]ων ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀπεστέλλετο λιθοβοληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου ειώθει γίν[εσθ]αι. ὁ σωτήρ, φησίν, ἔωρακὼς αὐτὴν καὶ θεωρήσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν πρὸς τὸ λιθ[οβολ]ῆσαι αὐτήν, τοῖς μέλλουσιν αὐτὴν καταβαλεῖν λίθοις εἴπεν ὃς οὐχ ἡμαρτεῖν, αἰ[ρέ]τω λίθον καὶ βαλέτω ἔαυτόν. εἴ τις σύνοιδεν ἔαυτῷ τὸ μὴ ἡμαρτηκέναι, λαβὼν λίθον παισάτω αὐτήν. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιστήσαντες ἔαυτοῖς καὶ γνόντες, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπε[ύθυ]νοι εἰσίν τισιν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν <καταπταῖσαι> ἐκείνην.» (Kramer & Krebber)	It is reported then in some Gospels that a woman is condemned by Jews for a sin and is sent to be stoned to the place where it was customary to happen. “The Saviour after having seen her and realizing that they are prepared to stone her says to those wanting to throw her with stones: ‘He, who did not sin, let him take up a stone and let he himself throw it. If it is clear to someone that he has not sinned take a stone and strike her. And nobody dared as they trusted themselves and knew that they are liable to give account to others, they did not dare to take hold of her.’”

Form

Chria

²⁵⁵ Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters,” 283 agrees that the community behind P.Oxy. 840 must have already separated from Judaism.

²⁵⁶ John 1:38, 49; 3:2; 3:26; 6:25. Διδάσκαλος is used in the first instance as a translation for a Greek listener and in 3:2 for stylistic variation. Even in John 20:16 when the risen Lord appears to Mary Magdalene she calls addresses him as ράββουνι and once more it is explained to mean διδάσκαλος.

²⁵⁷ Although Kruger draws parallels between P.Oxy. 840 and John’s version of the *pericope adulterae*, it is with John 7:53–8:11’s version.

6.8.1 Christological Title

Only one Christological title is used:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	1	100
Total	1	100

This title refers to Jesus prior to his crucifixion.²⁵⁸

6.8.2 Theology

Klijn connects this chria with the story about the woman accused of many sins spoken of by Papias.²⁵⁹ Klijn does not mention the second fragment again and one wonders whether he feels it should be included with the reconstruction of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.²⁶⁰ The language of Eusebius is quite similar (ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις) to that preserved by Didymus' (ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίᾳ). This may simply reflect some exaggeration on Eusebius' part. There is no evidence for the existence of the pericope of John 7:53–8:11 till Codex Bezae (D) which is dated to the fifth century well after Eusebius' time.²⁶¹ Eusebius might have been referring to this tradition. Obviously the text would not have been settled by then. Klijn draws a distinction between this tradition quoted by Didymus and that found in John 7:53–8:11.²⁶² According to him the tradition in John presents a woman caught in adultery, but the woman Eusebius and Didymus has in mind could have been guilty of another sin. This is not entirely convincing. Once the word ἀμαρτία is used with γυνή as subject its associative meaning often seems to change in the direction of μοιχεία. Therefore these two traditions seem to be closer than Klijn suggests. The differences between this fragment and John are the following:

²⁵⁸ Prof. Dr Nicklas feels that me mentioning that the *pericope adulterae* uses the title 100% of the times to refer to Jesus might come across as misleading. To be fair I do also record that only one title for Jesus is used and that this is after all only one pericope and not a book like The Gospel according to Matthew. It remains significant that the *pericopa adulterae* refers to Jesus as Saviour prior to his death and resurrection.

²⁵⁹ Papias quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17. Klijn, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," ANRW 25.5:4005.

²⁶⁰ Klijn, "Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium," ANRW 25.5:4030.

²⁶¹ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 2005), 188. A few manuscripts of Jerome also bear witness to this pericope. The breakdown of witnesses for the pericope after John 7:52 are D Μ (E F G H K Π 28 700 892) lat bo^{pt}; Hier^{mss}

²⁶² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 253 also compares the pericope adulterae found in John's Gospel to P.Oxy. 840.

Didymus' fragment	John 7:53–8:11
Setting is the place where people were usually executed by stoning	Setting is the temple
Woman charged because of sin	Woman charged with adultery ²⁶³
Woman condemned by the Judeans (<i>sic</i>) ²⁶⁴	Woman condemned by Pharisees and Scribes
Jesus speaks without being spoken to	They ask Jesus what He says
Pure discourse with little action	Jesus writes on the ground
Parallelism used	No parallelism
Narrator reflects on the accusers' thoughts	Only the fact of their leaving is reported

Both traditions have been polished from a literary point of view. In Didymus' fragment Jesus' words are neatly framed with parallelism:

^aὅς ^bοὐχ ^cῆμαρτεν, ^dαιρέτω ^eλίθον καὶ ^fβαλέτω ^gέαυτόν
^aεἴ τις σύνοιδεν ἔαυτῷ τὸ ^bμὴ ^cήμαρτηκέναι, ^dλαβὼν ^eλίθον ^fπαισάτω ^gαὐτήν²⁶⁵

Or with chiasm:

^aθεωρήσας ^bὅτι ^cἔτοιμοι εἰσιν ^dπρὸς τὸ λιθοβολῆσαι ^eαὐτήν,
^bτοῖς ^aμέλλουσιν ^dαὐτὴν ^cκαταβαλεῖν λίθοις ^aεῖπεν

The fragment has a high literary quality indeed: αὐτός used alternatively with ἐκεῖνος, reflexives, 3rd person imperatives, hendyades and redundancy, the preference for perfective aspect, the vocabulary ειώθει and τολμάω used with the infinitive, συνοῖδα with the Dative. Obviously this would have come from a Gospel that was originally composed in Greek. This fragment also uses the title of σωτήρ when referring to Jesus. Klijn feels that there are not enough grounds to include it among the fragments of *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.²⁶⁶ The version of John 7:53–8:11 has been polished in a narrative way and has

²⁶³ D of John 8:3 has the reading ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίᾳ same as Didymus' fragment. Because D is the oldest manuscript containing this pericope one would also expect that this reading would have been accepted as it is the *lectio difficilior* instead of ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ as it is found in NA²⁶.

²⁶⁴ For our current purpose the important thing is that the religious reference of Ἰουδαῖος is probably the most pertinent one for Didymus' fragment.

²⁶⁵ Wilfstrand, “The Homily of Melito on the Passion,” VC (1948): 202–203 notes how that repetition of one word in two following cola of a parallelism is not a Semitism, but is also found in writers of the Second Sophistic like Maximus of Tyre. It was even more common in the Greek of the archaic period.

²⁶⁶ Klijn, “Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium,” ANRW 25.5:4030. He labels it among his “*unechte und fragliche Stellen*.”

Jesus writing on the ground twice to increase the suspense. The fragment appears to be rhythmical:

ό σωτήρ, φησίν, ἐωρακώς αὐτὴν	-v---
καὶ θεωρήσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοι εἰσιν πρὸς τὸ λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτήν,	-v--
τοῖς μέλλουσιν αὐτὴν καταβαλεῖν λίθοις εἴπεν	-v---
“δες οὐχ ἡμαρτεν, αἱρέτω λίθον καὶ βαλέτω ἔαυτόν.	-v--
εἴ τις σύνοιδεν ἔαυτῷ τὸ μὴ ἡμαρτηκέναι, λαβὼν λίθον παισάτω αὐτήν.”	-v---
καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιστήσαντες ἔαυτοῖς	--vv--
καὶ γνόντες, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπεύθυνοι εἰσίν τισιν,	-v--v-
οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν καταπταῖσαι ἐκείνην.	-v--

From the rhythmic pattern one can see a few examples of the Asiatic patterns of -v--- (3) and -v-- (3). The same patterns that often crop up in P.Oxy. 840, though it is less consistent.

6.8.3 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The language of the two documents shows many parallels. Both use a more elegant kind of Koine. The fact that Jesus is called σωτήρ in P.Oxy. 840, is paralleled in Didymus' fragment. There are quite a few parallels between the style of Didymus' fragment and P.Oxy. 840: the use of αὐτός/ἐκεῖνος, reflexives, hendyades, polysyndeton, 3rd person imperatives and familiarity with Perfective aspect. Both represent chriae. Both probably originated outside of Palestine where the title σωτήρ was in vogue for Jesus. It should be noted that like P.Oxy. 840 this fragment from Didymus refers to Jesus as σωτήρ before his crucifixion. One would tend to associate the fragment with Egypt as it is quoted by the Alexandrian, Didymus, but if it is indeed the same fragment (or tradition) Papias refers to (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17) it might as well be linked with Asia. Based upon the rhythm a case for the Asiatic provenance of Didymus' *pericope adulterae* could also be made. One is indeed tempted to connect this fragment of Didymus with P.Oxy. 840 based upon a similar style. Whether both represent the same trajectory is a question that will have to be left open.

6.9 Sub-Conclusion

The Sayings Source, Q, appears to belong to a time where Christianity was as yet not separate from Judaism. This makes the term Jewish Christian very applicable to it and most of the earliest Christian literature. Q is familiar with the Pharisaic *hălăkă* of the time of Jesus.

P.Oxy. 840 does not seem to be. This seems clear enough from its notion that pigs and dogs would defile purification water, something that does not make sense legally speaking.²⁶⁷ While Q does not let Jesus go beyond transgressing scribal enactments, P.Oxy. 840 appears to undermine the law itself by attacking its purification instrument. The Jewish culpability-theme is already found in Q. The Christian literary preference for controversies with Jewish leaders and statements of woe as it is found in P.Oxy. 840 go back to Q. The same is true for the formula that “Pharisees are full of x.” It is noteworthy that P.Oxy. 840 does not use the Matthean image of the Pharisees as blind guides, even though it seems more memorable than the image of being simply blind. The idea that inner purity, that is, ethical purity is more important than outside purity, so important to P.Oxy. 840, also goes back to Q. The Sayings Source, Q, is better known as a source of Jesus’ words and unlike P.Oxy. 840, very few chriae are found in Q. Some of its material will eventually be converted into chriae in Matthew and Luke.

Matthew presents a Jesus that is more loyal to his Jewish identity. Jesus submits himself to the Pharisaic authority by acknowledging they are sitting on Moses’ seat. Matthew adds halachic detail on vows that is irrelevant to the other Synoptics. Matthew at times corrects Q, for example, in calling Abel a prophet. For Matthew, contrary to Mark and Luke, the law is still valid. The law is, nevertheless, modified to the extent that it is Jesus’ reading of the law that is to be kept, where love, justice and mercy are the most important commands. This is much different from P.Oxy. 840, that is ignorant enough to suppose animals could invalidate purificatory water through bathing. Matthew’s complexity is clear, in that he is also responsible for some of the worst anti-Judaism in the New Testament. He finds that the Pharisees’ keeping of the law is not up to standard and demands a higher standard from his community. The image of animals in the purificatory water is an outsider’s perspective on Judaism. One would not become defiled by touching a pig or by touching water a pig touched, but by eating it. On top of that, pigs were not kept in Jewish towns as there simply was no demand for pork.²⁶⁸ P.Oxy. 840 shares Matthew’s ability to invent strong metaphors and images – and to apply them to its opponents.

In looking at the way Matthew argues, and comparing it to other Synoptics and P.Oxy. 840, it becomes clear that, whereas Matthew thinks along legal lines and halachically, P.Oxy. 840 has to take recourse to metaphors and hyperbole to make its point. In the light of

²⁶⁷ Safrai & Safrai, “Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840,” 273.

²⁶⁸ Safrai & Safrai, “Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840,” 273.

this, Kruger's characterization of P.Oxy. 840 as a Jewish-Christian, specifically Nazarene, document is unfounded.

Luke also offers a complicated profile: At times he can misrepresent Jewish customs, at other times he offers accurate halachic information not found in the other Synoptics (Lk⁵). The biggest difference between Matthew and Luke seems to be that Luke (11:41) feels that if your inside is pure, all other things are pure. This is something Luke shares with Mark and Paul, and according to the reading of this dissertation, also with P.Oxy. 840.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews does not show many indications of being a Jewish-Christian work. It definitely is an example of Christian Wisdom literature. Like P.Oxy. 840 this Gospel has its own narrative framework. Its use of the title Saviour seems to amount to no more than introductory formulas that go back to Origen and Jerome. Divine Wisdom personified does not seem to have played a role in P.Oxy. 840. In *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* it is clear that James was the authoritative figure in the community. From P.Oxy. 840 it is not clear who the dominant disciple is, as the disciples appear to be flat characters as in Mark. Whether the fragment from Clement's *Stromata* depends on Matthew 11:28 is hardly convincing. It seems more like a tradition often found in Jewish-Christian wisdom literature. One does not see many parallels to the canonized Gospels in this writing. The newly identified fragment from Didymus the Blind's *Commentary on the Psalms* is quite a different story though. It seems to presuppose not only Acts (1:23) for the knowledge of Matthias, but also either John or *The Gospel of Thomas*²⁶⁹ as it repeats the tradition that Thomas was sometimes called Didymus (The Greek equivalent of the Aramaic Thomas). *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* is remarkably independent of the canonized Gospels. In P.Oxy. 840 one senses more of the influence of the Fourfold Gospel, although it is difficult to pinpoint it.

The Gospel according to the Nazarenes does not show many indications of being a Jewish-Christian work. It definitely used more than just Matthew as a source as Frey has shown.²⁷⁰ The additional Syrian fragment creates the dilemma that it is the only Johannine passage in *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*, so that it seems a bit out of place. Papyrus Egerton seems to show that a Jewish-Christian Gospel can contain Johannine elements. *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* shares with P.Oxy. 840 the habit of embroidering details found in its sources. In *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* it is the man with the withered hand that gains clearer contours, in P.Oxy. 840 it is a Pharisaic gatekeeper named

²⁶⁹ Also mentioned in *The Acts of Thomas* and *The Book of Thomas the Contender*.

²⁷⁰ Frey, "Die Scholien," 134–136.

Levi. In both works Jesus refuses to be baptized, but the contexts seem quite different to lead us to the idea of a direct connection. Both works revile the social class of prostitutes and pipe girls, yet at the same time the poor sons of Abraham receive a sympathetic ear in *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*. It is different from P.Oxy. 840 in that its sticks closely to the framework found in its sources. Jesus' unwillingness to be baptized in *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is only superficially similar to P.Oxy. 840. Clearly *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is involved in polemics with a group that remains loyal to John the Baptist. P.Oxy. 840 appears to differentiate between baptism and immersion as something Christian and something Jewish. P.Oxy. 840 seems to view baptism as having soteriological powers and immersion is criticized.

The Gospel according to the Ebionites is clearly a Jewish-Christian Gospel. Both *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* and P.Oxy. 840 appear to share an indifference to the temple and its cult. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* is a harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, but not of John. Howard's contention that it incorporated Johannine elements is not compelling. P.Oxy. 840 is by no means a harmony, but gives the impression that it incorporates ideas from the Synoptic Gospels and the Johannine Gospel. It uses some interesting exegetical strategies like chiastic inversion and *al-tiqre* which we also saw in some of the Gnostic texts. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* has a more informal approach to the Fourfold Gospel than P.Oxy. 840. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* manipulates his sources by means of excision and *al-tiqre* to fit them into his theological message. The author of P.Oxy. 840's method is different. Nothing is manipulated, set phrases are used as catch phrases to create his own Gospel narrative. The message of P.Oxy. 840, that inner purity trumps outward purity, is also typical of the Synoptic Gospels. Redundancy occurs in both *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* and P.Oxy. 840, in the first it is because of conflated sources that are not grouped carefully enough, while in P.Oxy. 840 hendiadys is used as a literary tool to bring the author's message across. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* explicitly limits the Christian mission to Israel. It is not spelt out in P.Oxy. 840, but the reading of this dissertation is that P.Oxy. 840 was part of the law-free gospel.

Papyrus Egerton is an important parallel text to P.Oxy. 840 as Kruger has recognized. It is closely connected to Johannine tradition. At the same time it is a Johannine and a Synoptic Gospel. It contains chriae and (Johannine) dialogues. It serves as a reminder that P.Oxy. 840 might also have been Johannine and Synoptic with dialogues and chriae. Its dependence on the Fourfold Gospel appears to be an indirect dependence. The form of the

sayings of the Lord reflect greater stability than the narratives. At the same time, both Papyrus Egerton and P.Oxy. 840 are undeniably familiar with parts of the Fourfold Gospel. The language of P.Oxy. 840 is unthinkable without Synoptic precedents. The concept of living water seems to be taken over from John. For both writings the Gospels are important enough to cite, but not important enough to cite perfectly. This contrast becomes even clearer when one notes that with Papyrus Egerton the Old Greek is quoted more or less accurately while the Gospels seem to be cited from memory.²⁷¹ Either copies of the Gospels were in short supply, or they were not viewed as on a par with the Tanak (or both). Interestingly enough Papyrus Egerton includes a chria of a leper that is about purity. In this account Jesus is presented as submitting to the purity code as opposed to the Fourfold Gospel. This means that Papyrus Egerton straddles the categories of Jewish Christianity and Proto-Orthodoxy.²⁷² Papyrus Egerton also seems to reflect some anti-Judaism, despite the author avoiding to mention the name of Jesus' opponents. The application of prophetic anti-Judaic criticism rather points us to the conclusion that Jesus' opponents are in fact Jewish. The most specific Papyrus Egerton gets is in speaking of lawyers. Ironically by avoiding the mentioning of the names of Jesus' opponents, the author's rhetoric is almost as harsh as John who uses Ἰουδαῖοι more than anyone else. With P.Oxy. 840 Papyrus Egerton shares the controversies between Jesus and Jewish leaders – also about purity. It seems to equate defilement with sin.²⁷³ Importantly Papyrus Egerton reflects a different view of purity. Papyrus Egerton views purity as something that is still to be upheld – contrary to Mark 7:19 and Luke 11:41. P.Oxy. 840 undermines the whole law, by attacking the purifying mechanism. P.Oxy. 840 appears to come from a law-free Christianity – not unlike Mark, Paul and Luke before the compromise of the Apostolic Council. Papyrus Egerton fits in well with Jewish-Christian writings, though it also serves as an important testimony that Johannine Christianity was also compatible with Jewish Christianity. Neither Papyrus Egerton, nor P.Oxy. 840 have a synoptic narrative framework. This is something they share with John. The most important difference between Papyrus Egerton and P.Oxy. 840 seems to be that Papyrus Egerton is not creatively composing a new chria. P.Oxy. 840 is a creative work made to correspond to the teaching of the Fourfold Gospel.

²⁷¹ Only one word seems to be left out or switched.

²⁷² Or even Judaism and Christianity. Corresponding to the “interactive diversity” of Larry W. Hurtado, “Interactive Diversity: A Proposed Model of Christian Origins,” *JTS* 64/2 (2013): 460 or “entanglement” as Karen King calls it.

²⁷³ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 87.

The other fragment from Didymus raises more questions than it supplies answers. It reflects a tradition that is quite independent from the one found in *Codex Bezae* and reproduced in later manuscripts of the Byzantine tradition (The A-Cluster). The only agreement between the Bezae tradition and the Didymus' fragment seems to be the words γύνη and ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ. This just confirms the fact that there were many traditions about Jesus circulating early in the second century that have not been preserved for us to this day. The fragment from Didymus shares important parallels with P.Oxy. 840, including the redundant style, and both contain a narrative that is not related to something found in the Fourfold Gospel – at least not before *Codex Bezae*. Nevertheless, both present narrative history in the medium of the chria that sounds similar to the canonized Jesus. Based on the rhythm and style of the pericope in Didymus one can make a case that it is of Asian provenance and because it is connected with Papias. Both seem to use the Saviour title as standard practice to refer to Jesus. Of all the writings analysed in this chapter, Didymus is the only one to use the title of Saviour for Jesus – Jesus prior to the crucifixion as in P.Oxy. 840.

Now that we have looked at Jewish-Christian Gospels, it seems clear enough that P.Oxy. 840 does not argue, like one would expect a Jewish-Christian Gospel to argue. Instead the author of P.Oxy. 840 comes across as ignorant of Jewish thinking.

If one submits P.Oxy. 840 to the Jewish-Christian model, the following becomes clear:

Jewish-Christian Model	
Are characteristically Jewish practices such as (Jewish) circumcision, the Sabbath and purity laws observed?	No, Jesus and the disciples resist the custom of immersion before going up to the temple.
Are characteristically Jewish ideas such as YHWH as the only God, the temple as YHWH's abode, or the Torah, maintained?	The only one of these ideas addressed in P.Oxy. 840 is the temple. The temple merely acts as the setting of the chria and nothing positive or negative is said about it. The gatekeeper of the temple, perhaps a Levite, is subjected to the worst kind of abuse in being compared to a prostitute.
What is the pedigree of the group/person? Jewish or not?	—
What is the role of Jesus in the worship and ideology of the community?	This is not clear, but as peasant Jesus should be showing more respect to an office bearer of the temple. This Jesus seems more concerned with

	drawing border lines between Jews and Christians.
Is Jesus considered as a Jewish prophet or is he a more divine being, worshipped as Kyrios (“Lord”), an equal to God?	—
Is baptism in the name of Jesus (or the triune God) an entrance rite to the community?	Yes. On the reading of this dissertation, the living water represents baptism.
Are Jewish purification rites and baptism replaced by once-for-all baptism?	Yes. Based on the reading of this dissertation.

According to the model used in this dissertation it seems clear that P.Oxy. 840 should not be seen as a Jewish-Christian document. There are no visible indicators of P.Oxy. 840 being a Jewish document.

7 PROTO-ORTHODOX TEXTS COMPARABLE TO P.OXY. 840

7.1 Introduction

There are many Christian apocryphal writings in existence, but not all of them can be assigned to a specific trajectory. The same is true with P.Oxy. 840. As we have seen in this dissertation there is no consensus among scholars where to place it.

It should be emphasized from the outset that not all of the writings discussed under Proto-Orthodox texts are in fact to be understood as such. This applies especially to the writings of the New Testament. It is quite anachronistic to label them as Proto-Orthodox. The writings of the New Testament were, however, absorbed by orthodoxy long after they had been recorded and were implemented as its canon for establishing orthodoxy. They were written at a time where doctrine was but in its infancy stages. Doctrine would eventually reach its climax at the time of the great oecumenical councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. For this reason the Proto-Orthodox model developed by this study is limited to a certain time frame. In order to avoid anachronisms, the writings of the New Testament are not subjected to this model.¹

Mark 7:1–23 with its emphasis on inner purity has been part of the discussions around P.Oxy. 840 since its discovery.² Mark is indeed a treasure trove of purity controversies. In the last couple of years Tripp has started to compare P.Oxy. 840 to John’s Gospel. Previously scholars had much more of a Synoptic understanding of P.Oxy. 840. Tripp has noted some verbal parallels especially with regards to the Washing of the Disciples’ Feet.³ This has been expanded upon by Kruger who connected P.Oxy. 840 with John’s account of *Sukkōt*.⁴ Kruger’s textual conjecture has also provided P.Oxy. 840 with an even more Johannine ring. Shelberg has also recently published the first Johannine reading of P.Oxy. 840.⁵

No one has as yet compared P.Oxy. 840 with the *Epistula Apostolorum*. This is strange for it is a very Johannine writing and seems to have originated at the same time as P.Oxy. 840. Neither has anyone compared Hebrews with P.Oxy. 840. This despite the

¹ Except Matthew in my chapter 6 on Jewish-Christian texts.

² Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 4; Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 182–185.

³ David Tripp, “Meanings of the Foot-Washing: John 13 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” *ExTim* 103 (1992): 237–239.

⁴ Kruger, *Gospel of the Savior*, 188–189.

⁵ Pamela Shellberg, “A Johannine Reading of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840,” in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon* (ed. H. Z. Daniel & C. A. Evans; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 178–191.

important role the sanctuary plays in both. Recently Ferguson and Miller have drawn upon both Barnabas and Justin Martyr to explain the role of baptism in P.Oxy. 840.⁶

7.2 The Synoptic Gospels: Mark

7.2.1 Dating

End of the 60s C.E. to early 70s.⁷ This is because of allusions to the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E. (Mark 13:2, 14). Though some scholars argue that these allusions are too vague to count as *vaticinia ex eventu*.

7.2.2 Genre

Taking the *Zweiquellenhypothese* for granted, Mark is the oldest extant example of the Gospel genre.⁸

7.2.3 Christological Titles

Mark uses the following Christological titles:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	0	0
Lord (κύριος)	2	1.9
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	78	74.29
Jesus of Nazareth (Ιησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνός)	3	2.86
Son of the Blessed One (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ μακαρίου)	1	0.95
Son of man (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)	14	13.33
The Son of God (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)	1	0.95
Son of [a] god (νιὸς θεοῦ) ⁹	2	1.9
Jesus, Son of the most High God (Ιησοῦς νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου)	1	0.95
Son of David (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ Δαυΐδ)	2	1.9
Jesus, Son of David (Ιησοῦς ὁ νιὸς τοῦ Δαυΐδ)	1	0.95
Total	105	100

⁶ Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 266–271; Miller, *At the Intersection*, 146.

⁷ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 376.

⁸ Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 26. A. Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2007), 95 notes that although the two-source theory does not account for all the similarities in the Synoptics, it provides a more adequate explanation of more of the data than any other hypothesis. Cf. also Ulrich Luz, *Matthew* (3 vols; trans. J. E. Crouch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2001), 1: 20–21.

⁹ In Mark 1:1 and 15:37 this title is used without the article. Thanks to Prof. Dr Nicklas for pointing this out to me. It is repeated without article in Matt 27:54.

Mark prefers to simply call Jesus by his name. Q's preferred title, ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, is used in 13% of the cases. P.Oxy. 840's preferred σωτήρ is not used at all.

7.2.4 Sources

It appears that even Mark used some written sources. He may have made use of collections of miracles, parables and conflict stories.¹⁰ The apocalyptic discourse in Mark 13 may go back to one single document.¹¹ There have also been scholars that have suggested that the passion narrative may go back to one source.¹² These sources are of course all hypothetical. As will be made clear below, Mark 2:1–3:6 seems to be a pre-Markan layer that has been absorbed in toto by Mark. The so-called triple tradition of Q begs the question whether Mark did not know Q either.¹³

7.2.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

Mark contains many cases where Jesus transgresses purity maps. Mark 2:1–3:6 is a good example of such conflict stories regarding purity. After this polemic the Pharisaic (and Herodian) plot to kill Jesus starts. Jesus often reaches out to the Gentiles, for example by healing of the Gerasene demoniac (Legion, 5:1–20). In Mark 6:1–13 Jesus is rejected in Nazareth. In Mark 6:53–56 Jesus reaches out to Gentiles again (Gennesaret). Mark 7:1–23 reports on the defiled hands controversy. Jesus heals the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter despite the Canaanites being the worst of Israel's Gentile enemies (7:24–30).¹⁴ With the feeding of the 4 000 Jesus and the disciples eat with Gentiles in the Decapolis (8:1–10). In Mark 11 Jesus enters Jerusalem triumphantly. He curses the fig tree symbolizing the temple establishment that does not bear fruit, after which the demonstration in the temple follows. Mark 12:1–12 tells the parable of the vineyard and the tenants after which another plot to arrest Jesus is reported. In Jerusalem many controversies follow with chief priests, Pharisees, scribes, Herodians and Sadducees (12:13–34). Mark 12:38–40 reports the denouncing of the

¹⁰ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 377; Cilliers Breytenbach, “Vormarkinische Logientradition: Parallele in der urchristlichen Briefliteratur,” in *The Four Gospels: Festschrift für F. Neirynck* (BETL 100; ed. F. van Segbroeck; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 725–749.

¹¹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 377.

¹² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 379 note that there are “indirekte Indizien” like the explanation of who Judas Iscariot is (14:10 in tension with 3:19). The most important argument is discrepancies between the soteriology of the passion narrative and the first part of the Gospel, i.e., the motif of the suffering of the righteous man (*passio iusti*) mocked by the ungodly as opposed to the substitutionary death of Jesus (10:45).

¹³ Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 54; Königstein, 1980), 151 thinks that Mark did know Q.

¹⁴ Herbert W. Basser & Marsha B. Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions* (Brill Reference Library of Judaism 46; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 356.

scribes. Mark 13 foretells of the destruction of the temple after which the apocalyptic discourse follows. Upon the orders of the chief priests and scribes Jesus is arrested in Gethsemane. In Mark 14:53–64 Jesus is tried before the Sanhedrin consisting of priests, elders and scribes. He is condemned to death for blasphemy. Afterwards (15:1–15) Jesus is taken to Pilate, who out of character, is rather sympathetic and goes out of his way to have Jesus set free by asking the crowd whether “the king of the Jews” should be set free. The crowd prefers Barabbas. Pilate asks “what should I do with the king of the Jews?” and the crowd answers “crucify him!” Jesus is crucified with the charge “king of the Jews.” It seems significant that the oldest Gospel does not blame the Roman Pilate for Jesus’ execution, but the chief priests and the fickle crowd.¹⁵ While on the cross Jesus is mocked by the chief priests. At his death it is a Gentile Roman centurion that acknowledges “truly this was the Son of God.”

7.2.6 Theology

Van Eck provides an exhaustive list of all the purity maps transgressed by Jesus in the narration of Mark’s Gospel¹⁶:

Purity Map Transgressed	Reference	Occasion
People	1:21–28	In a synagogue in Capernaum Jesus exorcises an unclean spirit by command
	1:29–34	Simon’s mother-in-law healed of fever on the Sabbath by picking her up by the hand. Various other sick and possessed healed at this house of Peter in Capernaum
	1:40–45	Somewhere in Galilee Jesus heals a leper by touching him voluntarily and sending him to the priest for confirmation of his purity ¹⁷
	2:1–12	A lame man is healed in Jesus’ home in Capernaum by command (“your sins are forgiven”)
	2:13–14	Jesus calls the tax collector, Levi, to become his disciple
	2:15–17	Jesus eats with tax collectors and sinners in his house
	3:1–6	In the synagogue of Capernaum Jesus heals the man with the withered hand by command on the Sabbath

¹⁵ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 87.

¹⁶ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 297. This table repeats certain pericopes if more than one purity map is transgressed. In certain cases “transgressing a purity map” is perhaps expressed too strongly, e.g., with exorcizing demons by a simple command.

¹⁷ This pericope in Mark 1:40–45 should be compared to the healing of the leper in Papyrus Egerton where Jesus heals the leper by his command and rebukes him to “sin no more.”

	3:7–12	At the sea of Galilee Jesus is approached by a multitude of people from Jerusalem, Judea, beyond the Jordan (Gentile territory), Idumea, Tyre and Sidon (Canaanite territory) who touch him in an attempt to be healed of sickness and demon possession
	3:19–30	Scribes from Jerusalem label Jesus as casting out demons by Beelzebul
	5:1–20	In the land of the Garasenes Jesus expels the Legion of demons possessing the Garasene
	5:25–34	The haemorrhaging woman touches Jesus and is healed
	5:35–43	Close to the Sea of Galilee Jesus raises the daughter of Jairus from the dead by touching her dead body
	6:35–34	The multiplication of loaves at the Sea of Galilee where Jesus indiscriminately eats with five thousand people
	6:53–56	In the land of Gennesaret the Gentile inhabitants that are sick touch Jesus and are healed
	7:31–39	At the Sea of Galilee on the side of the Decapolis Jesus heals a deaf man with a speech impediment by putting his fingers in the deaf man's ears and commanding <i>etppātah</i>
	8:22–26	At Bethsaida (Decapolis) Jesus heals a blind man by spitting on his eyes and laying hands on his eyes
	10:46–52	Jesus heals the blind Bartimaeus by command
Places	5:1–20	In the land of the Garasenes Jesus expels the Legion of demons possessing the Garasene
Places	7:24–30	In the region of Tyre and Sidon Jesus expels a demon from the Canaanite woman's (Syro-Phoenician in Mark's language) daughter
Places	7:31–39	At the Sea of Galilee on the side of the Decapolis Jesus heals a deaf man with a speech impediment by putting his fingers in the deaf man's ears and commanding <i>etppātah</i>
Places	8:1–10	Jesus multiplies the loaves and eats with four thousand people in the Decapolis
Things	1:40–45	Somewhere in Galilee Jesus heals a leper by touching him voluntarily and sending him to the priest for confirmation of his purity (Jesus disregards the surface of the body [the skin] and its proper boundaries)
Things	2:15–17	Jesus eats with tax collectors and sinners in his house
Things	7:1–23	Jesus' disciples eat with defiled hands and Jesus defends their transgression
Things	7:31–38	At the Sea of Galilee on the side of the Decapolis Jesus heals a deaf man with a speech impediment by putting his fingers in the deaf man's ears (not keeping his distance from bodily orifices) and commanding <i>etppātah</i>

	8:1–10	Jesus multiplies the loaves and eats with four thousand people in the Decapolis (eating with Gentiles)
	8:22–26	At Bethsaida (Decapolis) Jesus heals a blind man by spitting on his eyes and laying hands on his eyes (not keeping his distance from bodily orifices)
Time	1:21–28	In a synagogue in Capernaum Jesus exorcises an unclean spirit by command
	1:29–32	Simon's mother-in-law healed of fever on the Sabbath by picking her up by the hand. Various other sick and possessed healed at this house of Peter in Capernaum
	2:23–28	Jesus' disciples pluck grain on the Sabbath
	2:18–22	Jesus violates the times of fasting
	3:1–6	In the synagogue of Capernaum Jesus heals the man with the withered hand by command on the Sabbath

In Mark Jesus repeatedly transgresses purity maps of persons, places, things and time. The two other Synoptic Gospels for the most part have taken over these purity controversies from Mark. It seems useful to look at some of these controversies as they are found in Mark.

7.2.6.1 Mark 2:1–3:6: Jesus Transgresses Scribal Enactments

Dunn is confident that he can isolate Mark 2:1–3:6 as a Pre-Markan layer within the Gospel.¹⁸

I) **Mark 2:15–17: Table Fellowship with Sinners**

Form

String of chriae (occasioned by opponents); sentence

Purity Map Transgressed

People

Mark 2:15–17	
¹⁵ καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ	¹⁵ And it happened as he was reclining [at the table] in his house, also many tax collectors and sinners were

¹⁸ James D. G. Dunn, “Mark 2:1–3:6: A Bridge between Jesus and Paul on the Question of the Law,” in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990), 13. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 90 also notes that this collection of chriae appear to be “Grundbausteine der Gattung Evangelium.”

Ἐησοῦς καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοί· καὶ ἡκολούθουν αὐτῷ.¹⁶ καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἴδοντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει;¹⁷ καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἐησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς [ὅτι] οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ισχύοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ’ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· οὐκ ἥλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς. (NA²⁸)

reclining with Jesus and his disciples. For there were many, and they kept following him.¹⁶ And the scribes of the Pharisees seeing that he ate with sinners and tax collectors kept telling his disciples: “Does he eat with tax collectors and sinners?”¹⁷ And when Jesus heard it he said to them: “The strong do not have need of a physician, but the ones that are doing badly. For I have not come to call the just, but the sinners.”

Matthew 9:9–13 presents much the same version, except that his language is more polished. After the sentence about the physician, Matthew does add a quotation from Hosea 6:6 to support his argument with a prophetic precedent for the sake of a Jewish audience.¹⁹

As opposed to Mark and Matthew, Luke 5:29–32 makes it clear that the feast is held in the tax collector, Levi’s house. The narrator calls the people present “tax collectors and others.” Only the Pharisees and scribes call them “tax collectors and sinners,” giving the pericope a more polemical tone.²⁰ Luke emphasizes the size of the crowd reclining to eat – especially of the tax collectors.²¹ Otherwise Luke’s version is closer to Mark’s. Luke improves the Greek of the sentence at the end to “*the healthy* have no need of the physician, but only those that are doing badly” and at the end he inserts a phrase to make the point that Jesus calls sinners to repentance.

Dunn understands this passage in the light of Galatians 2:11–18 where the table fellowship with Gentiles is an issue.²² The concept of “Gentiles” and “sinners” used to cover the same semantic range.²³ According to Dunn the pericope does not try to downplay the strength of the Pharisaic commitment to God. This pericope emphasizes the breadth of Jesus’ appeal to all Israel – especially to outcasts and apostates. Later Christians would apply its message so as to include Gentiles.²⁴ Dunn is convinced that these three pericopae are in fact also pre-Pauline, so that it constitutes a debate between the (Christian) Jewish faction and greater Israel. This would mean there were purity controversies between Jewish-Christian groups, even before Mark.

¹⁹ Dunn, “Mark 2:1–3:6,” 20.

²⁰ Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008), 228. The narrators of both Mark and Matthew objectively call them “tax collectors and sinners.”

²¹ Luke 5:29 does not mention ὄμαρτωλοί, though all manuscripts of 5:30 except C* D do.

²² Dunn, “Mark 2:1–3:6,” 19.

²³ Dunn, “Mark 2:1–3:6,” 19 sights Gal 2:15; Mark 10:33; 14:41; Matt 5:47 par. Luke 6:33.

²⁴ Dunn, “Mark 2:1–3:6,” 29.

II) Mark 2:23–27: Plucking Grain on the Sabbath

Form

String of chriae (occasioned by opponents); gnome/sentence

Purity map transgressed

Times

Mark 2:23–27	
<p>²³καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντες τοὺς στάχυας.</p> <p>²⁴καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον αὐτῷ, ἵδε τί ποιοῦσιν τοῖς σάββασιν ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν;²⁵καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυίδ, ὅτε χρείαν ἔσχεν καὶ ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ;²⁶πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Αβιαθᾶρ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγεν, οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τοῖς σὸν αὐτῷ οὖσιν;²⁷καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον.²⁸ώστε κύριος ἐστιν ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἄνθρωπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>²³And it came to pass on the Sabbath as they passed through the crops that his disciples began to make a way plucking the ears of grain. ²⁴And the Pharisees asked him: “Look, why are they doing on the Sabbath that is not allowed!” ²⁵And he said to them: “Have you never read what David did when he had need and felt hungry, he and those with him? ²⁶How he went into the house of God to the high priest Abiathar and ate the bread of the presence, which is not allowed to eat except to the priests? And he gave also to those who were with him.” ²⁷And he told them the Sabbath was made because of man, and not man because of the Sabbath, ²⁸so that the son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath.</p>

According to Dunn this pericope is not concerned with the question of *whether* the Sabbath should be observed, but *how* it should be observed.²⁵ Basser & Cohen note that plucking grain on the Sabbath (with the hand) was not prohibited by Biblical law, but by scribal prohibitions (tradition of the elders) which banned “abnormal Sabbath acts.”²⁶ The version in Luke (6:1–5) describes how the grain was harvested by pushing out the kernel of wheat which would have counted as an “abnormal Sabbath act” (*b. Beṣah* 13b–14a).²⁷ Here Luke (Lk^S) has included unique material that is only relevant for Jewish *hälākā*. Like everybody

²⁵ Dunn, “Mark 2:1–3:6,” 21. Dunn remarks that they should have taken preparations for lunch the previous day like everybody else!

²⁶ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 290–291. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 234 also notes that rubbing the ears between the fingers might be construed as “preparing food.” Lowe & Flusser, “Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory,” 33 think this was about the Galilean custom of rubbing heads of grains in their hands rather than between the fingers, cf. *b. Šabb.* 128a.

²⁷ This is the only unique element to Luke’s version. Luke’s version is shorter than Mark’s and omits the explanation that the Sabbath was made for man and not the other way round.

else the disciples could have prepared their food the previous day.²⁸ Although there are exceptions made in rabbinic literature for observing the Sabbath, Jesus' argumentation does not constitute an exception.²⁹ Rather Jesus advocates a kind of freedom which says the Sabbath is for man, not vice versa. The analogy (*gezērā šāwā*) Jesus invokes concerning king David is invalid. The abrogation of a law could only be done by referring to a legal precept, not by referring to a narrative passage (haggadic reasoning).³⁰ David and his men's lives were in danger, not so the disciples. Furthermore David and his entourage did not commit their infringement on a Sabbath.³¹ The argumentation found in Mark's version suggests that God feels relief of hunger to be more important than cultic propriety.³²

Matthew's version adds two additional arguments (12:5–6), the first of which comes across as a *qal wāhōmer*.³³ Jesus argues that someone greater than the temple is here and the Sabbath is effectively overruled. But Luz makes the important observation that μεῖζον as a neuter adjective is not a morphological error for describing Jesus.³⁴ It is referring to the neuter noun of the next sentence, ἔλεος. Indeed if the adjective had referred to Jesus, the first premise would state the temple stands in relation to Jesus as of minor and major importance. The second premise is that the temple is associated with a permissive law, that is, the neglect of Sabbath observance. The conclusion would be that Jesus' disciples can neglect the Sabbath. This argumentation would only be compelling if Jesus' interlocutors did believe that he was greater than the temple.³⁵ With Luz' reading this dilemma is avoided. For Matthew mercy is greater than the Sabbath as Matthew 23:23 will make even clearer.

The second additional argument by Matthew is another quotation of Hosea 6:6. Clearly Matthew presents a Jesus that is more at home in a Jewish setting. For Basser & Cohen the debates between Jesus and the Pharisees all revolve on the issue of their scribal

²⁸ Dan M. Cohn-Sherbok, "Plucking Grain on the Sabbath," *JSNT* 2 (1979): 35, 31–41.

²⁹ Dunn, "Mark 2:1–3:6," 22.

³⁰ Cohn-Sherbok, "Plucking Grain," 36.

³¹ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 292 provide examples from Amoraic literature and later where this same precedent of David is used to argue that the Sabbath can only be transgressed to save a life (cf. *b. Menah* 96a). One has to remember though that this might reflect some interaction with Christian exegesis of 1 Sam 21:7.

³² Dunn, "Mark 2:1–3:6," 22.

³³ The argument is that priests that are on duty profane the Sabbath, but remain blameless. Now there is someone that is greater than the temple.

³⁴ Luz, *Matthew*, 2: 181. λέγω δὲ ὃμιν ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζόν ἐστιν ὁδε. There is some textual support for the masculine μεῖζων.

³⁵ Cohn-Sherbok, "Plucking Grain on the Sabbath," 38. Cohn-Sherbok judges that the inference based on a definite precept (Num 28:9) is correct, so that Matthew's argument does formally correspond to a *qal wāhōmer*, nevertheless, his inference is not valid. Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 298 also agrees that this an example of *qal wāhōmer* and feels it is in proper form and a more sophisticated argument than the one about David and his men. Moses Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud* (4th ed.; New York: Bloch, 1968), 136 also notes that even in the Talmud many problematic and sophistic inferences are set forth.

legal system and God's era of mercy and justice.³⁶ It would also be simplistic to argue that Matthew just copies the traditions from Mark and manipulates them to suit his narratological agenda.³⁷

III) Mark 3:1–5 Jesus Transgresses a Scribal Enactment: Healing on the Sabbath

Form

Dramatic chria

Purity Map Transgressed

Times

Although Matthew and Luke have separated Jesus' table fellowship and the calling of the tax collector from the previous pericope, both attach the healing of the man with the withered hand on the Sabbath to the story of plucking grain on the Sabbath (following Mark).

Mark 3:1–6	
<p>καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν. καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἔξηραμμένην ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα· ²καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν εἰ τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεύσει αὐτόν, ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ. ³καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὴν ξηρὰν χεῖρα ἔχοντι ἔγειρε εἰς τὸ μέσον. ⁴καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀγαθὸν πουῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀποκτεῖναι; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων. ⁵καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀργῆς, συλλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἔξετεινεν, καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ. ⁶καὶ ἔξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἡροδιανῶν συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>And again he went into the synagogue and there was a man with his hand withered. And they were observing him from the side if he would heal him, so that they could accuse him. And he told the man with the withered hand: “Arise and into the middle!” And he asked them: “Is it allowed to do good on the Sabbath, or to do evil, to save a life or to kill it?” But they kept quiet. And he looked around at them in anger as he grieved because of the hardening of their hearts, he said to the man: “Stretch out your hand!” And he stretched it out and it was restored again. And immediately the Pharisees went out and were giving counsel to the Herodians how they might destroy him.</p>

In Matthew's version (12:9–14) there is more of a controversy with less concern for the man with the withered hand, so that the Pharisees confront Jesus by asking whether it is allowable

³⁶ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 283.

³⁷ Correctly pointed out by James D. G. Dunn, “Jesus and Ritual Purity: A Study of the Tradition History of Mark ,” in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990), 59.

to heal on the Sabbath.³⁸ Jesus replies with a counter question, who would leave their (only)³⁹ sheep that falls in a pit on a Sabbath, noting that human life is worth more than that of a sheep.⁴⁰ Matthew omits the wrath of Jesus and the hardening of the opponents' hearts. He also omits the rhetorical question, whether it is lawful to save a life on the Sabbath. Lowe & Flusser suggest that Matthew avoids this principle (*pīqqūah nefesh*) skilfully, as this was no emergency.⁴¹ Jesus could have waited till the next day. The concern was that one would pound herbs and drugs. Lowe & Flusser suggest that if Jesus would have manipulated the man's hand this would have violated the Sabbath.⁴² As the Pharisees go out and take counsel how to destroy him, Matthew omits the typically Markan εὐθύς and improves the diction. Matthew's version is less dramatic, in that the man with the withered hand is not ordered into the middle.

According to Luke's version (6:6–11) it is the right hand of the man that is withered.⁴³ As the Pharisees hope to find something to accuse Jesus, he knows their reasoning. Jesus commands the man to come into the middle. The rhetorical question of Mark is repeated. Jesus looks around at them (without anger as in Mark) and heals the man's hand. Then the Pharisees are the ones filled with rage and go out to discuss what to do with Jesus. Luke's version is again closer to Mark's, although he omits the Markan εὐθύς.

The principle we see in the Synoptics, is that the most important law is to love your neighbour and that this trumps the Sabbath command (cf. Mark 12:28–34). Dunn notes that Jesus refuses to expand this principle into specific rulings like the hedge around the law.⁴⁴ Dunn argues that Matthew appears to show more concern to give specific halachic reasoning by applying a *qal wāḥōmer*. According to *The Damascus Document* (CD 11:13) the animal

³⁸ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 187.

³⁹ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 187 notes that the Greek ἐν should be translated as poor Galileans are in mind.

⁴⁰ The same argument is also applied by Lk^S 14:5 showing that it was standard in halachic disputes, cf. Luz, *Matthew*, 1:187.

⁴¹ Lowe & Flusser, "Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory," 31; Bassar & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 297.

⁴² Lowe & Flusser, "Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory," 30. According to a similar story (in Lk^S) a crippled woman is healed on the Sabbath (Luke 13:14). The head of the synagogue remarks that she could have been healed on any other day of the week *but* the Sabbath. Evidently this was no emergency, so that Jesus transgressed the scribal law. In answer to the head of the synagogue, Jesus replies with a rhetorical question "Does not each of you on the Sabbath untie his ox or his ass from the manger and lead it away to water it? Ought not this woman as a daughter of Abraham whom Satan bound for eighteen years be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath?" Luke remarks that all Jesus' adversaries were put to shame. Once again Luke provides specific details of the Jewish environment and uses arguments that would only be useful in a Jewish context. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 87 notes the Jewish-Christian character of Lk^S.

⁴³ That Luke signals out the fact that it is the right hand of the man that is withered may act as halfway mark between Mark's version of a man with a withered hand and the Gospel according to the Nazarenes' mason with the withered that wants to be healed so that he can earn an honest living.

⁴⁴ Dunn, "Mark 2:1–3:6," 24.

should not be taken out on the Sabbath.⁴⁵ According to the Tosefta (*t. Šabb.* 14:3) one should feed the animal, but not take it out. Later on provision is made for rescuing the animal on the Sabbath (*b. Šabb.* 128b).⁴⁶ Even though this lenient measure is only spelled out in the Amoraic period, Basser & Cohen note that there was always a measure of leniency with scribal laws, as this was not seen as on a par with Biblical law (cf. *m. Šabb.* 18:1).

7.2.6.2 Mark 7:1–23 Jesus Overrules the Law: The Controversy over the Unwashed Hands

Matthew (15:1–20) contains another version of this controversy, but not Luke.⁴⁷ Other passages in Early Christian literature also reflect criticism of this purity map, including Acts 10:9–16; 11:1–10 (Peter’s dream of the sheet with the unclean animals), and the Gospel according to Thomas 14.⁴⁸

Form

Mark 7:1–13(23) Chria with rebuke and announcement of doom;⁴⁹ Sentence about people (7:14–15);⁵⁰ Revalatory discourse (7:15–23)⁵¹

Purity Map Transgressed

Things

Sounding somewhat like Herodotus, Mark explains the traditions of the Pharisees and “all Jews” to his Gentile (Roman?)⁵² audience: they do not eat unless their hands are washed and when going to the market they refuse to eat before they have immersed themselves first.

⁴⁵ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 295.

⁴⁶ Malcolm Lowe & David Flusser, “Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory,” *NTS* 29 (1983): 31, 25–47 note that there was a lenient ruling that allowed one to throw cushions into the pit, in the hope that the animal might climb out himself.

⁴⁷ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 185–186 has already singled this out as an important inter-text to understand P.Oxy. 840. Luke has combined a similar story, Jesus being accused of eating without having been immersed with the denouncing of Pharisees and lawyers in Luke 11:37–52. Luke skilfully combines the forms of chria with rebuke and announcement of doom (of a deliberative kind).

⁴⁸ J. Dominic Crossan, ed. *Sayings Parallels: A Workbook for the Jesus Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 189–190 lists these as parallels for the story “Unwashed Hands.” He also recognizes a parallel with Papyrus Egerton, but notes that it may have belonged to a different pericope.

⁴⁹ Crossan, *Sayings Parallels*, 189–190. Crossan calls the *logion* Aphorism (Mark 7:14–15 isolated), Dialogue (Mark 7:14–15 isolated) and Story.

⁵⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 64.

⁵¹ The revelatory discourse can be analysed as follows: 7:15 is the puzzling revelation, 7:16 the puzzled reaction of the disciples and 7:17–23 the explanation, cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 84.

⁵² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 376 is confident that it was written in Rome because of the Latinisms and 1 Pet 5:13. They note that it is obviously directed at Gentile Christians unfamiliar with Aramaic.

Contrary to Mark's assertion, this custom was actually peculiar to Pharisaic *ḥālākā*. Essenes immersed their whole body before eating meals, whereas the Sadducees immersed their whole body before doing ministry in the temple and eating the remains of the sacrifices, but not before meals taken at home.⁵³ This highlights the fact that Mark is writing for the benefit of a Gentile Christian audience. The Jews that matter to Mark – the Pharisees – practice the tradition of the elders. In response to the Pharisees and scribes' question, Jesus calls them hypocrites (the only case of this label in Mark)⁵⁴ and quotes Isaiah 29:13, as if it were a prophecy of his interlocutors. Jesus goes onto the counter-offensive by sarcastically complementing his opponents on leaving the commandment of God in order to keep the traditions of men. As an example Jesus quotes the fifth commandment as spoken by Moses (Exod 20:12/Deut 5:16). Then Jesus shows how they transgress this commandment while staying under the protection of the tradition: If they owe their parents support, they would pretend to have dedicated their property to God by pronouncing it as *qōrbān*, so that their parents would go to ruin.⁵⁵ Although the issue appears to be purity, the passage is at the same time more generic: the traditions of the elders are excluding people from the household of God.⁵⁶

According to several form critics, at least verse 15 appears to be the *logion* spoken by the historical Jesus.⁵⁷ Mark has preserved the *logion* as follows:

Mark 7:15	
οὐδέν ἔστιν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτὸν ὃ δύναται κοινῶσαι αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενά ἔστιν τὰ κοινοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. (NA ²⁸)	There is nothing outside the human which goes into him which can profane him, but the things coming out of the human are the things that profane the human.

Jesus enters a house that is not identified further, other than being somewhere in Gennesaret (6:53). His disciples ask him to explain the parable. Jesus reprimands them for being without

⁵³ Betz, "The Essenes," 458; Stemberger, "The Sadducees," 435.

⁵⁴ Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (EKK 2; Study edition; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2010), 282. This slander is more characteristic of Matthew's Gospel.

⁵⁵ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 299–300 notes that the *נִדְחָר* was actually wealth pledged to God upon death that could still be retained during life.

⁵⁶ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 300.

⁵⁷ Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition: Mit Ergänzungsheft* (3d ed.; Göttingen, 1957), 15f adds Mark 7:1–8; Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen, 1959), 222f adds Mark 7:9–13; Klaus Berger, *Markus und Parallelen* in vol. 1 of *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament* (WMANT 40; 1972), 461–483.

understanding – a characteristically Markan motif.⁵⁸ Jesus notes that whatever enters a man cannot defile him, since it enters not his heart, but his stomach and then passes on, thereby acknowledging that a literal interpretation of his words will not make any sense.⁵⁹ Then we find a redactional comment from Mark that Jesus thereby declared all foods clean. Jesus further explains this, by adding that man is defiled by that which comes out of him, specifically out of his heart. This is made explicit by a catalogue of thirteen vices: evil thoughts, fornication, theft, murder, adultery, coveting, wickedness, deceit, licentiousness, envy, slander, pride, foolishness. Redundantly Jesus adds that all these evil things come from within and profane a man.

Matthew's version (15:1–9) appears to be more compact and finished.⁶⁰ The dialogue begins with the Pharisees and scribes challenging Jesus by accusing the disciples of transgressing the tradition. Here Jesus responds with a counter question: "Why do you transgress the law for the sake of your tradition?" Matthew presents the fifth commandment as commanded by God Himself.⁶¹ The text of Matthew has translated *qōrbān* into Greek.⁶² Matthew concludes by giving the quotation from Isaiah 29:13. Matthew omits what the traditions of the Pharisees are, probably because Mark is mistaken.⁶³ Matthew omits the first sentence of the *logion* which probably shows that Matthew continued to feel that things outside the human could defile him. Matthew appears to have changed τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενά into τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος so that the plural becomes singular and the meaning is made more specific so as to only apply to the mouth.⁶⁴ The Markan version is the *lectio difficilior*, but has less textual support. Matthew simplifies the

⁵⁸ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 423.

⁵⁹ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 356 fn. 1.

⁶⁰ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 326 feels Matthew brings order to the disorganized Markan pericope.

⁶¹ Difference noted by Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3d ed.; Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 188.

⁶² Ms 1424 (introduced by τὸ Ἰουδαικόν) of Matthew 15:5 includes the untranslated variant קְרַבְנָה.

⁶³ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 326.

⁶⁴ The version from the *Gospel according to Thomas* contains the same tradition as that of Matthew:

<i>Gos. Thom. 14</i>	
ἀγω ἐτετῆψανθωκ` εσογη ἕκας ηιμ αγω ἐτετῆμοοψε շն նխարա εցամբըարձեխ միատն պետոնակալս շարտն օյօմց նետառու նհուոյ բրթերպեց միոօյ պետանակ գար` εσօցն շն տետնառո զնախաղն դիյտն ան` ալլա պետնին ևօլ` շն տետնառո նոօ պետնախամիդն (NHS 20)	If you go into any land and you walk about in the country, if they receive you, eat that which they place before you, heal those that are sick among them, for that which goes into your mouth will not pollute you, but what comes out of your mouth, that is the thing that shall pollute you.

The version from Thomas is as specific as Matthew's version, but dissolves the immediate context, so as to address its audience (in the second person plural).

inside/outside contrast to into mouth/out of mouth. In the revelatory discourse of Mark 7:17–23 “the things coming out of the man” is explained as the vices coming out of the heart. Matthew’s version of the revelatory discourse omits the vague context provided by Mark. Matthew adds a section (15:13–14) of anti-Pharisaic polemic which might constitute a later interpolation,⁶⁵ in which Jesus says that every plant which his heavenly Father did not plant, will be uprooted and that the disciples should leave the Pharisees be, for they are blind guides of the blind, if the blind guides the blind both will fall into the pit. According to Matthew it is Peter that asks Jesus to explain the meaning of the teaching. The greater prominence enjoyed by Peter is typical of the Matthean redaction.⁶⁶ The Markan redactional note is left out. As far as Matthew is concerned the impure foods of the law are still impure.⁶⁷ Matthew adds that what comes out of the mouth proceeds from the heart. The catalogue of vices contains only eight items. Vices that are not in the Decalogue and that are more characteristic of Graeco-Roman catalogues are left out.⁶⁸ Matthew’s last sentence is more polished, so that reference is made to the unwashed hands-argument of Matthew 15:1–9. In Matthew 23:2–3 Jesus will identify himself with Pharisaic teaching.⁶⁹ Of course these reconciliatory tones are absent from Mark’s Gospel. Matthew does not reject ritual law, but subordinates it to the love command and moral commands in cases where there are conflict.⁷⁰

According to Basser & Cohen the most obvious way to understand this *logion* as it is found in Matthew, is that food that is eaten cannot defile the body, but food that is vomited out can,⁷¹ although this would not make sense in a Jewish context, so that the puzzlement of the disciples is understandable. According to ritual law, food eaten can indeed defile, but digested food cannot.

Basser & Cohen note how Matthew’s report (and by implication Mark’s) corresponds to Jewish debate conventions where a typical debate begins with an initial confrontational question and an acerbic rhetorical question in response⁷²: Question: “Why do they violate?” Response: “Why do you violate?” Basser & Cohen note that when one’s religious position is

⁶⁵ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 387.

⁶⁶ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 474–476.

⁶⁷ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 356 fn. 1.

⁶⁸ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 327.

⁶⁹ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 364.

⁷⁰ Luz, *Matthew*, 1: 328.

⁷¹ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 385.

⁷² Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 372.

under attack, the Jewish mode of response is a threatening and belligerent rhetorical question.⁷³

This tradition must have appeared to Jesus to exaggerate the external aspect of purity mechanisms to the detriment of spiritual and moral mechanisms, something that is also pointed out by other rabbis (*b. Yoma* 23ab; 72b).⁷⁴ According to the argument of Jesus, moral purification makes symbolic outer cleansing unnecessary.⁷⁵ The implication is that these Pharisees are impure on the inside, so that no exterior cleansing can purify them.⁷⁶

The highlight of Jesus' challenging the Map of Things is when his disciples are criticized for failing to wash their hands before eating (Mark 7:1–23; Matt 15:1–20).⁷⁷ The preoccupation with the purity of hands as opposed to that of the whole body was a Pharisaic innovation, so that it is little wonder that Jesus is challenged by Pharisees (and scribes) in both passages.⁷⁸ According to Matthew's version Jesus says that it is not what goes into the mouth that defiles, but that which comes out. For Matthew it is speech that can defile, by destroying reputations and polluting relationships. Mark's version is less specific and more radical as deSilva notes⁷⁹: nothing outside a person can defile her when going in, but only that which comes out. The focus is not on speech, but on the inner person as opposed to the outside world.

It is striking that the Gospel of Luke does not include this pericope, but this deficit appears to be made up for by the narration of the conversion of the Roman, Cornelius, and Peter's vision of the impure animals on the sheet in Acts 10:9–16 and 11:1–10.⁸⁰ During the vision Peter responds:

Acts 11:8–9	
⁸ εἶπον δέ, μηδαμῶς· κύριε, ὅτι κοινὸν ἦ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα μου. ⁹ ἀπεκρίθη δὲ φωνὴ ἐκ δευτέρου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἄ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. (NA ²⁸)	⁸ But I said: “never, Lord! For profane and impure has never gone into my mouth.” ⁹ But for a second time a voice from heaven said: “What God has purified, you may not profane.”

⁷³ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 375.

⁷⁴ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 365.

⁷⁵ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 368.

⁷⁶ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 369.

⁷⁷ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 281.

⁷⁸ Saffrai, “Religion in Everyday Life,” 829.

⁷⁹ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 281.

⁸⁰ Crossan, *Sayings Parallels*, 190 notes the parallel. Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 336 sees this as part of the “große Auslassung” in Luke of Mark 6:45–8:26.

Luke appears to testify to the same tradition Matthew depended on in Matthew 15:11. It seems possible that this might come from Q.

7.2.6.3 *Mark 11:15–19; 13:1–2 The Demonstration in the Temple and the Prophecy of its Destruction*

7.2.6.4 *Form*

Mixed chria; Symbolic act, negative missionary report, (Mark 11:15–19), rebuke (opposition God/human); Prodigy Matt 21:15; Chria (Mark 13:1–2); Eschatological prophecy of doom⁸¹ (Luke's version, Rebuke and Announcement of Doom in the Form of Prophecy)

Jesus' demonstration in the temple is sandwiched between the prophecy and fulfilment regarding the fig tree.⁸²

Jesus enters the temple. He casts the sellers and the buyers out and he overturns the tables of the money changers and the benches of the sellers of pigeons. Jesus does not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple. The reason for Jesus' demonstration is provided in Mark 11:17:

Mark 11:17	
<p>καὶ ἐδίδασκεν καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· οὗ γέγραπται ὅτι ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>And he was teaching and asking them: “Is it not written that my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations? But you have made it a cave of robbers.”</p>

After this the high priests and scribes start plotting against Jesus as they fear him, for the people are astounded by his teaching. Jesus seems to make two accusations against the temple in Mark: it is not functioning as a house of prayer to the Gentiles and it is engaged in dubious economic practices.⁸³ Collins suggests that Jesus' unhappiness with the temple must have been occasioned by Herod's restructuring of the temple, so that the Temple Court Yard

⁸¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 294.

⁸² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 405.

⁸³ Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (The Pillar New Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 527. Collins, *Mark*, 526 would agree with this, except she feels that Mark 11:17 is a later redactional notice as it does not fit the narrative of Jesus' actions well.

took on the feel of a public space with an atmosphere that was not conducive to prayer.⁸⁴ Gentiles could only venture up to this part and would have missed their last shot at praying in the temple of YHWH.

With Matthew (21:12–17) the same structure of the demonstration is followed except that the episode with the fig tree’s cursing and its withering occurs after the demonstration as a unit. Matthew adds material that emphasizes that Jesus is the expected Messiah. After Jesus’ prophetic comment, Matthew’s version adds how the blind and lame came up to Jesus in the temple and are healed.⁸⁵ Children start singing “Hosanna to the son of David!” Chief priests (*sic*) and scribes rebuke Jesus for the offensive language of the children. Jesus quotes Psalm 118:25. Both Matthew and Luke omit the words πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν after ὁ οἶκος μου οῦκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται,⁸⁶ although both the Hebrew and the Old Greek of Isaiah 56:7 include it.⁸⁷ Perhaps this might indicate that, to the authors, the emphasis is on the temple’s failure to facilitate prayer.

Luke (19:41–48) does not contain the story of the fig tree, but inserts the prophecy of the temple’ destruction (Luke 19:41–44) between Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem and the temple demonstration. Luke’s version of the demonstration is significantly shorter than the other evangelists’ versions. In the prophecy of the temple’s destruction, one of Jesus’ disciples makes an overwhelmed remark about the magnificence of the temple. Jesus prophesies that no stone will be left standing on another stone that will not be demolished. Matthew (24:1–2) matter-of-factly reports how Jesus’ disciples show him the temple. In Matthew traces of the Aramaic oath ‘āmēn is preserved. According to Luke (19:41–48), as Jesus enters the city amid praises, he starts weeping and prophesies that enemies will raise palisades beside it, surround and crowd it in from everywhere. They will smash them and their children inside it and will leave no stone upon another, for it did not know the time of its visitation.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Collins, *Mark*, 528. Cf. my appendix for a representation of a Tyrian *šeqel* that was the preferred currency in the temple of Jerusalem. Note the representation of Melqart as Heracles. This was the kind of *šeqel* current at the time of Jesus.

⁸⁵ NA²⁶ refers the reader to the Messianic expectations based on Isa 42:7, 18; 61:1 as it is reflected in Matt 11:5, also forming a contrast to David’s unsympathetic attitude in 2 Sam 5:8. The Messianic Rule (1QSa II, Giza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [3d ed.; London: Penguin, 1990], 102) also did not allow lepers, the paralysed, whether with feet or hands, lame, blind, or old tottering men into the congregation. Cf. Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 527.

⁸⁶ The text-critical apparatus of Nestle-Aland²⁶ does not report any other readings in either Mark, Matthew or Luke.

⁸⁷ MT יְקַרֵא לְכָל־עַמִּים LXX πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 111 would probably explain this as an example of Matthew and Luke’s having used a different text of Mark than what we know today.

⁸⁸ Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 670 notes that Luke 21:5 appears to be a doublet (perhaps from Q) where some speak of the temple that is adorned with noble stones and offerings.

Gnilka proposes that 11:17 belongs to Markan redaction.⁸⁹ Mark (11:16) is the only evangelist to say Jesus would not allow anybody to carry a vessel through the temple. Basser & Cohen refer the reader to a prohibition in Josephus against carrying vessels about in the temple:

Josephus, Ap. 2.8.106–108	
<i>denique nec vas aliquod portari licet in templum ...nulla re, quae ad cibum aut potum adtineat, in templo delata.</i> (CSEL 37) ⁹⁰	Lastly it is not permitted to carry any vessel into the temple...nothing like food or drink is brought within the temple.

Liquids could easily defile the temple. Gray notes the unspecificity of the Greek σκεῦος in Mark 11:16.⁹¹ Two possible glosses could do justice to the lexeme within this context: “household utensil” and “cultic vessel.”⁹² The associative meaning would of course swing strongly to “cultic vessel” when inside the temple. Concretely this would mean the vessels in which priests received and transported gifts and offerings from pilgrims on its way to the altar.⁹³ The only vessels allowed in the temple were those controlled by the temple establishment. Therefore Gray proposes, that according to Mark, Jesus was boycotting the temple’s cultic functions. For Gray the shutting down of the temple cult signifies that soon the temple would be permanently silenced.⁹⁴

For Gnilka, Mark 11:17 makes clear that, for the author, the purpose of the temple has been terminated⁹⁵ which could be one of the first tangible moments of supersessionism. Gnilka notes that there are no reports of grievances related to the money changers in the

⁸⁹ Gnilka, *Das Markusevangelium*, 127. This is because of the typically Markan language the evangelist uses (καὶ ἐδίδασκεν καὶ ἔλεγεν). Other scholars doubting Mark 11:17's authenticity is Ed P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 66–67; Anthony E. Harvey, *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 132. Defending its authenticity as really spoken by Jesus is Craig Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (WBC 34C; Nashville: Nelson, 2001), 174–179; Kim Tan, *The Zion Traditions and the Aims of Jesus* (SNTS 91; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 181–185 and Morna Hooker, “Traditions about the Temple in the Sayings of Jesus,” *BJRL* 70 (1988): 7–19. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 626 notes that ἐδίδασκεν is not found in Luke's version of the tradition and points to Markan redaction.

⁹⁰ CPL 0909b (A) Text only extent in Cassiodorus' translation.

⁹¹ Mark 11:16 καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν ἵνα τις διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (And he didn't allow anybody to carry a cultic vessel through the temple).

⁹² J. J. Massyngberd Ford, “Money Bags in the Temple (Mark 11:16),” *Bib* 57 (1976): 249–253 has proposed the very specific reference “money bags.” Gray, *The Temple in Mark*, 29 argues that many people would be carrying all kinds of things through the temple. According to Gray's dissection of the lexeme σκεῦος Josephus seems to be using σκεῦος with the reference of “household utensil.” Here the emphasis is that it is a vessel outside of the temple that is brought in.

⁹³ Gray, *The Temple in Mark*, 30.

⁹⁴ Here Gray follows the proposal of Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 63 that the cleansing of the temple signified “a symbolic destruction.”

⁹⁵ Gnilka, *Das Markusevangelium*, 129.

temple in ancient literature.⁹⁶ Van Eck notes the significance of the fact that Jesus returns to the temple the very next day to teach the crowd.⁹⁷ Van Eck argues that Jesus would also have wanted to replicate his achievements in Galilee in Jerusalem, so that he would have tried to replicate God's household in the temple: restoring the kingdom by creating a new household with no exclusiveness and purity rules.⁹⁸ Gentiles would have to be allowed in the temple. In doing so Jesus would be advocating a total revolution in Judaism that would inevitably imply amending the law.⁹⁹ To a certain extent it leads to a symbolic destruction of the temple. Accordingly Mark would be advocating a spiritualized temple. Gnilka views this as the worst case of resentment against Judaism in Mark.¹⁰⁰ Gnilka concludes that it remains unclear what the purpose of (the historical) Jesus was with this demonstration, as both Mark 11:17 and John 2:17, 19 constitute secondary developments.¹⁰¹ Mark appears to have sharpened the polemical thrust of Jesus' actions, in that firstly the demonstration in the temple is sandwiched between the cursing of the fig tree, secondly with the insertion of the quotation in Mark 11:17.¹⁰² Accordingly Mark implies that the temple cult has been brushed aside as it is not a house of prayer that accommodates Gentiles as YHWH intends in Isaiah 56. This supersessionist interpretation of Mark by scholars like Gnilka, Sanders, Crossan, Horsley and Gray is more of an inference than argument based on solid evidence.¹⁰³ Certainly if one looks at the literature that follows in the wake of Mark and towards Q, that might even precede Mark, anti-Judaism does seem to have been a factor with Mark as well.

Basser & Cohen also find that the Matthean account implies supersessionism of Judaism, as the temple is spiritualized and the people of Israel are replaced by another nation in Matthew 21:41–43.¹⁰⁴ In addition to the two accusations in Mark, Matthew's version

⁹⁶ Gnilka, *Das Markusevangelium*, 128.

⁹⁷ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 355; Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 346–348 lists ten different interpretations of the demonstration in the temple.

⁹⁸ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem*, 353. From Mark 7:19 and Luke's perspectives it seems reasonable to infer that all purity rules were to be abandoned, but not from Matthew's.

⁹⁹ It is clear that this turned out to be true of the post-Jesus groups, but it seems debatable whether the historical Jesus would have advocated such a drastic route. For many of his followers remained law-observant.

¹⁰⁰ It should be remembered that Judaism has often had to cope without a temple. This criticism – not just found in Christian Judaism, but in other Judaisms as well – seem to have been aimed at state religion under the leadership of the Sadducees, cf. Bruce J. Malina, "Religion in the World of Paul," *BTB* 16 (1986): 93, 92–101.

¹⁰¹ Gnilka, *Das Markusevangelium*, 128.

¹⁰² Gnilka, *Das Markusevangelium*, 131.

¹⁰³ Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (San Francisco: Harper, 1987), 285–300; *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (San Francisco: Harper, 1987), 130–132; J. Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (New York: Harper, 1991), 355–360; Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*; Gray, *The Temple in Mark*, 65; Gnilka, *Das Markusevangelium*, 95.

¹⁰⁴ Basser & Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 529; Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 458.

seems to introduce a criticism of the temple as excluding blind and lame people, putting a strong Messianic spin on it. He seems at pains to defend Jesus' behaviour.

Luke's version of the demonstration in the temple is very short.¹⁰⁵ The reason for the demonstration is simply that the temple is no longer functioning as a house of prayer.

The events surrounding his infamous cleansing of the temple present a clear indictment of the temple authorities for having profaned the sacred space of the temple (Matt 21:12–13).¹⁰⁶ According to Matthew especially God creates sacred space among Jesus' disciples who will be sent to the nations to worship Him (Matt 1:23; 18:20; 28:19–20). All of this being said Jesus takes the purity of the temple for granted. He actually criticizes the priestly aristocracy for not respecting its holiness.

By turning over the tables of the temple Jesus tried to put an end to the boundaries which excluded people from the kingdom.¹⁰⁷ It was an open act of defiance from Jesus to abolish the old set of purity boundaries as expressed so decisively by the inscriptions on the stone barrier in front of the sanctuary.

7.2.6.5 *Mark 11:27–33: The Authority of Jesus Questioned Form*

Judicial chria occasioned by a question of an opponent

Mark 11:27–33	
<p>²⁷καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵερῷ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ²⁸καὶ ἔλεγον αὐτῷ· ἐν ποίᾳ ἔχουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιεῖς; ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἔχουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῆς; ²⁹ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἐπερωτήσω ὑμᾶς ἔνα λόγον, καὶ ἀποκρίθητέ μοι καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἔχουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ. ³⁰τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἦν ἡ ἔξ ἀνθρώπων; ἀποκρίθητέ μοι. ³¹καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες· ἐὰν εἴπωμεν· ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἐρεῖ· διὰ</p>	<p>²⁷And they came again to Jerusalem. And as he walked about in the temple there came to him the high priests and scribes and elders. ²⁸And they said to him: “by whose authority do you do these things?” Or “who has given you this authority to do these things?” ²⁹But Jesus said to them: “I shall ask you one account and answer me and I will tell you by whose authority I do these things. ³⁰The baptism of John, was it from heaven or from people? Answer me!” ³¹And they were discussing it among themselves and said “if we say</p>

¹⁰⁵ Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 635. Wolter compares this entry of Jesus into Jerusalem to a triumph where one expects the dignitary to end with him offering in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Polybius 16.25.5–7; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.153, 155; 11.336; 16.14; 17.200, 205; Suetonius, *Nero*, 25.2), so that Luke appears to be at pains to explain why Jesus does not behave as a pious person usually would. Certainly one cannot exclude this possibility, but one has to remember that this motif is taken over from Mark, so that this must also have been his motif. It does shed light on how a Roman of the first century would have looked at this chria.

¹⁰⁶ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 292. Even if it is not exactly clear in what way.

¹⁰⁷ Van Eck, *Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark's Story of Jesus*, 353.

<p>τί [οὖν] οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ; ³²ἀλλὰ εἴπωμεν· ἐξ ἀνθρώπων; – ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν ὄχλον· ἅπαντες γὰρ εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὅτι προφήτης ἦν. ³³καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν· οὐκ οἴδαμεν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>‘from heaven’ he shall say ‘why do you not believe him then?’ ³²but shall we say ‘from people?’” For they feared the crowd, for all thought John really was a prophet. ³³And they answered Jesus and said: “We do not know.” And Jesus said to them: “I shall also not tell you by whose authority I do these things.”</p>
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The italicized Greek above corresponds to the language of P.Oxy. 840. Matthew’s version (21:23–27) does not contain the part about Jesus walking about in the temple. Immediately as the high priests and the elders of the people enter the temple, they ask Jesus by whose authority he does these things. The same pleonastic question is repeated as is the case in Mark. Matthew 21:26 appears to correct the awkward text of Mark, so that there is a proper apodosis: “but if we say ‘from men’ we fear the crowd, for all think John was a prophet.”

Luke’s version (20:1–8) also skips the part of Jesus walking about in the temple, so that the high priests, scribes and elders come up to him immediately and ask him the same two pleonastic questions. Luke has also corrected Mark’s awkward language, but has also changed the sense so that the apodosis has the interlocutors say “then all the people will stone us” for they were convinced that John was a prophet.

7.2.7 Reasons for Text’s Identification with its Trajectory

In order to avoid anachronisms it appears reasonable to state that Mark may have been successfully absorbed by the emerging Orthodox Church, but that it needn’t have been composed as a document within such a church or even a predecessor of such a church. Mark probably achieved almost immediate canonicity, as its popularity is reflected by Matthew and Luke not long after its composition. In classifying Mark’s theology it might be safest to note that his law-free gospel is focused strongly on Gentiles and not very sympathetic with mainstream Judaism and the law. There are similarities to Pauline theology, like Jesus’ substitutionary death for believers, but whereas Paul is uninterested in the pre-Easter Jesus, Mark feels he should be the basis of the gospel of Jesus. According to Pokorný & Heckel Mark appears to be opposed to Docetic elements which could not be effectively repelled by Pauline theology.¹⁰⁸ Mark was written at a time where “the church,” as it is found in Matthew, was still emergent.

¹⁰⁸ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 405.

7.2.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

In the Synoptic versions of Mark 2:23–28, Jesus uses an argument from analogy that is haggadic reasoning and is ultimately not valid according to Jewish custom. In P.Oxy. 840 Jesus also uses analogy in comparing the outer purity of the Pharisaic high priest to prostitutes, but this is purely rhetorical and is not an analogy from Scripture as it is found in Mark. Matthew's *qal wāhōmer* technique does not have a parallel in P.Oxy. 840. It is possible to understand baptism as replacing immersion in terms of the hermeneutic rule that the new act of God supersedes the older, but this is not spelt out.¹⁰⁹ P.Oxy. 840 is not concerned to show that the Saviour is still abiding by the law. In fact the law is overruled by the Saviour. Rather P.Oxy. 840 has more of a supersessionist agenda where immersion is replaced by Christian baptism. P.Oxy. 840 does not quote the prophets to make its point as Matthew's version of Mark 2:23–28 does (cf. also his version of Mark 2:15–17). Jesus' argumentation in Mark 3:1–6 is a *deductio ad absurdum*. No one would disagree that one can do right on the Sabbath. The criticism of the hardness of heart of the Pharisees is an example of prophetic anti-Judaism. Matthew brings in two additional arguments: the *qal wāhōmer* of the sheep in the pit and the prophetic criticism of sacrifice at the expense of mercy. Matthew avoids the *pīqqūah nefeš*-argument found in Mark and Luke as it does not apply to this legal debate. Matthew's version seems more concerned with convincing a Jewish audience. P.Oxy. 840 also uses a *deductio ad absurdum* (pigs and dogs wash in the water of purification) like Mark does and comes across as less concerned with the technicalities of scribal argumentation. Indeed P.Oxy. 840's argumentation goes at the heart of the law by arguing for the abolition of external purificatory measures.

Both P.Oxy. 840 and Mark 7:1–23 reject purity as something external for inner purity, or ethical purity. Both use the *deductio ad absurdum* to make their point. To do this Mark applies the sentence of 7:14. In making the error of ascribing uniquely Pharisaic characteristics to all Jews, Mark seems to reflect the same attitude as P.Oxy. 840. The Jews that matter to both are Pharisees, not other Jewish factions. Something Mark 7:1–23 and P.Oxy. 840 share that is rather significant, is the fact that Jesus is not just attacking a scribal enactment as in the previous pericopes, but is going against the law itself. The contention is simply triggered by the transgression of a scribal enactment. Mark is the only evangelist to present Jesus as declaring all foods pure (Mark 7:19). That implies not simply pork, but also the meat of swarming animals and also – against the Apostolic Council's (Acts 15) – animals

¹⁰⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 112.

that have been strangled and contain blood. Luke's "version" of this teaching (Acts 11:8–9) presents Peter as saying God has purified the impure pork. In Luke's account this is eventually neutralized by the Apostolic Council. Both Mark (7:19) and Paul (Gal 2:6 and 1 Cor 8–10, Rom 14:14) are transgressing the compromising ruling of the Apostolic Council.¹¹⁰ As Pratscher argues (in Paul's case at least) this should not be understood as opposition to the Apostolic Council, but as reflecting a time before the Apostolic Council.¹¹¹ The abolition of the purity map of things (food) implies the abolition of a significant part of the law. This was codified in Leviticus and was honoured by all the major Jewish sects of the first century. As in Mark 7:1–23 the conflict of P.Oxy. 840 is also occasioned by a scribal enactment that escalates into Jesus overruling the law. Jesus' criticism goes at the heart of the law, in that purification by immersion is abolished with a sweeping statement. This is an argument entirely outside of a scribal framework as one tends to see with Matthew (and to a lesser extent in the unique material in Luke). Whereas the Matthean redaction highlights the role of Peter as leader of the church, P.Oxy. 840 seems to reflect the Markan account, in that disciples are flat characters that are not differentiated any further. None of the two pericopes of P.Oxy. 840 reflect the Markan motif of the disciples' failure to understand Jesus. Rather one sees a unified front between Jesus and his disciples. Mark 7:1–23 and other controversy dialogues do: confrontational question answered by acerbic rhetorical question: "why aren't you and your disciples pure?" "Are *you* pure?" The message of Mark 7:1–23 is that moral purification makes symbolic outer cleansing unnecessary. For P.Oxy. 840 it is the prostitutes that cleanse their outer skin. Both texts portray the duality of inside and outside. People become defiled because of what comes out of their hearts. P.Oxy. 840 agrees: it is the inside of the prostitutes that is full of scorpions and vices. A catalogue of thirteen vices is listed in Mark's version. P.Oxy. 840 also appears to be keenly aware of inner purity, that is, ethical purity by the frequency with which the lexeme κακία and its cognates are used.

In comparing P.Oxy. 840 to Mark 11:15–19, one should not forget the important role the lexeme σκεῦος plays in P.Oxy. 840. In P.Oxy. 840 ιδεῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἄγια σκεύη (behold

¹¹⁰ Wilhelm Pratscher, "Der Beitrag des Herrenbruders Jakobus zur Entstehung des Aposteldekrets," *Aposteldekret und Antikes Vereinswesen: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung* (ed. M. Öhler; WUNT 280; Tübingen: Mohr, 2011), 33–48.

¹¹¹ Pratscher, "Der Beitrag des Herrenbruders," 36 argues that Paul would not deliberately go against such a significant decision. The compromising ruling of the Apostolic Council became characteristic of Early Christianity as is illustrated by Markus Lang, "Die Bestimmungen des Aposteldekretes im 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhundert," in *Aposteldekret und Antikes Vereinswesen: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung* (ed. M. Öhler; WUNT 280; Tübingen: Mohr, 2011), 139–160 and Matti Myllikoski, "Ohne Dekret: Das Götzenopferfleisch und die Frühgeschichte der Didache," *Aposteldekret und Antikes Vereinswesen: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung* (ed. M. Öhler; WUNT 280; Tübingen: Mohr, 2011), 113–138.

these holy vessels) appears to function as a synonym for πατεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγνευτήριον (enter this sanctuary). Although P.Oxy. 840's dependence on the Fourfold Gospel is indirect, this might be one of two places where P.Oxy. 840 appears to show familiarity with Mark. The lexeme σκεῦος is only used in Mark's version of the Demonstration in the Temple. Matthew (M^S or redactor) is the only evangelist to add the supersessionist idea that the election of Israel is transferred to Christians. It is noteworthy that P.Oxy. 840 envisages the abolition of the purification mechanism of the temple, something that undermines the whole temple establishment. P.Oxy. 840 does not reflect any pathos regarding the temple like Luke (Lk^S) does – at least not in the extent pericopes. P.Oxy. 840 does not use the Aramaic oath formula of *āmēn* like Matthew tends to, though it could have been used in either of the two pericopes. Regarding the temple, the Synoptic Gospels appear to reflect a supersessionist attitude.¹¹² P.Oxy. 840 seems to hint at the same supersessionist attitude, in that immersion is replaced by some kind of living water, most probably baptism. The temple gatekeeper's purity is no longer taken for granted – an outrageous and undermining claim toward the temple establishment.¹¹³

Mark's version of the Authority of Jesus Questioned is quite reminiscent of P.Oxy. 840. The language shares many common features. The same redundancy is found (though both Luke and Matthew have handed on the same redundancy in this case). Jesus is approached by high priests (*sic*), scribes and elders which is rather overwhelming. In P.Oxy. 840 Jesus and the disciples are approached by one person, but he is both a Pharisee and a gatekeeper. In P.Oxy. 840 the emphasis seems to be more on the fact that the opponent is a Pharisee than that he is a gatekeeper. Perhaps the same can be said of Mark as of P.Oxy. 840, in that both authors think that the Jews that matter are Pharisees. Both texts address the authority of Jesus. Indeed P.Oxy. 840 is itself no judicial chria, but starts with a similar question, that is, “who has allowed you to...?” Mark and P.Oxy. 840 both show examples of how purity maps are transgressed. Especially Mark. Jesus transgresses “the purity map of purification” in P.Oxy. 840, in that they do not immerse before visiting the temple. When considering that Matthew and Luke took over Mark's material almost in toto,¹¹⁴ it is clear that the whole body of Jesus' criticism against purity is found in Mark. Only the more detailed denouncing of the Pharisees of Q 11 is not found in Mark. Mark appears to have an adumbrated version in Mark 12:38–40. According to Mark's version of the *logion* nothing

¹¹² Assuming the symbolic destruction view of Jesus' demonstration in the temple.

¹¹³ In understanding ἄρχιερεύς as “gatekeeper” and not as high priest, this is of less significance, but equally unprecedented, for temple personnel's purity would not have been drawn into question by peasants.

¹¹⁴ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 405.

outside of the human being can defile him. Matthew changes the meaning of this to soften its impact on the law. Mark's redaction to the controversy over the unwashed hands adds the gloss that Jesus declared all foods pure. This simple gloss implies that a *yôd* or a stroke of the law has passed away (Matt 5:18). These two statements imply that for Mark's community the law is no longer valid. The purity laws were as much a part of the law as the rest. On this point we see complete agreement between Mark and P.Oxy. 840: purity laws are to be abolished. In P.Oxy. 840 it is not just the "purity map of purification" that needs to be abolished. Immersion in water for purification is disparaged by the author. This theology seems to be a continuation of Markan theology.

If one were to fit P.Oxy. 840 into the Markan chronology it would not be that difficult. It would fit in somewhere between Mark 11:27–12:43 among the Jerusalem conflict stories that all take place within the temple. This is between the demonstration in the temple and the apocalyptic discourse as Jesus leaves the temple.

Both Mark and P.Oxy. 840 use redundant language, although this is much more artistic in P.Oxy. 840.

7.2.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

In all three Synoptic versions of Mark 2:15–17, Jesus' argumentation for transgressing the scribal enactment of not eating with Gentiles is justified by the use of the sentence: "The strong do not have need of a physician." P.Oxy. 840 does not use the form of the sentence and is more argumentative than what we know from the Synoptic Gospels. The *deductio ad absurdum* is not absent from the Synoptics, but is more readily associated with Paul's letters. In comparison with controversy dialogues from the synoptic tradition, P.Oxy. 840 is indeed very long-winded. Compared to the simplicity of the Synoptic Gospels P.Oxy. 840's author comes across as an orator inserting hendyades wherever possible. The real issue in P.Oxy. 840 is the doubt raised as to the purifying properties of living water. It is specifically the priestly purity system and immersion that is superseded. This system was practiced as painstakingly if not more prominently by Pharisees like "the Pharisaic gatekeeper Levi." Indeed if P.Oxy. 840 is to be dated in the second century such a criticism related to purity would have been more plausible, as the temple had long been destroyed, one could argue, because of divine wrath.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ In a polemical context.

7.2.10 Institutions Superseded in Mark

Old institution	New institution
Purity	Moral purity
Temple	Unspecified as it is an inference ¹¹⁶

7.3 John

7.3.1 Dating

Traditionally John is dated to the end of the first century.¹¹⁷ Three factors come into play when dating John:

- It presupposes an expulsion from the synagogues;
- the earliest manuscript evidence for any Gospel (P^{52});
- possible references to John in the Apostolic Fathers (Ignatius).

All of these factors are heavily disputed, so that dating John is quite controversial.¹¹⁸

7.3.2 Genre

Gospel

7.3.3 Christological Titles

John uses the following christological titles:

Title	Amount	Percentage

¹¹⁶ With the symbolic destruction of the temple, Mark does not appear to articulate what should replace it.

¹¹⁷ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 584.

¹¹⁸ Though P^{52} is often dated to c.125 C.E. on palaeographical grounds, Colin H. Roberts actually dates it to the first half of the second century without being more specific. Brent Nongbri, “The Use and Abuse of P^{52} : Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel,” *HTR* 98/1 (2005): 23–48 illustrates the danger of using the dating of P^{52} to date John earlier. Whether Ignatius refers to John’s writing or has been able to absorb traditions related to this community is two different things to scholars like Titus Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 2; Leipzig: Evangelischer Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 47. It is safer to say Justin is the first author to reflect familiarity with John’s writing. Whether there ever was a worldwide expulsion of Christians from synagogues contradicts the local collegium-like structure of synagogues and overemphasizes the authority of Tannaim within the first century. Cf. Philip S. Alexander, “‘The Parting of the Ways’ from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism,” in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of Ways AD 70–135* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 21, 1–26. John might well reflect a localized incident.

Saviour (ό σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου)	1	0.31
Lord (κύριος)	35	11
My Lord and my God (ό κύριος μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου)	1	0.31
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	222	69.81
Jesus, son of Joseph, of Nazareth (Ιησοῦς υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ)	1	0.31
Jesus of Nazareth (Ιησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος)	3	0.94
Son of man (ό νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)	11	3.46
The Son of God (ό νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) ¹¹⁹	6	1.89
Word (Λόγος)	3	0.94
Advocate (Παράκλητος)	1	0.31
Messiah (Μεσσίας)	2	0.63
Christ (Χριστός)	8	2.52
The one of a kind Son (ό νιὸς ὁ Μονογενῆς)	3	0.94
Teacher and Lord (ό διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος)	1	0.31
Lord and Master (ό κύριος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος)	1	0.31
The Son (νιός)	17	5.35
The Christ the Son of God (ό Χριστὸς ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)	2	0.63
Total	318	100

John prefers to refer to Jesus simply by his name. Q's preferred title ο νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is only used on 3% of the occasions. Jesus' relationship to the Father is emphasized by the title νιὸς. Only on one occasion is ο σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου used. A variety of titles are used only once. It is striking how often Jesus' name is used in comparison with the 133 times it is used in Matthew.

7.3.4 Sources

From a form-critical perspective John uses many dialogues. John appears to have incorporated some pre-literary traditions into his Gospel.¹²⁰ He must have been familiar with the Markan structure and has also used it to shape his own Gospel.¹²¹ This familiarity becomes evident from a comparison between the passion narrations and John 6 and the

¹¹⁹ Instead of ο νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in John 1:34 several witnesses from the D-cluster (and two from the B-cluster), \wp^{5vid} κ^* b e ff^{2*} sy^{s,c}, has ο ἐκλεκτός while others from the D-cluster, a ff^{2c} sa, have the conflated *filius electus*. This makes it very difficult to choose between νιὸς and ἐκλεκτός. Thank you to Prof. Dr Nicklas for pointing this out to me.

¹²⁰ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 546. Cf. the parallel of John 5:38–47 to Papyrus Egerton.

¹²¹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 546.

doublets of Mark 6 and 8.¹²² That John knew Luke (whether by written or oral transmission) is also made clear from material from Lk^S that appears in John.¹²³ The other sources that Bultmann has proposed (the signs-source, the miracle-source and the source of revelatory discourses) have not been able to transcend reasonable doubt.¹²⁴ Daniels explains the overlapping between John and Papyrus Egerton by a common source.¹²⁵

7.3.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

Bibliowicz calls John “the most anti-Jewish Gospel” [of the Fourfold Gospel].¹²⁶ For him John’s Gospel represents a transition from tentative belittling of the disciples and the Jewish faction to the vitriolic tone of the second century. No one in the New Testament uses the word Ἰουδαῖοι more than John (seventy times compared to 5 times in Matthew). In John the Ἰουδαῖοι are the “arch-enemies” of the author. Bibliowicz builds on the analysis of Ἰουδαῖοι by von Wahlde.¹²⁷ There appears to be 31 hostile uses of Ἰουδαῖοι in John. Von Wahlde is convinced that with the exception of John 6:41 all the hostile uses of the word Ἰουδαῖοι refers to the Jewish authorities. Other cases where the lexeme Ἰουδαῖοι is used seems to refer to “the people.” The multi-valent character of the lexeme Ἰουδαῖοι is widely recognized, but is unfortunately not reflected by translations of the New Testament or fully understood by lay believers. Murray notes that Ἰουδαῖοι encompasses both “those accepting the Jerusalem establishment’s terms of reference and those that are out of fellowship with the Jerusalem establishment.”¹²⁸ Since the time of Cassius Dio (155–235 C.E.) and Epictetus (55–135 C.E.) at the latest the lexeme Ἰουδαῖοι could also be used of Gentiles with Jewish sympathies.

¹²² Feeding the multitudes, Jesus walking on the water, the request for a sign, conversation about bread and the confession of Peter.

¹²³ The miraculous catch of fish, the sisters Mary and Martha, Lazarus attaining everlasting life, Jesus declared innocent by Pilate thrice.

¹²⁴ Rudolf Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (10th ed.; KEK 2; 1978); Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 551–552.

¹²⁵ Daniels, “The Egerton Gospel,” 134, 138.

¹²⁶ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 67. Also according to Rosemary R. Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1974) quoted in Gager, 151.

¹²⁷ Urban von Wahlde, “The Johannine ‘Jews’: A Critical Survey,” *NTS* 28 (1982): 33–60. Stephen Motyer, *Your Father the Devil: A New Approach to John and the Jews* (Paternoster Biblical Monographs; Cumbria: Paternoster, 1997), 52 undermines von Wahlde’s methodology, in that half of the references in John is categorized as “neutral” and not analysed, whereas “the typical Johannine use” portray the Ἰουδαῖοι as Jesus’ enemies. Of the neutral uses some are actually quite positive.

¹²⁸ Robert Murray, “‘Disaffected Judaism’ and Early Christianity: Some Predisposing Factors,” in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, ‘Others’ in Late Antiquity* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 263–281, 265; Motyer, *Your Father the Devil*, 56.

Bibliowicz is convinced that it is from the Jewish faction within Christianity that the Johannine community has separated in its first phase.¹²⁹ Bibliowicz dwells on the way the Judaic faction is side-lined by the Johannine community in the denigration of Peter (13:23–26; 18:15–16; 21:7, 20–23) and the other disciples at the expense of the beloved disciple (13:23–26), so that the Johannine community is present at the cross (19:26–27), the Johannine community outruns the Jewish faction in a “theological race” (20:2–10).

Gager is confident that “those from above” signify Jesus and those who love him and “those from below” signify Moses and his descendants.¹³⁰ Within the narrative a fierce polemic is waged between the Ἰουδαῖοι and Jesus. The authority of Jesus as spokesperson of God is drawn into question more than anything else (5:36; 6:41; 7:16; 8:13; 10:23; 12:44; 16:25; 17:1).

A recurring motif in John is fear of the Ἰουδαῖοι. The parents of the blind man fear the Ἰουδαῖοι, for they had already agreed that if any one should confess him to be Christ, he was to be put out of the synagogue (9:22). For fear of the Ἰουδαῖοι Nicodemus removes Jesus’ body from the cross (19:38). The disciples hide after Jesus’ death for fear of the Ἰουδαῖοι (20:19).

Coming from the perspective of identity construction Norris proposes that after the destruction of the temple Christian communities might have been marginalized from synagogues more and more.¹³¹ For him this seems to pertain to the Matthean and the Johannine communities. These communities would have thought of themselves as Jewish more than anything else.¹³² They would not be arguing with other Jews regarding the validity of the law, but because of their christological interpretation of it. Norris notes that the Ἰουδαῖοι are unmistakably identified in 9:13, 18 and 3:1 with the Pharisees. Matthew is infamous for his sharp rhetoric against the Pharisees.

Although some purity maps are superseded in John as will become clear later in this analysis, the transgression of purity maps as found in the Synoptic Gospels plays a smaller role in terms of quantity. This appears to start a pattern in Christian discourse after the time of John. Twice the purity map of times is transgressed with healings on the Sabbath (5:1–18 the

¹²⁹ Bibliowicz is so convinced of his hypothesis that almost every division in the New Testament is seen as between the Jewish faction and the Proto-Orthodox, but this underestimates the diversity at the time.

¹³⁰ Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 152.

¹³¹ Norris, “Articulating Identity,” 76.

¹³² Norris, “Articulating Identity,” 77 argues that Pauline churches functioned outside of the synagogue from the outset and sees the persecution of Christians that are not associated with synagogues and thus no longer viewed as Jewish around 115 (Cyrenaica and Egypt) and 135 (Judea) as indicative of Christianity officially being a cult independent of Judaism.

Lame Man at the Pool; 9:1–41 The Man Born Blind). These healings turn into drawn out controversies that recur in the rest of the Gospel.

7.3.6 Theology

John uses the language of being full:

John 1:14	
ὁ λόγος [ἡν] πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας	The Logos was full of grace and truth

7.3.6.1 John 2:13–22 *The Demonstration in the Temple* *Form*

Chria occasioned by question of opponents

Purity Map Superseded

Spaces

With the Passover at hand Jesus goes to the temple. When he sees the sellers of livestock and the moneychangers he makes a whip and drives them all out of the temple. He scatters the coins of the moneychangers and overturns their tables. “Do not make the house of my Father a house of trade!” The narrator adds the commentary that his disciples remembered: Zechariah 14:21 “Zeal for your house will consume me!” The Ἰουδαῖοι ask Jesus what sign he will give them for doing this.¹³³ Jesus tells them to destroy that temple and that he will raise it within three days. The Ἰουδαῖοι reply that the temple has taken 46 years to build and ask whether Jesus can rebuild it within three days. Then the narrator adds the commentary that he spoke (figuratively) about the temple of his body and how the disciples remembered him saying this when he was raised from the dead, so that they believed the scripture and the word Jesus spoke.

John is the only evangelist in the New Testament that moves the demonstration in the temple to the start of Jesus’ ministry, making a statement about the intent of his ministry.¹³⁴ This is possible within the narrative framework of John as Jesus visits Jerusalem three times. Haenchen notes that one would not expect John’s account to reflect accurate information on

¹³³ This commentary is a characteristic feature of John’s Gospel, cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 247 “diese [Neigung] hängt zweifellos mit theologischen Selbsteinschätzung des Verfassers zusammen.”

¹³⁴ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 539, 572.

the temple as it was written long after its destruction.¹³⁵ John seems to understand the Demonstration in the Temple as a criticism of trade within its precinct.¹³⁶ Thyen notes how this one pericope is spread across four other stories in the Synoptic Gospels: the Demonstration in the Temple, the Question about Jesus' Authority (Mark 11:27–33), the Demand of a Sign (Mark 8:11) and the *logion* about the Temple (Mark 12:38 at his trial).¹³⁷ For the sake of thoroughness perhaps, John has compressed these different traditions (one mixed chria, two chriae with questions of opponents/controversy stories) into a very brief summary ending in the interrupted dialogue-prophecy. That the question about Jesus' authority is incorporated into this summary, might be obscured by translation:

John 2:18	
ἀπεκρίθησαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· τί σημεῖον δεικνύεις ἡμῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς; ¹³⁸ (NA ²⁸)	Then the Jews answered and said to him: “What sign will you show us for doing this?”

When one takes into consideration that the Demonstration in the Temple in Mark (John's source), is immediately followed by the Authority of Jesus Questioned, this becomes even clearer, so that one can conclude that this is John's summary of that very same pericope.

Jesus does not quote Isaiah 56:7 as this speaks of “my house,” but warns them not to make “the house of my Father” a house of trade.¹³⁹ This is of course typically Johannine to have Jesus speak of his Father. This is the first step of the supersession of the temple by Jesus in the Gospel. That John appears to be more receptive to the idea of giving a sign, might be explained by his more positive estimation of signs.¹⁴⁰ The sign Jesus provides is his death and resurrection after three days (cf. John 8:28).¹⁴¹ For John it is important to show that Jesus' Demonstration in the Temple was not just criticism against trade or sacrifice, but ultimately pointed to the supersession of the temple by the body of Jesus.

7.3.6.2 John 4:1–41: The Dialogue with the Samaritan Woman at the Well Form

¹³⁵ Ernst Haenchen, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (2 vols.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 181.

¹³⁶ Haenchen, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John*, 182 argues that John's objection to the temple is because of the perception that sacrifices can buy God's favour.

¹³⁷ Hartwig Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005), 165.

¹³⁸ To see the overlapping language, cf. the dissertation's discussion under Mark's version of the The Authority of Jesus Questioned.

¹³⁹ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 176.

¹⁴⁰ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 177. Mark 8:11–13 refuses the sign.

¹⁴¹ The sign given is not that different from that provided in Matthew 12:39.

Explanatory revelatory discourse¹⁴²

Purity Map Superseded

Spaces

The concept of water plays a very important role in John. The noun water is also qualified as living water in John 4 and 7.

John 4	
<p>¹⁰ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· εἰ ἦδεις τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ λέγων σοι δός μοι πεῖν, σὺ ἂν ἥτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν.</p> <p>¹¹λέγει αὐτῷ [ἡ γυνή], κύριε, οὕτε ἀντλημα ἔχεις καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶν βαθύ· πόθεν οὖν ἔχεις τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν; ¹²μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ, ὃς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τὸ φρέαρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔπιεν καὶ οἱ νιοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ θρέμματα αὐτοῦ;</p> <p>¹³ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· πᾶς ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψήσει πάλιν· ¹⁴ὅς δ' ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰώνα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πιγή ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.</p> <p>¹⁵λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ γυνή· κύριε, δός μοι τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ, ἵνα μὴ διψῶ μηδὲ διέρχωμαι ἐνθάδε ἀντλεῖν.</p> <p>²¹λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· πίστευέ μοι, γύναι, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὅρει τούτῳ οὔτε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσκυνήσετε τῷ πατρί. ²²ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε ὃ οὐκ οἴδατε· ἡμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν ὃ οἴδαμεν, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν. ²³ἄλλ' ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, ὅτε οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοιούτους ζητεῖ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτόν. ²⁴πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.</p>	<p>¹⁰Jesus answered and told her if you knew the gift of God and who it is saying to you “give me to drink,” you would have asked him and he would have given you living water.</p> <p>¹¹The woman said to him, “lord, you don’t have something to draw and the well is deep. Whence then do you have water? ¹²Don’t tell me you are greater than our Father, Jacob, who gave us the well and drank from it himself as well as his sons and his cattle.”</p> <p>¹³Jesus answered and said to her: “Everyone drinking from this water will thirst again. ¹⁴But whoever drinks from the water, of which I shall give him, will by no means thirst unto eternity. But the water that I shall give him will become in him a fountain of springing water unto eternal life.”</p> <p>¹⁵The woman said to him, “lord, give me this water, so that I may not thirst, nor would have to come hither to draw.”</p> <p>²¹Jesus said to her, “believe me, woman, that the hour is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem. ²²You worship what you do not know. We worship what we know, because salvation is from the Judeans. ²³But an hour is coming and now is, where the true worshippers will worship the Father in Spirit, and in truth. For the Father desires the ones worshipping Him to be like that. God is Spirit and the ones worshipping Him have to worship Him in Spirit and in truth.”</p>

¹⁴² Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 253.

<p>⁴²τῇ τε γυναικὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκέτι διὰ τὴν σὴν λαλιὰν πιστεύομεν, αὐτοὶ γάρ ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>They (Samaritan bystanders) kept telling the woman “no longer do we believe because of your speech, for we ourselves have heard and know that this truly is the saviour of the world.”</p>
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The equivalent ὕδωρ ζῶν for *mayim hayyîm* is found often enough in the Septuagint (Gen 21:19; 26:19; Lev 14:5, 50–53; Num 5:17; 19:17),¹⁴³ so that this is by no means an exclusively Johannine concept.¹⁴⁴ Thyen notes the interpretations some of the Targumim suggest for these passages.¹⁴⁵ Both Targum Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan of Genesis 29:10, 12 say that as Jacob removes the stone from the well, the water starts overflowing and continues to do so till Jacob leaves Haran twenty years later.¹⁴⁶ This abundance dries up as soon as he left, so that when complaints reach Laban that the well is empty, he realizes this must be a sign that Jacob has left. The text comments that the well brings forth the abundance because of Jacob’s righteousness. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Numbers 21:16–18 says that YHWH provided a living fountain from the rock to the people that also kept overflowing and even followed the Israelites on their trek through the desert. It is of this well that Paul says (1 Cor 10:4) that they drank the spiritual drink from the rock that followed them, that was in actual fact Christ. It is no wonder that this legendary rock is also represented in a fresco from the synagogue in Dura-Europos (c. 244–256 C.E.).¹⁴⁷ In fact, the water-giving rock is the most common symbol in the catacombs.¹⁴⁸ If Paul whose base was in Ephesus knew these traditions, it is quite plausible that the Johannine school that is also associated with Ephesus must have come into contact with them.¹⁴⁹

Thyen notes that in contrast to the way the Synoptic Gospels use controversy stories, John often lets Jesus start the talking.¹⁵⁰ From these traditions of living water it becomes understandable that there would have been two references for living water as Jesus was telling the woman about it: living water from a spring and life-giving water.¹⁵¹ Jesus is

¹⁴³ Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 62.

¹⁴⁴ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 243–244.

¹⁴⁵ Golomb, *A Grammar of Targum Neofiti*, 87 emphasizes the role of the Targumim as official interpretations of Scripture rather than aids for Jews that could not understand Hebrew any more.

¹⁴⁶ Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), 146.

¹⁴⁷ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 244. James F. Strange, “Synagogues, Ancient Times.” *Encyclopaedia of Judaism*. Brill Online, 2006.

¹⁴⁸ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 403.

¹⁴⁹ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 577.

¹⁵⁰ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 246. This dissertation follows the approach of Berger, *Einführung*, 120 that drops the category of controversy dialogues and incorporates them into the broader category of chriae. Thyen’s comment also applies to chriae in John.

¹⁵¹ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 248.

speaking of life-giving water and ironically the woman understands it as living water from a spring.¹⁵² Thyen suggests that the καὶ of (“if you had known the gift of God *and* who it is that is saying to you...”) should be understood as epexegetical, that is, (“if you had known the gift of God, *that is*, the one that is saying to you...”)¹⁵³ John appears to present Jesus with reference to Jeremiah 2:13 where God says that He is the fountain of the water of life that the people have forsaken for hewn out cisterns. In the same way Jesus becomes the end-time temple of God in John 2:20f, he also becomes the wonderful fountain that springs up from inside the temple on the day of YHWH that brings life to the dead (Isa 44:3; Zech 12:9; 13:1; 14:8; Ezek 47; Isa 32:15; Joel 4:18). When the hour comes where neither on Mount Gerizim nor in Jerusalem the Father will be worshipped, it follows that Jesus himself will be the sanctuary, as he is the Logos that has erected his tent among the people (John 1:14). It remains controversial how “you worship what you don’t know, we worship what we do know” should be understood. Traditionally “you” has been understood as “Samaritans” and “we” as Jews. More recently there have been scholars that advocate understanding “you” as Samaritans and Jews and “we” as Christians.¹⁵⁴ Thyen agrees with the traditional view.

In discussion with the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4) Jesus rejects both the temple of Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim as limited locales of sacred space.¹⁵⁵ Sacred space opens up wherever people worship God in spirit and truth (John 4:21–23).

For understanding the meaning of προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀλήθειᾳ the interpretation of De la Potterie has become established.¹⁵⁶ The lexemes πνεῦμα and ἀλήθεια should be understood in the light of other word pairs in John where the last item is usually emphasized. Instead of going with the traditional *interpretatio Graeca* where this is understood in terms of a flesh-spirit dualism, ἀλήθεια should be interpreted christologically, as Jesus himself, in the light of 14:6.¹⁵⁷ In this sense πνεῦμα is not another word for the spirit inside of man, but the end-time Spirit of Truth that the resurrected Jesus will blow into his disciples.¹⁵⁸ Thyen notes the *inclusio* within the parameters of τίς ἔστιν ὁ λέγων σοι (4:10) and ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ λέγων σοι (4:26) which emphasizes the close affinity between living water and

¹⁵² Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 249.

¹⁵³ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 249.

¹⁵⁴ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 258. For the more conventional view, cf. H. Strathman, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (NTD 4; Göttingen, 1951), 88; Ferdinand Hahn, “Das Heil kommt von den Juden: Erwägungen zu Joh 4:22b,” in “*Wort und Wirklichkeit?*: Festschrift E. L. Rapp (ed. B. Benzing; Meisenheim, 1976), 71. For a recent challenge to this view as originally proposed by Walter Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT 6; Tübingen, 1933), 70 cf. Ludger Schenk, *Das Johannesevangelium* (UB 446; Stuttgart, 1992), 48.

¹⁵⁵ DeSilva, *Honour, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 292.

¹⁵⁶ Ignace de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans Saint Jean* (AnBib 73–74; Rome, 1977), 673–706.

¹⁵⁷ De la Potterie, *La Vérité*, 701. This is not that far removed from Paul’s conception of ἐν Χριστῷ.

¹⁵⁸ De la Potterie, *La Vérité*, 704.

worshipping in Spirit and truth.¹⁵⁹ This implies that the water Jesus gives becomes a spring of worship and everlasting life. This already implies a unity between Father and son that is not articulated before 10:30. It is not in Jerusalem or Gerizim that God is to be worshipped, but as the reader can remember from 1:14 the Logos has erected his tent among the people to live among them. Therefore Jesus can equate his body to the temple. Jesus is the new temple from whom the fountain of living water flows. While still alive Jesus was the living water available to these Samaritans. At his death the water flows from his body. From now on it is the Advocate (*παράκλητος*) who is the living water.

7.3.6.3 John 7:37–44: Sukkôt and Rivers of Living Water Form

Self-recommendation and self-delineation (promotion), Simple introduction by Messenger (first person speech),¹⁶⁰ Commentary

When Jesus' family make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for *Sukkôt*, he stays behind. Eventually he goes in secret. During the seven days of this feast priests would draw water from the Gihon spring that fed the Siloam pool and ceremoniously pour it into a container on the altar (of burnt offering).¹⁶¹ At the time of Zechariah (cf. 9–14) this feast must already have been associated with messianic expectations (related to Isa 11; Zech 12:19; 14:8; Ezek 36:25; 47:1).

John 7:37–39	
<p>³⁷ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔκραξεν λέγων· ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχόσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω. ³⁸ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. ³⁹τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ὃ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν· οὕπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέποτε ἐδοξάσθη. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>³⁷On the last day of the feast, the great day, Jesus stood up and cried out saying: “If anyone thirsts, let him come to me and let drink ³⁸the one who believes in me. As Scripture said – rivers of living water will flow from his belly.” ³⁹But he spoke this about the Spirit which the ones believing in him were on the verge of receiving. For not yet was the Spirit there for Jesus was not yet glorified.</p>

¹⁵⁹ Thyen, *Das Johannevangelium*, 267.

¹⁶⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 266.

¹⁶¹ Thyen, *Das Johannevangelium*, 399.

The scriptures Jesus has in mind here probably include Isaiah 12:3, Ezekiel 47:1–12; Joel 3:18; Zechariah 13:1; 14:8.¹⁶² Nevertheless, this is by no means a direct quotation. It is more of a reference to eschatological predictions.¹⁶³ The most important reference for the purpose of this dissertation would be from Zechariah 12:9–13:1:

Zech 12:11–13:1	
<p>בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יָגַד הַמִּסְפֵּד בֵּירוּשָׁלָם כְּמַפְּפָד הַגְּדָרָמָן בְּבָקָעַת מַגְּזָן: ¹¹ וְסִפְרָה הַאֲרָץ מִשְׁפְּחוֹת מִשְׁפְּחוֹת לְבֵד מִשְׁפְּחָה בֵּית־צְדָקָה לְבֵד: בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יְהִי מַקוּר גְּפֻתָּה לְבֵית צָדִיקָה וְלְזֶבֶרְיָה ¹ יְרוּשָׁלָם לְמַטָּאת וְלְנָקה: ¹⁶⁴(BHQ 13)</p>	<p>¹¹On that day the mourning in Jerusalem will be as great as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo. ¹²The land shall mourn, each family by itself; the family of the house of David by itself...</p> <p>¹On that day there shall be a fountain opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for the sake of their sin and impurity.</p>

According to the prophet this living water from a spring will be used to cleanse as in immersion, rather than for drinking purposes.¹⁶⁵ These parallels from the prophet Zechariah remain important throughout the Gospel. The climax is reached when Jesus is dead on the cross:

John19:34	
ἀλλ’ εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. (NA ²⁸)	But one of the soldiers pricked his flank with a spear and immediately there went out blood and water.

As De la Potterie points out with the Johannine word pairs, the emphasis is always on the second unit.¹⁶⁶ Here the fulfilment of Jesus' promotion in John 7:38 takes place. Although the

¹⁶² Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 403.

¹⁶³ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 403 quotes the *aporia* of John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 51.1 regarding the provenance of the phrase “rivers of living water will flow from his belly.”

¹⁶⁴ Evidently LXX misunderstands הַגְּדָרָמָן in translating the second element. The Syr. has תְּסִפְרָה ([the son of] Ammon). The three other Greek translations and Vulg. agree with the MT, therefore it seems justified to stick with it. Tg. explains this reading by referring to 2 Kgs 23:29 (Josiah killed in battle) and 1 Kgs 22 (Ahab killed in battle). Cf. Anthony Gelston, “Zechariah,” in *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), ad loc. Even more importantly, the Vorlage of the LXX seems to have read מִקְוָם (place), rather than קֻקּוֹר (fountain), as LXX reads πᾶς τόπος (every place). The three other Greek translations, Vulg. and the Syr. agree with the MT, Tg. has מְבוֹעַ דְּמִינָן (water of life). John’s text occasionally agrees with the MT against the LXX, cf. John 19:37 (Zech 12:10) and John 13:18 (Ps 41:9); Andreas J. Köstenberger, “John,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 417, 415–512 which opens the possibility that John knew the Hebrew version of Zech 13:1 which speaks of a fountain.

¹⁶⁵ Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters” notes the difference between these two domains.

¹⁶⁶ De la Potterie, *La Vérité*, 701.

language of the Gospel and of the prophet is not related, it seems clear enough that the idea is paralleled by Zechariah 12:10.¹⁶⁷

There is no qualitative difference between the living water of 4:10–42, 7:32–39 and 19:34. All of them refer to “life-giving water.” The difference only applies to time: the time of Jesus (4:10–21) and the time of the Spirit (7:39; 14:16–17).¹⁶⁸

7.3.7 John 8:12–59: *Sukkôt* and the Light of the World

7.3.7.1 Form

Explanatory Revelatory Discourse; 8:12 Metaphorical Personal Labelling; 8:12 Warnings in terms of deeds and rewards: Conditional Announcements of Salvation: First person Speech as Authorization of Conditional Warnings; 8:13–19 Combination of Apology and Accusation (Rebuke), Comparison between I-You (Synkrisis: Judicial Genre); 8:21–59 Interrupted Dialogue; 8:58; 8:28 Divine First Person Speech; 8:24, 27 “I Am x, It Is Me”- Formula; 8:35 Use of the Third Person instead of the First “Slave/Son”; 8:42 First Person Speech of Having Come and Having Been Sent

Controversies between Jesus and Jewish authorities in John are quite different from what is found in the Synoptics. It is worthwhile to provide a form-critical analysis of John 8:12–59 (which actually consists of two parts):

Implied narrative setting	² Early in the morning he came again to the temple; all the people came to him, and he sat down and taught them	
8:12 Metaphorical personal labelling	¹² Again Jesus spoke to them, saying, “I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.”	Warning in terms of deed and its reward <i>and</i> Conditional announcements of salvation> First person speech as authorization of a conditional warning
8:13–19 Judicial rhetoric: Combination of apology and	¹³ The Pharisees then said to him, “You are bearing witness to yourself; your testimony is not true.”	Accusation (applying to testimony) Comparison between I and You (<i>synkrisis</i>)

¹⁶⁷ Thyen, *Das Johannevangelium*, 747.

¹⁶⁸ De la Potterie, *La Vérité*, 693.

accusation (rebuke)	¹⁴ Jesus answered, “Even if I do bear witness to myself, my testimony is true, for I know whence I have come and whither I am going, but you do not know whence I come or whither I am going. ¹⁵ You judge according to the flesh, I judge no one. ¹⁶ Yet even if I do judge, my judgment is true, for it is not I alone that judge, but I and he who sent me. ¹⁷ In your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true; ¹⁸ I bear witness to myself, and the Father who sent me bears witness to me.”	Defence 8:15 Comparison between I and You (<i>synkrisis</i>) 8:15 Judge(ment) 8:17 Testimony 8:17 Law
	¹⁹ They said to him therefore, “Where is your Father?”	Counter Accusation
	Jesus answered, “You know neither me nor my Father; if you knew me, you would know my Father also.”	Defence
	²⁰ These words he spoke in the treasury, as he taught in the temple; but no one arrested him, because his hour had not yet come (RSV).	Commentary of narrator

The second part is:

8:21–59 Interrupted dialogue¹⁶⁹	²¹ Again he said to them, “I go away, and you will seek me and die in your sin; where I am going, you cannot come.”	Puzzling revelation (A1)
	²² Then said the Jews, “Will he kill himself, since he says, ‘Where I am going, you cannot come?’”	Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B1)
	²³ He said to them, “You are from below, I am from above; you are of this world, I am not of this world. ²⁴ I told you that you would die in your sins, for you will die in your sins unless you believe that I am he.”	Puzzling revelation (A2) Claims according to the formula “I am x, I am it”
	²⁵ They said to him, “Who are you?”	Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B2)
	Jesus said to them, “Even what I have told you from the beginning. ²⁶ I have much to say about you and much to judge; but he who sent me is true, and I declare to the world what I have heard from him.”	Puzzling revelation (A3)
	²⁷ They did not understand that he spoke to them of the Father.	Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B3)

¹⁶⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 19.

<p>²⁸So Jesus said, “When you have lifted up the Son of man, then you will know that I am he, and that I do nothing on my own authority but speak thus as the Father taught me.</p> <p>²⁹And he who sent me is with me; he has not left me alone, for I always do what is pleasing to him.”</p>	<p>Puzzling revelation (A4) Divine speech in the first person <i>and</i> Claims according to the formula “I am x, I am it”</p>
<p>³⁰As he spoke thus, many believed in him.</p>	<p>Success at grasping message (C)</p>
<p>³¹Jesus then said to the Jews who had believed in him, “If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, ³²and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.”</p>	<p>Puzzling revelation (A5) Warning in terms of deed and its consequence</p>
<p>³³They answered him, “We are descendants of Abraham, and have never been in bondage to any one. How is it that you say, ‘You will be made free?’”</p>	<p>Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B5)</p>
<p>³⁴Jesus answered them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, every one who commits sin is a slave to sin. ³⁵The slave does not continue in the house for ever; the son continues for ever.</p> <p>³⁶So if the Son makes you free, you will be free indeed. ³⁷I know that you are descendants of Abraham; yet you seek to kill me, because my word finds no place in you. ³⁸I speak of what I have seen with my Father, and you do what you have heard from your father.”</p>	<p>Puzzling revelation (A6) Referring to yourself in the third person “slave/son”</p>
<p>³⁹They answered him, “Abraham is our father.”</p>	<p>Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B6)</p>
<p>Jesus said to them, “If you were Abraham’s children, you would do what Abraham did, ⁴⁰but now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth which I heard from God; this is not what Abraham did. ⁴¹You do what your father did.”</p>	<p>Puzzling revelation (A7)</p>
<p>They said to him, “We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God.”</p>	<p>Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B7)</p>
<p>⁴²Jesus said to them, “If God were your Father, you would love me, for I proceeded and came forth from God; I came not of my own accord, but he sent me. ⁴³Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot bear to hear my word. ⁴⁴You are of your father the devil, and your will is to do your father’s desires. He was a murderer from the beginning, and has nothing to do with the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies.</p>	<p>Puzzling revelation (A8) First person speech according to the pattern “I have come and have been sent”</p>

	⁴⁵ But, because I tell the truth, you do not believe me. ⁴⁶ Which of you convicts me of sin? If I tell the truth, why do you not believe me? ⁴⁷ He who is of God hears the words of God; the reason why you do not hear them is that you are not of God.”	
	⁴⁸ The Jews answered him, “Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?”	Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B8)
	⁴⁹ Jesus answered, I have not a demon; but I honor my Father, and you dishonor me. ⁵⁰ Yet I do not seek my own glory; there is One who seeks it and he will be the judge. ⁵¹ Truly, truly, I say to you, if any one keeps my word, he will never see death.”	Puzzling revelation (A9) Answer and assertion in the form of an oath
	⁵² The Jews said to him, “Now we know that you have a demon. Abraham died, as did the prophets; and you say, ‘If any one keeps my word, he will never taste death.’ ⁵³ Are you greater than our father Abraham, who died? And the prophets died! Who do you claim to be?”	Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B9)
	⁵⁴ Jesus answered, “If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing; it is my Father who glorifies me, of whom you say that he is your God. ⁵⁵ But you have not known him; I know him. If I said, I do not know him, I should be a liar like you; but I do know him and I keep his word. ⁵⁶ Your father Abraham rejoiced that he was to see my day; he saw it and was glad.”	Puzzling revelation (A10)
	⁵⁷ The Jews then said to him, “You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham?”	Interlocutor’s failure to understand (B10)
	⁵⁸ Jesus said to them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was, I am.”	Puzzling revelation (A11) Divine speech in the first person
	⁵⁹ So they took up stones to throw at him; but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple (RSV).	Discontinuation of narrative (D)

The complexity of this controversy in John is immediately obvious when compared to the form-critical analysis from a synoptic Gospel (found in 3.3.2.1. IIId of my chapter 3: Method). The length of a Johannine controversy tends to be much longer. In the Johannine controversies Jesus and his opponents are playing cat and mouse, whereas the Synoptics get to the point. John prefers the form of the dialogue above the chria.¹⁷⁰ During the celebrations

¹⁷⁰ According to Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 80–82 Q does not seem to have used chriae, preferring the genre of rebuke. Mark seems to be the first to apply this genre to Christian teaching. Most of the 27 chriae are also taken over by Matthew and Luke , but not by John – at least not in the form of a chria. John contains ten chriae which

of the same *Sukkôt* Jesus addresses them by giving himself the following metaphorical personal predicate:

John 8:12	
πάλιν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς. (NA ²⁸)	Again Jesus spoke to them: I am the light of the world. The one following me will not walk about in darkness, but he shall be a light of life.

The Pharisees object with a devastating criticism: Jesus' argument is entirely self-referential.¹⁷¹ Jesus is bearing witness to himself and it cannot be expected that he will convince anybody with his rhetoric. After this exchange Jesus starts to argue that he is not alone in his testimony: his Father also bears witness to him. They ask where his father is that they can also ask him. Jesus replies that if they knew him, they would also know his Father.¹⁷²

In 8:22 it is the Ἰουδαῖοι that respond to Jesus, so that John reverts to the less specific designation for Jesus' opponents. From 8:13 it is clear that this is the Pharisees that are addressed. Jesus says that he is from above (not of this world) while they are from below (from this world). Jesus says they will die in their sins unless they believe that "I am he." This constitutes one of the absolute ἐγώ εἰμι-statements in John that would have conjured up images of how YHWH refers to Himself in Exodus 3:16.¹⁷³ In Deutero-Isaiah (52:6; 43:25) this expression has become a metonymy signifying YHWH Himself. Obviously the Ἰουδαῖοι do not understand it in this way, or do not want to understand it that way. Jesus prophesies that when he is lifted up (crucified) they will know that "I am he" and that he does nothing of his own authority. The narrator adds the commentary that many (of the crowd) believed in him.

The Ἰουδαῖοι resent the claim that they are not free and note they are seed of Abraham and have never been servants of anybody. Jesus acknowledges that they are the seed of

are unique to him, cf. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 82. Only the Demonstration in the Temple is paralleled by the Synoptics. The *pericope adulterae* is of course not part of the earliest constructible text of John. The Johannine chriae are often embedded into larger narratives.

¹⁷¹ Jürgen Becker, *Johanneisches Christentum: Seine Geschichte und Theologie im Überblick* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004), 87.

¹⁷² One should not think that this is the only example of legitimization based on personal authority in the Gospels. Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 170 notes how this is called "Apostolikon" when occurring in the epistles. Other examples include Matthew 10:34–36, 37–42; 11:25–27, 28–30; 28:18–19; Luke 21:14f; John 6:51; 10:9; 11:25f; 15:1f, 5–7, 10, 14, though it does seem to have a more prominent role in John's Gospel.

¹⁷³ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 427.

Abraham but alleges that they want to kill him because his word does not find any place in them. The hearer of the narration can still remember that the Ἰουδαῖοι have been plotting against Jesus since 5:18.¹⁷⁴ Later as 18:36 makes clear Jesus will indeed be delivered into the hands of the Ἰουδαῖοι by Pilate for crucifixion. Jesus goes on to deny that the Ἰουδαῖοι act as children of Abraham would, alleging that they do the works of their father. The Ἰουδαῖοι strongly deny being born out of fornication and say that God is their only Father. Jesus denies this by labelling them as follows:

John 8:44	
νῦμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἔστε καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν θέλετε ποιεῖν. (NA ²⁸)	You are of your father, the devil, and you want to do the lusts of your father.

Such an idea must have implications for the election of God's people. Although the statement regarding lust is not expounded on and can theoretically refer to any other sin, we will see in the other authors of Chapter 7 how this concept will take on a life of its own.

Jesus goes on to say that if anyone keeps his word he will never taste death. The Ἰουδαῖοι respond with a rhetorical question reminiscent of 4:12 whether he is greater than their father Abraham who died – and the prophets.¹⁷⁵ Jesus answers by denying that the Ἰουδαῖοι have known the Father. He knows the Father and keeps his word. Abraham rejoiced that he would see Jesus' day. The Ἰουδαῖοι respond with a rhetorical question that Jesus is not even fifty yet he alleges that he has seen Abraham. As God's messenger Jesus speaks a divine word that "before Abraham was I am."¹⁷⁶ In response to this blasphemy the Ἰουδαῖοι take up stones to kill Jesus, but he is hidden and is able to escape from the temple.¹⁷⁷

This interrupted dialogue is then followed by the narration of the miracle story where the blind man is healed, so that for the hearer Jesus' claim of being the light of the world is illustrated intensively.

7.3.7.2 John 10:23–39: Apology of the Messiah

¹⁷⁴ The plot to kill Jesus starts because of the healing of the lame man on the Sabbath, and the conspirators are only called the Ἰουδαῖοι. To be sure, one would have expected the author to be more specific as is the case in the Synoptic Gospels. It seems apparent that the author is motivated by a polemical agenda.

¹⁷⁵ Certainly this would remind the hearer of the Deuteronomist tradition where the Israelites were held accountable for the death of the prophets (Q 11).

¹⁷⁶ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 258. Here messenger-christology and fully divine-christology seems difficult to separate. Cf. Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 87.

¹⁷⁷ Although the Aorist passive of κρύπτω does encompass a medium nuance, the context appears to reflect a passive meaning, cf. Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 454; BDAG, "κρύπτω," 571.

Form

10:24–39 Christological apologetic argumentation (25–30 *narratio*; 31–33 break; 34–38 *argumentatio*);¹⁷⁸ judicial elements: 10:24 reference to behaviour in public, 10:25 reference to testimony of works, 10:32 critical question of opponent¹⁷⁹

John 10:23–39	
<p>²³καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ιερῷ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Σολομῶνος. ²⁴ἐκύκλωσαν οὖν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἔλεγον αὐτῷ· ἔως πότε τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἴρεις; εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἰπὲ ἡμῖν παρρησίᾳ. ²⁵ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, εἶπον ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε· τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ὄντος τοῦ πατρός μου ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ.²⁶ἄλλα ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τῶν ἐμῶν. ²⁷τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐμὰ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούουσιν, ²⁸κἀγὼ γινώσκω αὐτά, καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσίν μοι, κἀγὼ δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπόλωνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ οὐχ ἀρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρός μου. ²⁹ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ δέδωκέν μοι πάνταν μεῖζόν ἐστιν, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀρπάζειν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ πατρός. ³⁰ἔγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐσμεν.</p> <p>³¹ἔβαστασαν πάλιν λίθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἵνα λιθάσωσιν αὐτόν. ³²ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· πολλὰ ἔργα καλὰ ἔδειξα ὑμῖν ἐκ τοῦ πατρός· διὰ ποιῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐμὲ λιθάζετε;³³ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε ἀλλὰ περὶ βλασφημίας, καὶ ὅτι σὺ ἀνθρωπος ὃν ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν. ³⁴ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς [ό] Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἐστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν ὅτι ἔγὼ εἶπα, θεοί ἐστε;³⁵εἰ ἐκείνους εἶπεν θεοὺς πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή,³⁶ὄν ὁ πατήρ ἡγίασεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι βλασφημεῖς, ὅτι εἶπον· νίδος τοῦ θεοῦ είμι;³⁷εἰ οὐ ποιῶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρός μου, μὴ πιστεύετέ μοι.³⁸εἰ δὲ ποιῶ, κανένα μὴ πιστεύητε, τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύετε, ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε ὅτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ κἀγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί. ³⁹ἔζητον [οὖν] αὐτὸν πάλιν πιάσαι, καὶ</p>	<p>²³and Jesus was walking in the temple, in the portico of Solomon. ²⁴So the Judeans gathered round him and said to him, “How long will you take away our life? If you are the Messiah, tell us openly.” ²⁵Jesus answered them, “I told you, and you do not believe. The works that I do in the name of my Father, they bear witness to me; ²⁶but you do not believe, because you are not my sheep.</p> <p>²⁷My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; ²⁸and I give them eternal life, and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand. ²⁹My Father, who has given them to me, is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of the hand of my Father. ³⁰I and the Father are one.”</p> <p>³¹The Judeans took up stones again to stone him.</p> <p>³²Jesus answered them, “I have shown you many good works from the Father; because of which of these do you stone me?” ³³The Judeans answered him, “We do not stone you with regard to a good work, but with regard to blasphemy, because you, being a man, make yourself God.”</p> <p>³⁴Jesus answered them, “Is it not written in your law, ‘I said, you are gods?’ ³⁵If he called them gods to whom the word of God came (and scripture cannot be broken), ³⁶do you say of him whom the Father consecrated and sent into the world, ‘You are blaspheming,’ because I have said, ‘I am the Son of God?’ ³⁷If I do not do the works of my Father, do not believe me; ³⁸but if I do them, if you do not believe me, believe the works, that you may know and keep</p>

¹⁷⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 109.

¹⁷⁹ Although Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 82 does not identify this pericope as a chria, it does start as a chria.

<p>ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>on knowing that the Father is in me and I in the Father.”³⁹ Again they tried to arrest him, but he went out of their hands.</p>
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The first part is a *narratio* in the first person. Here Jesus explains why he is Messiah through his relationship with the Father. This legitimation of him is rejected by the Ἰουδαῖοι. The relationship between Father, shepherd and sheep should be self-explanatory. Here Jesus almost applies a sophistical argument by posing the question for which of his good works he is to be stoned. By saying that he and the Father are one within a monotheistic context, it is obviously blasphemous (another self-referential statement). The second part is an *argumentatio* with proofs from Scripture.¹⁸⁰ The basis of Jesus’ *argumentio* is Psalm 82:6. There the receivers of God’s word are called “gods.” Secondly Scripture cannot become invalid. Therefore applying *qal wāhōmer* Jesus is not just receiver of the word, but also set apart by God and sent into the world. Therefore it is not blasphemous to call Jesus “son of God.” In conclusion two possibilities remain, if Jesus does not do God’s works he is to be rejected, but if he does, one should believe the works testifying to his relationship with the Father. The argument is based on observation: Jesus’ works.

This apology starts with the very same opening line as P.Oxy. 840 and the Authority of Jesus Questioned in Mark 11:27–33 does. It is difficult to say whether it was taken over from either. Certainly the language of Mark is closer. It seems more plausible that the words καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ιερῷ functioned as a useful way of starting chriae and dialogues about Jesus. Both Mark and John’s narrations have apologetic elements: in Mark Jesus’ legitimacy is defended, whereas in John’s apology both the messianic claims and claims to divine status of Jesus are defended. Here John shows his familiarity with the strategy of *qal wāhōmer*.¹⁸¹ This is done by scriptural precedent. As has already been mentioned in the discussion of Plucking Grain on the Sabbath in Mark 2, a law could only be overruled by appealing to a precedent from the law itself. Although the text says that it is quoting the law, this is inaccurate.

7.3.7.3 John 3:1–21: The Dialogue with Nicodemus

Form

Explanatory revelatory discourse

¹⁸⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 109.

¹⁸¹ Of course this strategy was not limited to Jewish rhetoric.

Water is also mentioned in the Dialogue with Nicodemus in John 3:5.

John 3:5–6	
<p>⁵ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὄντος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ⁶τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκός σάρξ ἔστιν, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμα ἔστιν. (NA²⁸)</p>	<p>⁵Unless one is born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God. ⁶That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born out of the Spirit is Spirit.</p>

Although Kruger understands this to refer to water baptism,¹⁸² it seems clear enough from the parallelism of 3:6 that water is referring to the waters associated with physical birth.¹⁸³ Theoretically it might be a pun on the waters of baptism. For Kruger this constitutes an important parallel to P.Oxy. 840 illustrating the importance of inner and outer purity in John. This in turn supports his Johannine reading of P.Oxy. 840. Although dualism does play an important role in John' Gospel, John does not show the same concern for inner purity as opposed to outer purity like the Synoptic Gospels do. P.Oxy. 840 must have picked up this influence from one of the Synoptics.

7.3.7.4 John 13:1–20: The Washing of the Disciples' Feet *Form*

Allegory>Dialogue between revealer and receiver (1–11); Sentence about messengers and about slaves (16); prophecy (18–19), prophecy of doom in terms of prediction of apostasy (10, 18, 21); testamentary speech (farewell discourse 1–20), beatitude (17); personal warning (12–17); commentary on speech by speaker himself (19); revelatory discourse (7, 9); symbolic act (1–17); symposium (1–30); first person speech by sender

Due to the influence of Tripp, Kruger has singled John 13:10 out as an important influence on P.Oxy. 840.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 570 also understand it to refer to water baptism.

¹⁸³ Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 192–193.

¹⁸⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 181; Tripp, "Meanings of the Foot-Washing," 238–239. Likewise Pamela Shellberg, "A Johannine Reading of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840," in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon* (ed. H. Z. Daniel & C. A. Evans; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 178–191 has proposed that John 5:1–18 might reflect John's commentary on a *miqweh* with Jesus superseding it. This hypothesis has not been addressed in this dissertation as this is a speculative theory on John 5:1–18 and it seems too dangerous to apply it to make sense of P.Oxy. 840.

John 13:10	
λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὁ λελουμένος οὐκ ἔχει χρείαν εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας νίψασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν καθαρὸς ὅλος· καὶ ὑμεῖς καθαροί ἐστε, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ πάντες. (NA ²⁸)	Jesus said to him: “The one that is washed does not have need except to clean his feet, but the whole is pure. And you are pure, but not everyone.”

Kruger singles out the language overlap regarding *τοὺς πόδας* with the same verbs of washing and a similar construction:

John 13:5	τούς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν
P.Oxy. 840	τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς πόδας

This construction is quite different from a stylistic perspective as John 13:5 places the Genitive last and the governing noun first, whereas P.Oxy. switches this around and inserts the adjectival pronoun in between. In P.Oxy. 840 the phrase is part of the colon *μήτε μὴν τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς πόδας βαπτισθέντων* where the author seems to have gone out of his way to bring the *μ*s close enough for alliteration while at the same time joining it elegantly to the Genitive Absolute. Seeing that both texts share the same context in terms of washing, it is hardly surprising that there is some common vocabulary to both texts. The lexemes *νίπτω* (16 times in NT, most of them in John, but also in Mark and Matthew) and *λούω* (5 times in NT) are not so rare as to stand out. Kruger understands the foot washing scene of John in the context of inner and outer purity (pure from guilt) especially with regard to Jesus' reprimand of Peter that if he cannot wash Peter, he will have no part of him (13:8). Yet such a reading of the foot washing seems to go beyond the message of the pericope as it plays out in the context of a symposium and farewell discourse: as their lord and teacher has washed their feet, so should they in humility wash each other's feet (13:14), or in a more abstract sense, serve each other as your lord served you. As has been demonstrated already John does not appear to be concerned with purity, as only two purity transgressions (Sabbath) are discussed in contrast to the Synoptic Gospels.¹⁸⁵ The literal meaning of purity in John 13 is different from the cultic purity most of this dissertation has been referring to. Literally purity in John 13 is referring to clean feet as opposed to dirty feet. The purity John is speaking about does seem to point to something figuratively beyond clean feet, but whether it is referring to guilt

¹⁸⁵ Shellberg, “A Johannine Reading,” will of course object that John 5 as John’s commentary on the *miqweh* is also about purity.

is debatable. The purity that is debated in P.Oxy. 840, in the context of a chria occasioned by an opponent, is not purity from guilt in a soteriological sense, but inner ethical purity as opposed to cultic purity. The coincidences between John 13:1–20 and P.Oxy. 840 seem quite circumstantial. That P.Oxy. 840 uses “feet” and more than one expression for washing rather seems to be a question of style. In P.Oxy. 840 the following structure becomes visible:

^aμήτε ^bλουσαμένω^φ
^aμήτε ^cμὴν ^{b1}τῶν μαθητῶν ^eσου ^fτοὺς πόδας ^{b2}βαπτισθέντων

Of course Jesus is subject of the first verb and the disciples of the second. Both e and f are wedged in between subject and verb in the second which can be accounted for by the author’s tendency for the dramatic: not only have the disciples not immersed themselves, not even their feet have been washed. The insertion of the μήν emphasizes this. It is the typical tendency of P.Oxy. 840 to express itself redundantly.

7.3.8 Reason for the Text’s Identification with its Trajectory

Of the Gospels of the Fourfold Gospel only John appears to have been used by a group of believers that had its own tangible identity and that existed outside of the mainstream of Christianity.¹⁸⁶ John 21 appears to have been added to the Gospel by a later redactor in order to submit to the church’s authority symbolized by Peter. Traditionally the high christology of the Gospel has led scholars to view John as the least Jewish of all the Gospels, but after Brown’s identification of the dualism in John with ideas from Qumran, the (sectarian) Jewish character of John has become more apparent. Still it is interesting to note that if Daniels’ hypothesis on Papyrus Egerton is correct that John and Papyrus Egerton used a common source (in addition to Mark) Papyrus Egerton has incorporated the Healing of a Leper (redaction of Mark 1:40–44?) which John has willingly excluded, showing John’s disinterest in purity.¹⁸⁷

7.3.9 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

John’s understanding of Jesus’ Demonstration in the Temple ultimately points to the supersession of the temple by Jesus. God is not to be worshipped at either Jerusalem or Gerezim, but the Logos now lives among his people where he has erected his tent. The

¹⁸⁶ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 587.

¹⁸⁷ Even if Daniels’ hypothesis is wrong, John does not include the Healing of a Leper as it was found in his source, Mark.

supersession of the institute of immersion is what is important to the author of P.Oxy. 840. Although the purity of the gatekeeper is questioned, it seems less important than that the purity of a Pharisee is being questioned. It is to be expected that the formulation of Irenaeus' four Gospels as the four winds must have been pre-figured by general acceptance of the Fourfold Gospel. Justin and the *Epistula Apostolorum* seem to be the first authors that show familiarity with all four. If P.Oxy. 840 is to be dated around 150 C.E. one would also expect that if the Gospel of which P.Oxy. 840 were a part of were Proto-Orthodox that it would indeed have shown familiarity with the Fourfold Gospel. P.Oxy. 840 seems to be one of the last attempts to write a Gospel as this genre comes to a close at the time of Justin.¹⁸⁸

Like John, P.Oxy. 840 also uses the concept of living water as has been noticed from the time of Grenfell & Hunt.¹⁸⁹ Especially Kruger's reconstructed text gives P.Oxy. 840 a Johannine Christology as well.¹⁹⁰ If we take away the textual emendations proposed by Kruger we only have ὕδασι ζῷ[σιν...] ἐλθοῦσι ἀπὸ... so that we are left with the unexplained concept of living water. Is it the same as John's concept? Is it then also "life-giving water?" Is it also to be interpreted christologically? According to Johannine theology it would not fit to reconstruct a text to mean water from the belly as it is found in John 8. For only at the crucifixion of Jesus did this water come out of his body. If this were Johannine life-giving water it has to be associated either with the Spirit or with Jesus. In the case of Jesus as the life-giving water it would make sense to speak of the water (Jesus) as coming from the Father as the emended text of Kruger states. Then it would be referring to the period before the time of the *Paraclete*'s coming. In John life-giving water is still vague. The living water in John is for drinking not immersion as in P.Oxy. 840.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, metaphors are not static and can easily morph into different applications. To fit into the Johannine chronology it could theoretically be placed anywhere between the Demonstration in the Temple and the death on the cross (spanning over the whole Gospel nonetheless).

Kruger was the first scholar to connect *Sukkôt* with P.Oxy. 840 and to make the suggestion that this might provide a plausible setting for it as during this feast the utensils would have been visible to the public and lay people had more freedom of movement in the temple.¹⁹² This would also fit in well with the idea that Jesus is walking about the temple as

¹⁸⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 371. This refers to the genre of Gospel, many works receive the name Gospel of *x*, but are in fact not part of the genre.

¹⁸⁹ Bernard P. Grenfell & Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Oxford: Hart, 1908), 5:1–10.

¹⁹⁰ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 65.

¹⁹¹ Stewart-Sykes, "Bathed in Living Waters," 284.

¹⁹² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 112–113.

P.Oxy. 840 puts it. Büchler's explanation presupposes a confined space for the ἀγνευτήριον which is difficult to reconcile with this walking about. If the ἀγνευτήριον is a more unspecific description as Kruger understands it, there would be no better opportunity to fit public viewing of utensils with walking about than on *Sukkôt*. As is shown in this chapter καὶ περιέπατει ἐν τῷ ιερῷ seems to have been a tried and tested way to start a narration about Jesus (Mark 11:27, John 10:23). In such a setting one should picture Jesus and the disciples walking about in the temple at the time of a disordered festival with some pilgrims marching around the altar. This is not the kind of backdrop where a gatekeeper would be able to purposefully go out to confront Jesus. Although Kruger's proposal of P.Oxy. 840's setting is plausible, there is no positive evidence in the available text that this was taking place at *Sukkôt*. It would also confirm the historical plausibility of P.Oxy. 840 which appears to be important for Kruger. This theory as to the setting of P.Oxy. 840 is in the end a useful way to keep the hypothesis of the historicity of P.Oxy. 840 afloat. A large part of this theory is based on the Johannine reading of P.Oxy. 840 which has been common since Tripp.

The Apology of the Messiah in 10:23–39 has the exact same setting as P.Oxy. 840 and therefore as Mark 11:27–33, The Question about Jesus' Authority. It illustrates what a convenient setting καὶ Ἰησοῦς περιέπατει ἐν τῷ ιερῷ (“and Jesus was walking in the temple”) in fact was for creating chriae about Jesus. It served as basis from which one could give a life setting to words spoken by the Lord. That it is used both by Mark and John shows that one must be cautious to simply assume literary dependence based upon these words alone: in the case of Mark and P.Oxy. 840 in the form of a chria, and in that of John an apology.

John appears to be more concerned with supersession than the Synoptic Gospels that appear more concerned with the transgression of the tradition of the elders especially regarding the purity maps. Here Mark and Luke seem to oppose Matthew that the purity laws should be abandoned, though it must be said Luke advocates the Apostolic Council (Acts 15). The purity laws are part of the law for better or worse. Although the demonstration of Jesus in the temple implies the supersession of the temple in the Synoptic Gospels, this is spelt out unambiguously in John. With the demand of a sign after the demonstration in the temple Jesus refers to “the temple of his body,” so that his body replaces the temple. This is made clearer in John 4 where neither Gerizim nor Jerusalem is the location of God's sanctuary. The Father longs to be worshipped in Spirit and truth, that is, not so much immaterially as christocentrically – in Jesus. Other passages also emphasize the supersession of the covenant as Jesus says the Ἰουδαῖοι do not know him or his Father and that he was even before

Abraham. Jesus is called greater than Abraham and greater than Jacob. This idea of supersession might have become more important after the Johannine community was expelled from their synagogues (16:2–3). In applying the generic term Ἰουδαῖοι John does sometimes specify that he is speaking of Pharisees. This is clear from 8:12–59 as Norris has suggested for other passages in John.¹⁹³ This might reflect a similar attitude to that of Mark that the Ἰουδαῖοι that mattered were the Pharisees. Not only because the Pharisees would eventually dominate Judaism, but because Christianity was always more closely related to Pharisaic than to any other Judaism.

John is more prone to resort to allegory than the other evangelists (10:1–5; 13:1–11). Allegory eventually becomes a staple of Christian exegesis upon which heavy Christian argumentations will be based.

The rest of P.Oxy. 840's Johannine character seems a bit circumstantial. Living water has always been an important concept in Judaism. Even a Christian with no Jewish background could see the importance of living water by just looking at the Septuagint. At the time of the New Testament the importance of living water is exemplified by the interpretations propagated by the Targumim (Gen 29; Num 21). The wide circulation of the tradition is shown by Paul (1 Cor 10:4) that provides the first evidence that the accompanying rock with the life-giving water was interpreted christologically. The focus in Genesis 29 is on the life-giving waters. To move the focus of the metaphor of the incredible rock onto the living water would not have been such a big leap. From the perspective of a story teller water is a more versatile concept than rock is. Ironically living water is also used by Ignatius and scholars do not agree whether he knew the Johannine Gospel.¹⁹⁴ All of this shows that the concept of living water was a widely circulated tradition in the early first century, so that one need not have known John's Gospel to view Jesus as living water. All things considered because of the prevalence of living water in Christian thinking it seems reasonable to infer that P.Oxy. 840 took it from John.

7.3.10 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

In the Dialogue with the Samaritan Woman at the Well John has the Samaritans call Jesus ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου. What is different from P.Oxy. 840 though is that John 4:42 uses it as a

¹⁹³ Norris, "Articulating Identity," 77.

¹⁹⁴ Nagel, *Die Rezeption*, 87 suggests that Ignatius was familiar with Johannine traditions but not with the writing we know as John's Gospel.

predicate reminding one of the authority of the emperor which is an authority that actually belongs to Jesus. P.Oxy. 840 uses the title as the standard subject.

Many scholars have noted the importance of living water in the Tanak and Jewish literature in general (*mayim hayyîm*), so that one would be mistaken to think John invented the idea. Certainly the concept is today most readily associated with John's name under the umbrella of Christianity.¹⁹⁵ In John the water Jesus offers becomes a spring of worship and everlasting life inside them. In P.Oxy. 840 water is coming from somewhere else as Jesus and his disciples have been baptized therein. The concept of living water is left ambiguous in John, but in P.Oxy. 840 it specifically refers to baptism.

The heated debate that breaks out between Jesus and the Pharisees with *Sukkôt* and the Light of the World offers us an important perspective in the way John constructs controversies between Jesus and Ἰουδαῖοι as they are later called in the same pericope. John tends to involve the Father as witness to Jesus' messianic claims. Typical of John are the metaphorical self-predications Jesus uses (ἐγώ εἰμι *x*). With P.Oxy. 840 it is certain that the second pericope did not make such a predication as the statement of woe is already started in the extent fragment. It seems unlikely that the first pericope would have made such a predication as the mood is not right. In this pericope John uses a warning in terms of deeds and rewards which is common both to John and the Synoptics. John likes to use dualistic argumentation "I am from above, they are from below." This is at a whole different level than the dualism of inside/outside-purity found in the Synoptics and P.Oxy. 840. It is this same dualism that lies behind Jesus' claim that their father is the devil and that they do the works of their father, while he does the works of their heavenly Father. Jesus uses this argument to show that children act like their fathers. This is a self-referential argument that is particularly common with John, though not absent with the Synoptics. The *deus ex machina* at the end that saves Jesus from stoning is not available in P.Oxy. 840. All of these arguments are found in this one narrative found in John. From this it is clear that John has a different approach to controversies between Jesus and Jewish authorities. John has a clear preference for the dialogue as opposed to the chria. This makes it possible for him to construct complex arguments that amount to a list of arguments to make Jesus' case. The small scope allowed by chriae only allows authors to apply one or two compact arguments. John 8:44 is the first instance where Jews are said to do the lusts of their father, the devil. Later on this statement will gain support from other authors.

¹⁹⁵ This is immediately evident from any google search (www.google.com).

Kruger has suggested that P.Oxy. 840 exhibits theological dualism because of the outside and inside purity theme.¹⁹⁶ P.Oxy. 840 has an undeniable preference for hendiadys as a literary device, but it does not necessarily reflect theological dualism like John does.

The difference between inside and outside as applied to moral purity so prominent in the Synoptics and P.Oxy. 840 is not discussed in John.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore it is evident that the inside-is-full-of-formulas of P.Oxy. 840 is closer to the parallels in Q and Luke. In John this formula is used to describe Jesus and of the believers in edifying as opposed to reproaching statements. This dualistic statement of inner/outer-purity is not found in John.

If John appears to break away from the Synoptic Gospels' focus on Jesus' abolition of purity maps, why does P.Oxy. 840 return to this issue, if it were written almost fifty years later than John? Certainly, if P.Oxy. 840 were a literary fiction designed to appear as a Gospel written a hundred years before, this would solve the problem.

Although chriae are not absent in John, it is especially for the dialogues that he is famous. In using the dialogue as genre John is enabled to use much more abstract reasoning than is possible in using chriae. This enables John to bring in philosophical concepts like truth that was also important in Platonic thinking and will also become very important with the Apologists. P.Oxy. 840 has the same limitations imposed on it by the genre of chriae as it is found in the Synoptics. In P.Oxy. 840 the argumentation is much simpler. Its author uses metaphors with vivid images and strong rhetoric to make his point (strategies that are not absent in John).

7.3.11 Institutions Superseded in John

Old institution	New institution
Purity	Moral purity
Temple	The body of Jesus
People (below, i.e. Israel)	People (above)
Bread of heaven (manna)	True bread of heaven (Jesus) ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 176.

¹⁹⁷ Mark 7:21, 23; Matt 23:25–28; Luke 11:7, 39–40

¹⁹⁸ John 6:31ff.

7.4 Epistula Apostolorum

7.4.1 Date

About 150 C.E.¹

Due to its age the *Epistula Apostolorum* probably antedates Gnostic Dialogues of the Redeemer. This document has always been very important to the Ethiopian Church and its complete text is still extant in recent Ge'ez manuscripts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.² The document was originally composed in Greek and seems to have originated in Asia.³ It was unknown to the West till its translation early in the twentieth century. The Ge'ez versions seem to be translations from Coptic or Arabic texts.⁴ A Coptic text from the fourth or fifth century, translated from the original Greek, has also been discovered. For these reasons the Coptic version is regarded as the most reliable witness to the text of the *Epistula Apostolorum*, but the Ge'ez versions are more complete.⁵ Because the Ge'ez and the Coptic versions are so different from each other, it has become common practice to place both versions side by side. A Latin fragment has also been discovered. Several pages are missing from the Coptic text. The Coptic version is in the Achmimic dialect.

7.4.2 Genre

Dialogue of the Redeemer.

What makes this dialogue unique is that it seems to be a Proto-Orthodox response to the Dialogues with the Redeemer-genre usually associated with Gnostics.⁶ The *Epistula Apostolorum* consists of about sixty questions from the disciples with answers from Jesus. Hills notes that the *Epistula Apostolorum* is not only a dialogue, but also an epistle (1–2), contains a hymn (3), a miracle list (5), an exhortation (6–8) and contains an account of the appearance of the risen Lord to women and the disciples (9–

¹ Darrel D. Hannah, “The Four-Fold Gospel Canon in the *Epistula Apostolorum*,” *JTS* 59/2 (2008): 630, 598–633, dates it 120 years from the time the conversation would have taken place, i.e. 30 C.E., the year Christians thought Jesus died. According to the Coptic version Jesus promises to return in 120 years (cf. 17). Carl Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung: Ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1919), 402 dates it to 160–170 C.E.

² Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 152.

³ Charles E. Hill, “The *Epistula Apostolorum*: An Asian Tract from the Time of Polycarp,” *JECS* 7/1 (1999): 1–53.

⁴ Hugo Duensing, *Epistula Apostolorum: Nach dem äthiopischen und koptischen Texte herausgegeben* (Bonn: Marcus, 1925), 3.

⁵ Cf. Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum*, 7.

⁶ Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 152.

12).⁷ Ultimately it is also a revelatory discourse consisting of sixty questions by the disciples with answers provided by Jesus.

7.4.3 Sources

The *Epistula Apostolorum* is probably the oldest document showing that its author was familiar with the four canonized Gospels.⁸ Schmidt notes the freedom with which the *Epistula Apostolorum* cites the Fourfold Gospel, so that the author even dares to reconstruct his own version of the resurrection of Jesus based on the four accounts (9–12).⁹ One must also concede that the author uses another legend about Jesus later to be found in *The Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, but reported also by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.20.1) as something the sect of Marcus had among their writings. A comparison of the two versions follows:

<i>Epistula Apostolorum</i> 4	
Ἦτι : γὰς : ἀγηλᾶν : ἀρῆν : ἡσηρῆν : Ἡτωνι : ἀφηνο : ρῆν : ωκηρηρη : ἀση : γη : ετημη : σηρηδη : ωηρηρη : ἀζη : εηηη : ηα : ἀδη : ἀφηνη : ωρηηη : γηηη : ἀγη : φηηη : γηηη : ωηη : ηηη :: (PO 9/3/43)	This ¹⁰ is what our Lord Jesus Christ did, who was delivered by Joseph and Mary his mother to where he might learn letters. And he who taught him said to him as he taught him, “Say Alpha.” He answered and said to him, “First you tell me what Beta is.” ¹¹
Irenaeus, Haer. 1.20.1	
προσπαραλαμβάνουσι δὲ εἰς τοῦτο κάκεῖνο τὸ ράδιούργημα, ώς τοῦ κυρίου τὰ διὰ [Int. παιδὸς ὄντος καὶ μανθάνοντος τὸ ἀλφάβητον] τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῷ φήσαντος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν, εἰπὲ ἄλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἄλφα. πάλιν τε τὸ βῆτα τοῦ διδασκάλου κελεύσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν κύριον· σὺ μοι πρότερον εἰπὲ τί ἔστι τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοι ἐρῶ τί ἔστι τὸ βῆτα. καὶ τοῦτο ἔξηγονται, ώς αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἄγνωστον ἐπισταμένου, ὃ ἐφανέρωσεν ἐν τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ ἄλφα. (SC 264)	They bring forward besides this also that reckless work, that when the Lord [was a child and was learning the alphabet] his teacher said, as is the custom: “say Alpha,” he answered the Alpha. Again as the Beta was ordered him by the teacher, the Lord answered: “you first tell me what the Alpha is and then I shall tell you what the Beta is. And in regards to this they expound that He alone understands the unknown, what He revealed in the type of the Alpha.

⁷ Julian Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 10.

⁸ Darrel Hannah, “The Four-Gospel ‘Canon’ in the *Epistula Apostolorum*,” *JTS* 59/2 (2008): 608–625 offers an in depth discussion of how all four Gospels, including Mark, were used by this writing.

⁹ Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, 373.

¹⁰ Translation of J. Keith Elliot, “The Epistle of the Apostles,” in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (ed. J. K. Elliot; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹¹ *Zanta gabra ’əgzi’əna’iyasus kərəstos zatawhəba ’əməhəba yosef wa’əmāryām ’əmu ḥaba yətmahar maṣḥafa wazayəmħəro ’anza yəmehəro bal alfa ’awṣə’ a nəgrani ’anta qədma mənt wə’ətu bəṭa.*

Evidently this tradition about Jesus was still a floating tradition at the time of writing. One would be mistaken to conclude that the *Epistula Apostolorum* presupposes that the four canonized Gospels had exclusive rights to the words of Jesus. This was an idea that would only be established by the time of Irenaeus.¹²

7.4.4 Christological Titles

Concerning the christological titles used in the treatise we find the following occurrences¹³:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (<i>መድኋኒት madḥən</i>)	2	2.53
Lord ¹⁴ (<i>አግዥት አገዥ’ a’agzī’ a’agā’</i>)	53	67.09
Lord of lords (<i>አግዥት : አጋዥተት አገዥ’ a’agzī’ a’agā’ መዝዕስ</i>)	1	1.27
Lord and Saviour (<i>አግዥት : ወመድኋኒት አገዥ’ a’agzī’ a’agā’ wamadḥən</i>)	3	3.8
Lord Jesus Christ ¹⁵ (<i>አግዥት : አየሁኑ : ክርስቶስ አገዥ’ a’agzī’ a’iyasus kərəstos</i>)	5	6.33
Jesus ¹⁶ (<i>አየሁኑ iyasus</i>)	1	1.27
Jesus Christ (<i>አየሁኑ : ክርስቶስ iyasus kərəstos</i>)	7	8.86
Son of God (<i>ወልደ : አግዥትበር walda’ a’agzī’ abəher</i>)	4	5.26
Word (<i>ቍል qāl</i>)	3	3.8
Total	79	100

It is interesting to note that “Saviour” is used 2.5% of the time and that in almost 3.8% of the times it is in combination as “Lord and Saviour.” The treatise often uses double titles like

¹² Graham N. Stanton, “The Fourfold Gospel,” *NTS* 43/3 (1997): 330 quotes Justin, *Dial.* 103.8 as already assuming a fourfold Gospel. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἡ φρμὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι, γέγραπται ὅτι ιδρώς ώσει θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο, αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος· (For in the memoirs which I say was composed by the apostles and those that followed them, it is written that sweat fell down as clots of blood while he was praying and saying...) Evidently Justin presupposes more than one Gospel written by apostles and more than one written by the followers of the apostles. It is not without controversy whether Justin thought of John on the same level as the Synoptics. His student Tatian certainly did. Cf. Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century*, passim.

¹³ This study has looked at the Ge’ez version of the *Epistula Apostolorum* for this analysis, seeing that it is much more complete than the Coptic version.

¹⁴ There are two Ge’ez equivalents for “Lord” in the treatise, ‘agzī’abəher (literally “Lord of the land”) and ‘agzī’ a. The first mentioned is used exclusively for the Father, and the second is occasionally used for the Father, but usually for Jesus. Only the references obviously pointing to Jesus have been taken into consideration for this analysis. The equivalent ‘agzī’abəher has only been relevant when expressing the idea of “son of God” as walda’ a’agzī’abəher (literally “son of the Lord” seeming to be the Ge’ez translation of choice for ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ).

¹⁵ Once just “Lord Jesus.”

¹⁶ Only used in the narrative portion of Jesus’ life on earth.

these suiting its preference for redundant expression. More than anything else the *Epistula Apostolorum* prefers to call Jesus “Lord.” Calling Jesus “word” must go back to John.

7.4.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

There is no anti-Jewish rhetoric. After Paul’s apostolate is endorsed (31–32 only in G $\ddot{\text{e}}$ ’ $\ddot{\text{e}}$ z, 4 pages missing in Coptic) the disciples ask whether they share one hope of deliverance with the Gentiles (Eph 3:6; Acts 26:6).¹⁷ Jesus confirms this single hope referring to the importance of bearing fruit. Jesus says that they are his brothers and that they (both Jews and Gentiles) are his companions in the kingdom of heaven. In 30 the disciples are commissioned to go and preach to Israel, but also to the Gentiles. Nothing is said as to the priority of either. The importance of both missions is reiterated in 36 (only in G $\ddot{\text{e}}$ ’ $\ddot{\text{e}}$ z). Schmidt contrasts the attitude of the author of the *Epistula Apostolorum* with Justin that is willing to accommodate Jewish-Christians that do not force other Christians to keep the law and with Irenaeus that brands all Jewish-Christians as heretics.¹⁸ The *Epistula Apostolorum* seems to view Jewish-Christians and Gentile Christians on an equal footing. For Schmidt this also points to an earlier date of composition.

7.4.6 Theology

This epistle begins with the following *inscriptio*:

<i>Epistula Apostolorum</i> 1	
<p>Ահաւ : Ասու : Հ.ՔՌՆ : ԻԾՈՒՆ : ԱՀԾՔԱՄ : ՄԶԺԱՆ : ՄԱԻԽԱՎ : ԻՎԱՒ : Հ.ՔՌՆ : ԻԾՈՒՆ : ՄԶԺԱՆ : ՀՆԴ : ՄՊԱԾՄ : ԱԽՎԾՅԴ : ՀԾՔԱՄ : ԱՀ.ՔՌՆ : ԻԾՈՒՆ : ՀՆԴ : ԱԽԱ : :: ԱԼՊՈՂ : ՄՓԵՆԴԻՆ : ԺԱՄՎՈՂ : ԺՎԾՅԴ : ՀՆԴ : ՈՀՆԵԼ : ՄԾՄ : ԴՀԱՆԴԻՆ : ԻՄ : ՀԱՌ : ԱԲԴԴԵՄ : ՀԱՄ : ԲԾՄ : ԱԾԱՄԾՄ : ԺԱԱ : ՈԱԲՓԴԱՓՄ : ԱԾԱ : ԻՄ : ԴԻՆ : ՑՆԳՆ : ՄԱՀԱԳԱՓԼ : ՄԱՀԱՊՈՎԻ : : ՄԱՀԱԳԱՆ : ՈՄԳԵԻՄ : ՔԼ : ՄՈՒԱ : :: ԱԻՄ : ՈՄԳԵՆ : ՄԱԻԿՆ : ՄԱՀԱՆ : ԱԽԱ : ԳԱՊՈ : ՀԱՊՆԹԳԻՄ : ՄԱՀԱՆ : ՄԱՎԱՀՆ : ՈԲԱՄ : ՈԽՄ :</p>	<p>What Jesus Christ revealed to his disciples as a letter, and how Jesus Christ revealed the letter of the council of the apostles, the disciples of Jesus Christ, to everyone; which was written because of the false apostles Simon and Cerinthus, that no one should follow them – for in them is deceit with which they kill men – that you may be established and not waver, not be shaken and not turn away from the word of the Gospel that you have heard. As we have heard (it), kept (it), and have written (it) for the whole world, so we entrust (it) to you, our sons and daughters, in joy and in the name of God the Father,</p>

¹⁷ Elliot, “The Epistle of the Apostles,” ad loc. fn. 156.

¹⁸ Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, 357.

: አዲስአበባ : ኢትዮጵያ : ዓለም : ወበደየሁኑ : ከድነቸኑ : ማህል : ይ-በሮን : ለዕለክሙ :: (PO 9/3/43)	the ruler of the world, and in Jesus Christ. May Grace increase upon you. ¹⁹
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Form

Letter incipit and epistolary greeting

Simon and Cerinthus are mentioned as opponents but this need not be taken literally.²⁰ Both these figures belong to the first century, and soon afterwards they were already legendary figures in Christianity. Especially since the time of Irenaeus (if not Justin) Simon the Magician would already be seen as the father of the Gnostic movement. Interestingly the translation by Elliot has translated “the letter...to everyone” with “the letter...to the catholics.”²¹ Elliot and Müller’s translations go too far in interpretation. The *Gə’əz lakʷəlu* simply means “for all.”²² Duensing’s interpretation is reminiscent of Irenaeus’ way of referring to the whole church (ἡ ἐκκλησία πᾶσα) though implying the mainstream Church only.²³ This would give the epistle a polemic tone where it is actually intended for everybody. The disciples are named as follows:

¹⁹ Zakṣata lomu ‘iyasus kərəstos la’ardā’ihu maṣḥafa wazakmahi kəsata ‘iyasus kərəstos maṣḥafa ’ənta māḥəbaromu laḥawāryāt ’ardā’ihu la’iyasus kərəstos ’ənta lakʷəlu. Šimon waqelentos ḥasāwyān ḥawarāt ’ənta b’əntia homu taṣḥəfat kəma ’albo zayəsātafomu ’əsəma bomu lā’alehomu ḥəbəl bazayəqatlwomu lasbə’ə kəma təkunu ṣənu’an wa’itanqalqəlu wa’ittəbawaku wa’itfəlsu sama’akmu qāla wangel. Zakma sam’ana wazakrəna waṣḥafəna lakʷəlu ’ālam ’amnədnākmu wəludna wa’awāldina bafəšha basəmu la’əgzi’ abəher ’ab ’ahāze ’ālam waba’iyasus kərəstos sāḥəl yəbzān lā’alekəmu.

²⁰ Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum*, 14.

²¹ Elliot, “The Epistle of the Apostles,” ad loc., but also C. Detlef G. Müller “Epistula Apostolorum,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; ed. & trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed. Louisville: Westminster, 1990) who has translated the work into English based on the German text of Duensing, *Epistula Apostolorum*. Müller’s translation is not a good reflection of Duensing’s translation in this case, Duensing has translated the text as “Wie wir (es) gehört, (im Gedächtnis) behalten und für alle Welt aufgeschrieben haben, so vertrauen wir (es) euch, ihr unsere Söhne und Töchter, in Freude an im Namen Gottes des Vaters, des Herrschers der Welt, und in Jesus Christus.”

²² Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum*, 12.

²³ Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.10.

<i>Epistula Apostolorum 2</i>	
<p>የአንስ፡ ወቶምስ፡ ወክተሪስ፡ ወእንድርያስ፡ ወያዕቆብ ፡ ወራልቻስ፡ ወበርተለሙያዥስ፡ ወማቻዥስ፡ ወናቻናኬል ፡ ወይሁዳ፡ ቅናል፡ ወከፌ፡ ዘአፍን፡ ለቦታ፡ ክርስቲያኖች፡ አድባር፡ ወላጂዎ፡ ለወለ፡ ያጠብ፡ ውለምን፡ እንዘ፡ ገዢንዋዕሙ፡ ወግንግረዕሙ፡ አበላንተክሁ፡ ለአማዕሉ፡ እየሰነ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በዕሙ፡ ሻአፍን፡ ወለምዕናሁ፡ ወገመሥናሁ፡ እምድናንሩ፡ ተንሥኤ፡ እሙታን፡ ወዘዕሙ፡ ክሱት፡ ለነ፡ ዓቢያ፡ መመሪያዕሙ፡ ወህልወ፡ (PO 9/3/43)</p>	(We,) John and Thomas and Peter and Andrew and James and Philip and Bartholomew and Matthew and Nathanael and Judas the Zealot and Cephas, we have written (or, write) to the churches of the East and West, towards North and South, recounting and proclaiming to you concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, as we have written; and we have heard and felt him after he had risen from the dead; and how he has revealed to us things great, astonishing, real. ²⁴

Significantly the *Epistula Apostolorum* differentiates between Peter and Cephas;²⁵ Judas and Simon the Zealot are conflated. Thaddeus and James, son of Alphaeus, are left out (Mark 3:13) and also Judas son of James (Luke 6:12). Interestingly enough Nathanael (John 1:52) is included though absent from the Synoptic Gospels. Matthias is not present as this writing's setting is just after the resurrection. Nevertheless, the list of disciples consists of twelve, because Peter is differentiated from Cephas. In this list John receives prominence being mentioned first. This already indicates the importance of the Johannine tradition for the *Epistula Apostolorum*. Thomas comes second and then Peter and his brother, after this follows John's brother, James. Cephas is mentioned last, probably not for emphasis.

Stylistically it is immediately clear that the author enjoys redundant expressions and hendyades. He also uses polysyndeton.

The hymn (3) must surely represent one of the oldest *regulae fidei*:

²⁴ Words highlighted in grey marks examples of hendyades. *Yohanəs watomas wapetros wa ወንደሆነያስ wayā’eqob waʃləpos wabartalomewos wamātewos wanātənā’el wayəhudā qanā’i wakefā, şahafən labeta kərsətiyānāt zaşbāh wala’arab lā ‘ala dabub walamen. ወንዛ ነዘንዋዕሙ wannagrakmu zaba’ənti’ahu la’əgzi’əna ’iyasus kərəstos bakama şahafna wasamā’ənu wagaśaśnāhu ወንደሆነን təns’ a’əmutān. Wazakama kaśata lana ’ābiya wamadməma wahəlwā.*

²⁵ Lake, “The Epistola Apostolorum,” 25 notes that the same idea is expressed by Clement of Alexandria (quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.12.2) and the *Constitutio Ecclesiastica Apostolorum*. The *Constitutio Ecclesiastica Apostolorum* also gives a similar order for the disciples.

Epistula Apostolorum 3	
<p>ԱՆԴ : ԿԱԹՈՎ : ՀՊԻԼՆ : ՄՈՋԵՆՆ : ՀՅՈՒՆ : ԻՇՈՒՋ : ՀՊԻԼԱՌԵՍ : ՄՃՋ : ՀՊԻԼԱՌԵՍ : ԱՒՃՆՈ : ՀՊՐԿՈ : ՀՊԻԼԱՌԵՍ : ՀՅԻՒ : ԻՇ : ԳԼՊ : ՂՋԸ : ՄՃՊԸ : ԱՌԵՐ : ՈՊ : ԱՅՋՄՅ : ԱՄՋՃԺ : ԻՇ : ՄՃՊԴԺ : ՀՊԻԼԱ : ՀՅԱԽԴ : ՄՎԴՄԺ : ԻՇ : ՄՎԴՄԺ : ՀՊՐՎ : ԱՅՈ : ԱՆՎԵԼ : ՄԼՃՔԱ : ՄՔՆՈԸ : ՈՐՊՈ : ՄՋՈՀ : ՀՈ : ԱՌՓԼ : ՀԻԻ : ՈՊՔԺ : ՄԺԽԹ : ՊՋՀՀ : ՄԻՎՃԵԺ : ՄՊԺՀ : ԳՓՄՅ : ԻՄ : ՀԴԴԳՅ : ՀՊՐԳՓՄՅ : ՄՓԺԴ : ԲԼԴ : ՄՃԱԴԺ : ԲՃԱԲԱ : ՄՅՎՃՄ : ԱԽՎՀ : ՄԻՓԻՌ : ՄՆԴ : ՈՊՅԲ : ՊԸԿԻ : ՄՃԱՄԺ : ԱՃԱՄ : ԱԿՎՆՊ : ՀԻԻ : ՄԵԿԱԽԴ : ՈՎԺՈՒ : ԳԵՆ : ԿԳՄՅ : ԱՒՀՊԺ : ՄՎՄՋ : ՄԿԺԺ : ՄՈՎԲ : ՈՈՆԽՄ : : ԱՅԲԼՓԺ : ՄՔՅՆԺ : ԱԻՈԸ : ԱՌՈՒ : ՈԽՃՔՄ : ՄՈԽՊԴԱՄ : ԱՌՈՎ : ՓՃԳԺ : ԴԳՆ : ՈԽՊԴԱ : ՄՈԽՊԴ : ԱԽՎԲԺ : ՈՈՒ : ՄԿՅՀ : ՄԿՅՎ : ՄԿՊԻԼԱՌԵՍ : ՀՊԻԼԱ : ՄՃՋ : : ՀՊԻԼԱՌԵՍ : ՆԿՊՅ : ՖՃ : ԱԻՆ : ՄԿ : ՊԿՅՊ : : ՀՊՔՔԺԺ : ԲԿՊԺ : ՈՄԿՊԺ : ԴԹՎՀ : ՀՄԿԺԺ : : ԳՔՈ : ՄԿԻ : ՈԳԴՎՈՒ : ՄԿ : ԱԼ : ՈՃ.ՓՔ : ՀՊԻԼԱՌԵՍ : ԴՎԱՋ : ՈՄՊՈԱԼ : ՈՈՒ : ԱԿՊՅ : : ՄՎԴՎՎ : ՄԿԻԺ : ՄՎԴՎՎ : ՀԿԻ : ՆԿԻ : ՆԿԻ : (PO 9/3/43)</p>	<p>We know this: our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (is) God and Son of God, who was sent from God, the ruler of the entire world, the maker and creator of what is named with every name, who is over all authority (as) Lord of lords and King of kings, the ruler of the rulers, the heavenly one who is over the Cherubim and Seraphim and sits at the right hand of the throne of the Father, who by his word commanded the heavens and built the earth and all that is in it and bounded the sea that it should not go beyond its boundaries, and (caused) deeps and springs to bubble up and flow over the earth day and night; who established the sun, moon, and stars in heaven, who separated light from darkness; who commanded hell, and in the twinkling of an eye summons the rain for the winter-time, and fog, frost, and hail, and the days in their time; who shakes and makes firm; who has created man according to his image and likeness; who spoke in parables through the patriarchs and prophets and in truth through him whom the apostles declared and the disciples touched. And God, the Lord (= the Father), and the Son of God, we believe: the word which became flesh through the holy virgin Mary, was hidden in her birth pangs by the Holy Spirit, and was born not by the lust of the flesh but by the will of God, and was wrapped (in swaddling clothes) and made known at Bethlehem; and that he was reared and grew up as we saw.²⁶</p>

Form

²⁶ Zanta na' amər 'əgzi'əna wamadħanina 'iyasus kərəstos 'əgzi'abəher walda 'əgzi'abəher zatafanawa 'əmhaba 'əgzi'abəher ahāzi kʷəlu 'ālam gabāri mafatāri zabekʷəlu səm zayəsamaya zamal'əltə kʷəlu śəlṭānātə 'əgzia 'agā'əzət wanəguśa nagastə hāyəla hāyālān samyāwi zadāba kirubel wasurāfel wayənabər bayamna manbara 'ab. Zabaqālu 'azaza samyāta wħanada mədra wazawsətetā wabāħra 'āqama hama 'ittə 'ado 'əm 'aqəmā waqalāyāt wa'anqa'at yəfalaflu wayəwnəzu wəsəta mədrə 'əlata walelit dħahaya wawarħħi zaśrara wakawākbəta wəsəta samyə bərhāna waṣelmata zafalata zagħānām 'azaza wayə'ezəz baqdəbata 'āyən lakramat wagime wa'ashatayā wabarad. Wamawā'ala babagizehu zayādlaqalək wayāsan'a. Zagabro lasabə ba'ar'ayāhu waba'amsālihu zaba'abaw qadamət tanāgara ba'amsāl waba'amān zahawāryāt sabaku wa'ardā'ə gašaśewo 'əgzi'abəher 'əgzi'ə walda 'əgzi'abəher na'amən qäl zakana śəgā māryām 'əmqədsət dəngəl bamāħħdan tađawra 'əmanfas qədās. Wa'ako baftəwata śəgā 'alā bafaqādu 'əgzi'abəher tawalda wataṭablala babet lehem wata'āwqa wazatahađna walħəqqa 'ənza nəħna nəre'i.

*Regula fidei*²⁷

One is reminded of the *regula fidei* found in Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.10) who also speaks of the sea as opposed to the Hebraic “the heavens and the earth.” The redundancy of this *regula fidei* is very striking. Even though this text appears to be a secondary translation from a Greek original the poetical elements still appear to be identifiable.

In the miracle list recounted in 4–5 with the feeding of the 5 000, the disciples ask Jesus what the five remaining loaves should represent (allegorically speaking). The following answer is given (presumably by the narrators):

<i>Epistula Apostolorum 5</i>	
γιθατή : ἀρπάλ : ἀστράτη : οὐατή : απε : ἱεράτη : μηθατή : οὐατή : ἀστράτη : ιτατή : απερο ::: μοκαράτη : ιεράτη : σεράτη : μοσχάτη : φέτη : χλαφλατη : μοφλατη : οτη : ιεράτη : μογδητη : ψωκητη : (PO 9/3/43)	They are a picture of our faith concerning the great Christianity, and that is in the Father, the ruler of the entire world, and in Jesus Christ our Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the παράκλητος, and in the holy Church and in the forgiveness of sins. ²⁸

Form

Regula fidei

This can also be seen as a short confession of faith. It sounds very close to the Apostolic Creed. It is interesting to note that it is still in order at this stage to call the Holy Spirit παράκλητος. This reflects a time when Montanism did not yet gain a monopoly on the Johannine term.²⁹

A central concern in the treatise is the emphasizing of the fleshly resurrection of Jesus. It is in this light that we must understand what Jesus says when appearing to his disciples after his resurrection:

²⁷ This form is my own. This would probably have been classified as Acclamation and Meaning by Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 233.

²⁸ Zəw'ətu 'amsāla 'aminotna ba'ənta 'ābiyə kərsətnā wazwə'ətu ba'ab 'ahāze kʷəlu 'ālam. Waba'i yasus kərəstos madħanina wamanfas qədās paraqlītəs wabaqdəsət beta kərsətiyān wabahdəgata hāṭi'at.

²⁹ Cf. Hannah, “The Four-Gospel Canon in the *Epistula Apostolorum*,” 598–633.

<i>Epistula Apostolorum 11³⁰</i>	
<p>ασχογε γογογς νερ τοτε παλε πχαεις ημαρια μην νεκεσωνε χε μαρηωκ αναν φαραγ λογ αρει αρητνε ηρογν^χ αρμογτε αραν αβαλ αναν δε νανηεογε χε ουφαν[τα]cia τε^χ ηπηρηπιστευε χε πχαις πε τοτε [παλει] νεν χε ληηεινε ηηρηογε ανακ [Γαρ πε πχαεις] πει αν ητακ πετρε ετακη[αρνα η]μαρι μχαμτ ηιαπ λογ αν ηνογ κρ[λρ]να αναν δε φαραγ ενραιстазе 2[ηηη]γηт^χ χε μεγεκ ηιαρι εп πε τοτε η[εη] χε ετβε ο τετηραιстазе επι τετηη ηαтназте ανακ πε πει εταχοοс ηηтнε εтвe тасарж μην παμоу μηн татвне хекаас атетнааме χε ανακ πε^χ πετρε τωκε ηиекъве αλеијт ηиахдих λογ ηιακ γογογκ θωμαс тωκε ηиекъве αнсзнлогхη ηиаспир ηιак δε αндреас мοу^χ αλаурηтe κno χe сetωmе^χ εп αпкaз ρсн^χ гaр 2ηη πiрoфнtнc χe οуfантасia ηиaимон мa[ре]ретq тouмe гiхн pkaз (TUGAL 3/13/43)</p>	<p>Then (Eth. : And then) the Lord said to Mary and (Copt. : and also) to her sisters, “Let us go to them.” And he came and found us inside, veiled. He called us out. But we thought it was a ghost, and we did not believe it was the Lord. Then he said to us, “Come, do not be afraid. I am your teacher (Copt. ; [lord]) whom you, Peter, denied three times (Eth. : before the cock crowed); and now do you deny again?” But we went to him, doubting in our hearts whether it was possibly he. Then he said to us, “Why do you (Copt. : still) doubt and (Eth. : why) do you not believe? (Eth.: believe that) I am he who spoke to you concerning my flesh, my death, and my resurrection. That you may know that it is I, put your finger, Peter, in the nail-prints of my hands; and you, Thomas, put your finger in the spear-wounds of my side; but you, Andrew, look at my feet and see if they do not touch the ground. For it is written in the prophet, ‘The foot of a ghost or a demon does not join to the ground.’”³¹</p>

Form

Resurrection testimony

As important as the resurrection of Jesus is the fact that all believers' flesh will be resurrected. Therefore Jesus says:

<i>Epistula Apostolorum 21³²</i>	
<p>λογ τeι te τgε eeiηaω[κ] αβαλ ηoiκoномia ηim eeiηoоп ηaтtepo ealgtapai 2ηη ηpѡmе eanak oγatcaр aиpçorei ηtcaр[z χe] naieι eтвe neи хекaас ηtwt[ne] (TUGAL 3/13/43)</p> <p>ትትወለዥ : ወተንማኑ : ታትናሥኑ : በመሻው : በዳግማ : ልድት :: ልብስ : አለይምሰን : የሰላ :</p>	<p>I complete all arrangements (for salvation): being unbegotten and (yet) begotten of man, being without flesh (and yet) I have worn flesh, for on that account have I come, that you... in regeneration you obtain the resurrection in your flesh, a garment that will not pass away, with all who hope and believe in him who sent me; for my Father</p>

³⁰ Chapters 3–4 of Schmidt's Coptic text. The basic meaning of the Gə‘əz is the same as the Coptic.

³¹ Here the Gə‘əz version has “and you, Andrew, see whether my foot steps on the ground and leaves a foot print” (መከተተኝ : አንድርያኝ : ሂሳብ : እኩይ : ይከይድ : እገር : ወብ : አሰር :: [wa’antani ’əndəryās r’i ’əməhy yəkyəd ’əgrəya mədr wabo ’asar]).

³² Chapter 14 of Schmidt's Coptic text.

<p>ከተማው : እለ : ይሰራው : ወያኑምና : በዘረንዎን :: እስመ : ከመዝ : መምረ : አበየ : በከመ : ወለእለ : ፌቃድካ : እሁብመ : ተስፋ : መንግሥት :: (PO 9/3/43)</p>	<p>has found pleasure in you; and to whoever I will I give the hope of the kingdom.”³³</p>
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Form

Apocalyptic prophecy

Later on Jesus affirms:

<p><i>Epistula Apostolorum 24</i>³⁴</p>	
<p>κε γαμην τχογ ዘማር ካዘነ ድ ተኋላርጊር ንጥረግ እንደውጭ ዘጥቅም እንተር ዘኩል (TUGAL 3/13/43)</p>	<p>Truly I say unto you, the resurrection of the flesh shall happen with the soul therein and the spirit.</p>

Form

Revelatory discourse

This is probably one of the most graphic accounts of the Proto-Orthodox belief in the resurrection of the flesh. No misunderstandings are allowed after this. What is more is that this is also true for those spending their afterlife in hell:

<p><i>Epistula Apostolorum 39</i>³⁵</p>	
<p>λογ σέቀበሌዘ ዘማግ ዝ[ኩ ተግ]ርአዋ ዘኩ ተግጥቅም (TUGAL 3/13/43)</p>	<p>They shall be punished and tormented in their flesh and in their soul.</p>

Form

Announcement of doom

Near the close of the treatise Jesus repeats the parable of the five wise virgins and the five foolish virgins (43). He allegorically interprets the five wise virgins to be: Faith, love, grace, peace and hope. These are the cardinal virtues for Proto-Orthodox Christians. Comparing these virtues with Hermas (*Vis.* 3.8.3; *Simil.* 9.15.2), Schmidt notes the absence of self-

³³ *Tətəwaladu watnəm’ e tətənaš’ u bašgākwu badāgəm lədat. Ləbaš za iyəmsən məsəla kʷəlomu ’əla yəsefaw waya’ amnu bazafanawani. ’Asəma kamaz šamra ’abuya bəkəmu wala’ əla faqadku ’əhubomu tasfā mangəšt.*

³⁴ Chapter 17 of Schmidt’s Coptic text.

³⁵ Chapter 30 of Schmidt’s Coptic text.

control or purity as one would expect of Christian literature at the time (έγκράτεια or ἀγνεία).³⁶ He concludes that the *Epistula Apostolorum* was not concerned with asceticism. The five foolish virgins, however, represent: Knowledge, understanding (perception), obedience, patience, and compassion. These seem to be the cardinal virtues of Gnostics. The story ends on a damning note for the foolish virgins as they are not considered part of the fold of the shepherd and his sheep. They are doomed to hell.

Of importance to this treatise is also the fact of the virgin birth. It is explained in a rather odd fashion. A brief description is given of Jesus' descent to earth from heaven (13). Then he speaks of his birth:

<i>Epistula Apostolorum 14³⁷</i>	
<p>ΤΕΤΝΙΑΥΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ Α ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΙΝΕ ΝΠΙΨΗΜΟΥΓΕ ΝΗΜΑΡΙΑ^χ ΑΝΟΥΓΩΦΒΕ ΣΟΥΝΕ [ΧΕ Α]ΖΕ ΠΗΔΕΙΣ^χ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦΟΥΓΩΦΒΕ ΠΑΧΕΩΝ ΝΕΝ[ΧΕ] ΜΗ ΤΕΤΝΡΗΜΕΥΕ ΕΝ ΧΕ ΔΙΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΗΤΝΕ ΣΙΤΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΓΑΤΕ ΣΗΜ ΧΕ ΔΙΩΦΠΕ ΝΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΣΗΝ ΝΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ^χ ΛΙΡΠΤΗΡΨ ΣΗΝ ΟΥΑΝ ΝΙΜ^χ [ΠΑ]ΧΕΝ ΝΕΩ ΧΕ ΑΖΕ ΠΗΔΕΙΣ^χ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦΟΥΓΩΦΒΕ ΠΑΧΕΩΝ ΝΕΝ ΣΗΝ ΦΟΟΥΓΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΝΙΟ ΕΤΑΙΧΙ ΤΜΟΡΦΗ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΙΩΝΩΝ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΗΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΟΥ ΛΙΦ[EX]Ε ΝΕΜΕΣ Α ΠΟΣΗΤ ΦΑΡΤ ΑΡΑΣ ΑΣΡΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΛΙΡΠ[Λ]ΑΣΣΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΑΣΟΥΝ ΑΣΗΤC ΑΙΩΦΠΕ ΝΙΑΡΖ^χ ΕΠΕΙ ΝΑΙΖΦΠΕ ΝΕΙ ΟΥΔΕΤ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ^χ ΦΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΣΗΝ ΟΥΑΙΣΘΗΝΙΣ ΝΕΙΝΕ ΝΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ^χ ΤΕΙ ΤΕ ΤΣΕΕΤΗΝΑΕΣ ΝΗΝΗΣ ΝΤΑΒΩΚ ΦΑ ΠΕΙΩΤ (TUGAL 3/13/43)</p>	<p>For you know that the angel Gabriel brought the message to Mary.' We answered, 'Yes, O Lord.' Then he answered and said to us, 'Do you not then remember that a little while ago I told you: I became an angel among the angels. I became all things in everything?' We said to him, 'Yes, O Lord.' Then he answered and said to us, 'On that day, when I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared to Mary and spoke with her. Her heart received me and she believed; I formed myself and entered into her womb; I became flesh, for I alone was servant to myself with respect to Mary in an appearance of the form of an angel. So will I do, after I have gone to the Father.</p>

Form

Revelatory testimony of messenger set against the background of a regula fidei

In the form of Gabriel the Word (as the Gə'əz puts it; the Coptic says “the Lord”) comes to Mary and speaks to her. The Word enters the virgin who conceives of Jesus. It is no wonder that the small part of the *Epistula Apostolorum* that is preserved in Latin has omitted this part. Obviously this clumsy explanation of the virgin birth was not good enough for later Orthodox generations who were more articulate in explaining the complexities of their faith.³⁸

³⁶ Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, 382–383.

³⁷ Chapter 7 of Schmidt's Coptic text.

³⁸ Cf. this observation in Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 133 describing the development of the regulae fidei.

Baptism is important in the tractate:

<i>Epistula Apostolorum 27</i>	
<p>ወልደኩ፡ ወለሳለ፡ አስተሳደውሁ፡ ወበላንተብ፡ መረዳኩ፡ መተናርሱ፡ ንብ፡ አብርሃም፡ መደሰሳቁ፡ መያቆብ፡ ንብ፡ አብቅዬሙ፡ ነበደት፡ መዘመዴዬሙ፡ አምታክቱ፡ ደረፍተ፡ መሰተ፡ ስማጥቱ፡ ያምጽእ፡ መመሆከዬሙ፡ እድ፡ የጤኑ፡ ጥምቀት፡ አይዥት፡ መሥርየት፡ መገድግተ፡ ክል፡ አከይ፡ ካሙ፡ ለካወን፡ ወአምድእነዚ፡ ወለሳለ፡ የአምኑ፡ በየ፡ ወዘነ፡ የአምኑ፡ በየ፡ ወአይገበር፡ ተአዘዝሩ፡ አማኅ፡ በስምም፡ አልበ፡ አይበቀም፡ ክንቶ፡ በደረ፡ አይበደር፡ ደታኅል፡ ወለከነኑ፡ ዓዴር፡ ዓጋይ፡ አስሙ፡ አበበ፡ ለተአዘዝሩ፡ (PO 9/3/43)</p>	<p>And on that account I have descended and have spoken with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, to your fathers the prophets, and have brought to them news that they may come from the rest which is below into heaven, and have given them the right hand of the baptism of life and forgiveness and pardon for all wickedness as to you, so from now on also to those who believe in me. But whoever believes in me and does not do my commandment receives, although he believes in my name, no benefit from it. He has run a course in vain. His end is determined for ruin and for punishment of great pain, for he has sinned against my commandment.³⁹</p>

Schmidt notes the age of the tradition that Jesus descended to Hades to baptize the saints.⁴⁰ He traces the development of this idea from the prophets to 1 Peter 3:19 and 4:6 where Jesus is said to go down to Hades to preach to Jews to Justin (*Dial.* 72) where prophecies are put into the mouth of Jeremiah, so that he predicts Christ's descent to Hades. Gnostics invalidated the entire Tanak and its righteous characters. Proto-Orthodoxy provided room for these heroes in heaven through Jesus' descent to Hades to save them.

7.4.7 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

Proto-Orthodoxy.

Proto-Orthodox Model	
A Receding Eschatological Hope	No. The second coming is expected 120 years after the narration, i.e., 150 C.E. ⁴¹
A Receding Importance of Prophecy	Prophets from the past are quoted, Paul is quoted in 47 (Phlp 3:19) as a prophet which is difficult to contain in the narrative set soon after Jesus' resurrection. Prophecy spoken by Jesus is the only

³⁹ *Wafadəku wala’əla astasafawəku waba’ənətaz waradku watanāgrəku ḥabu ’abr əhām wayəshqaq wayā ‘aqōb ḥabu ’abawikamu nabiyāt wazenawkəwomu ’əmtāḥtu ’arafta wəsta samāyāt yāmṣə’u wawahabkəwomu ’əd yamāna ṭəmqata ḥaywat waśrəyata wahdəgata kʷəlu ’əkyə kama lakəwni wa’əmy’əzeni wala’əla ya’amnu bəya wazasa wa’amnə bəya wa’iygabər t’əzāzya ‘amino basməya ’elbo zayəbaqʷə’o kanto badara zayābadər lahāgʷəl walakʷənane d’ar ’ābiyə ’əsma ’abasa lat’əzāzya.*

⁴⁰ Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu*, 376, 453ff.

⁴¹ Lake, “The Epistola Apostolorum,” 23–24.

	case found in this letter.
Increasing Institutionalization (spectrum: congregational, presbyterian or episcopal)	No, the treatise does not positively reflect a mono-episcopacy. The closest thing to such a hierarchy is the fathers, servants and masters (42), but they do not seem to function in any official capacity.
Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms	The oldest writing (after Ignatius) containing a <i>regula fidei</i> .
The Propaganda of Martyrdom	Martyrs are ranked with the Father and are described as zealous concerning righteousness (50).
The Primacy of Peter	The second most popular apostle in orthodoxy, John, is obviously the first among the twelve. The author is perhaps the first to distance himself from Simon and Cerinthus, later viewed as the forerunners of the Gnostics. Paul is also accommodated very clearly (31–33).
Anti-Judaism	The <i>Epistula Apostolorum</i> seems to view Jewish-Christians and Gentile Christians on an equal footing. The apostolate of Paul is endorsed while no anti-Jewish sentiment is expressed.
Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)	Yes. After the resurrection, the flesh of Jesus is described graphically (11). There is no doubt that the risen Lord is the same Jesus the apostles knew.
It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel	Jesus is seen as fully divine. Jesus is in the Father and the Father in him (17) and Jesus will judge the living and the dead. There is an undeniable modalistic tendency (17)
No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak	None (clear from the <i>regula fidei</i> of 3 and 19).
Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy: Doctrine of the Λόγος Apophatic Predications for God	No. Although the <i>Epistula Apostolorum</i> is only extant in the form of translations, it appears to reflect a literary Greek with parallelism and antithesis and hendiadys. At the same time it seems to reflect Christianity before it was transformed into Christian philosophy by Justin. The <i>regula fidei</i> acknowledges that creation took place through the Λόγος (ΦΔ 3; 14). Other passages also presuppose a pre-existent Λόγος (14; 39). One would expect this because of the treatise's Johannine character. The less developed Johannine doctrine of the Λόγος (3, 31, 39), as opposed to that of Justin Martyr, is found. A trichotomic anthropology is presupposed for the judgment (22): the resurrection of the flesh will take place with the spirit and the soul therein. One sees one of the most graphic descriptions of the resurrection of the flesh in Christian literature (39).

	Paradoxical apophatic predication of Jesus are only found in one passage (21).
Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel	Yes, it appears to be the oldest known writing to reflect the Fourfold Gospel canon
The Tanak Is Retained, but Interpreted from a Christological Perspective	Yes
Jesus Was Born of a Virgin	Yes, begotten of the Holy Spirit on one occasion (3), and begotten of Gabriel on another (14). Clearly one sees an author at pains to justify the virgin birth with conflicting accounts.
Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible	The use of the Septuagint might be presupposed by the belief in the virgin birth.
Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving	The catalogue of virtues (43) is less ascetic than those found in contemporary literature like <i>The Shepherd of Hermas</i> .
Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity	Simon and Cerinthus are treated harshly (1, 7), but otherwise one does not experience any anti-Judaism or much polemicizing.

This treatise is grounded in the narrative history of the Jesus movement and does not just present a dialogue that could have happened anytime anywhere, as with most Gnostic works. The rules of the genre are even broken so that the author can narrate a list of Jesus' miracles.

It is undeniable that *The Epistula Apostolorum* has been influenced by Gnosis. The fact that Jesus' descent from heaven to earth is described (13) makes sense in an environment where one would have been living among Gnostics.⁴² The flesh is called "garment" which reminds one of the same word used by Valentinians to denote "heavenly consort." The idea of the bridal chamber (42) need not depend on anything more than Matthew's Gospel. The role the archons play (28) also reminds one of Gnosis, though some writings of the New Testament make mention of archons (Eph 2:2; Matt 9:34 [used by Pharisees]). The idea that baptism is some kind of seal may come from the Sethians (41). The *Epistula Apostolorum* seems to hail from a time where Gnostic ideas were still accommodated by the church.

7.4.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Something both works have in common is the severe threat of eschatological punishment for sinners. The *Epistula Apostolorum* is even more graphic going into the details of soul and body suffering torments.⁴³ Mention is also made of the water of life, or baptism, which is able to save the persons in Hades when Jesus descended there (27).

⁴² Kirsopp Lake, "The Epistola Apostolorum," *HTR* 18/1 (1925): 19, 15–28, notes the author's appropriation of the Gnostic ogdoad concept to explain the unity between Jesus and his Father in 17.

⁴³ Cf. the opening of P.Oxy. 840.

It is an example of how baptism can be called water of life, as it can provide believers with access to heaven. Despite translation there are still traces left of the original author's rhetorical polishing in the form of redundancy, parison and antithesis. Many of these figures are also found in P.Oxy. 840.

The Epistula Apostolorum has a particular affinity to Johannine Christianity, yet the author has drawn from all the canonized Gospels. P.Oxy. 840 has a definite synoptic character, but also seems to refer to John's Gospel.⁴⁴ Both works seem to share an informal approach to the Fourfold Gospel where it can be used as sources to creatively reconstruct their own narrations about Jesus.

7.4.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The *Epistula Apostolorum* does not reflect any anti-Jewish rhetoric. In fact, it views Jewish and non-Jewish-Christians as of equal importance in God's kingdom. This conception would change quickly from Justin to Irenaeus. P.Oxy. 840 shows strong anti-Jewish sentiments. The dichotomy of inner and outer purity, so important to P.Oxy. 840, is not addressed in the *Epistula Apostolorum*. The *Epistula Apostolorum* does not show P.Oxy. 840's concern to construct a unique Christian as opposed to a Jewish identity. The *Epistula Apostolorum* does not say anything negative about the law. Rather the wicked are punished for not doing God's commandments. In 50 the author can even speak of the "commandment of life" giving obedience to God's commandment soteriological powers as he does with baptism. Usually this commandment is associated with Christ (26; 27; 29; 36; 39; 44; 46; 50; 18 specifically the love commandment), but sometimes it is associated with the Father (26; 34; 42), so that the author leaves open whether the wicked are being punished for not keeping the law or for not keeping Christ's law. This might be because of the author's modalistic conception of God.

7.5 Hebrews⁴⁵

7.5.1 Date

The *Terminus ad quem* is 1 Clement (96–100 C.E.) who appears to be familiar with Hebrews.⁴⁶ For this reason around 90 C.E. seems reasonable. This seems to be confirmed by

⁴⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 176–182

⁴⁵ Although Hebrews was written long before the *Epistula Apostolorum* I have discussed this before Hebrews, so as to assist the chapter's development of anti-Judaism and supersession. Chronologically the *Epistula Apostolorum* seems to fit between Barnabas and Justin.

the mentioning of the church leaders that have died (13:7) seemingly taking the transition from the first to the second Christian generation for granted.

7.5.2 Genre

Homily, word of encouragement⁴⁷

7.5.3 Christological Titles

The following christological titles are used in Hebrews:

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	0	0
Christ (Χριστός)	12	35.29
Jesus Christ (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός)	3	8.82
Jesus (Ιησοῦς)	10	29.41
Jesus, Son of God (Ιησοῦς ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)	1	2.94
Jesus, the pioneer and perfector of the faith (Ιησοῦς ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἄρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής)	1	2.94
Our Lord Jesus (ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ιησοῦς)	1	2.94
Our Lord (ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν)	2	5.88
Son of God (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)	4	11.76
Total	34	100

As is the case with Paul, Χριστός is often used, as much as 35%. Nevertheless, σωτήρ is not used at all.

7.5.4 Sources

It is not easy to identify Gospel sources behind Hebrews. The strongest contender seems to be John's Gospel.⁴⁸ Although John does not have a priestly Christology, there are priestly motifs, like the tabernacle among us (John 1:14); the temple saying (John 2:19); sanctification in Jesus' final prayer (17:19) and the seamless robe (19:23).

⁴⁶ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 688.

⁴⁷ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 677. For another example cf. Acts 13:15.

⁴⁸ Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (ed. H. Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 102–103.

7.5.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

Bibliowicz argues that Hebrews and Barnabas are the cornerstones of supersessionist theology.⁴⁹ Hebrews uses an us-them-rhetoric without speaking of Christians.⁵⁰ Bibliowicz discusses the anti-Judaic strand in Hebrews according to three subjects: priesthood, covenant and sacrifice. Hebrews argues that the obscure figure of Melchizedek, priest of Salem, is superior to Abraham, in that he blesses Abraham, he receives his tithes and he is linked to the Son of God-motif and his priesthood is eternal.⁵¹ Accordingly Melchizedek's priestly lineage is superior to the Levitical lineage. Jesus, the Judean's priesthood, can be connected to the order of Melchizedek and is therefore superior to the priesthood of Abraham's descendants. Bibliowicz remarks that in arguing for the supersession of the covenant Hebrews lays the first foundations of "identity annihilation theology,"⁵² as a foray is made into the core of Jewish identity. Hebrews uses similar dualistic word pairs as Paul does: old/new, good/better, sketch/reality, earthly/heavenly, spiritual/physical, outer/inner, repeated/unique. All of them are used to assert the superiority of his faith to that of his opponents (the Jewish faction). Puzzling to Bibliowicz is Hebrews' claim to appropriate the promises of YHWH to the Israelites as their own. Bibliowicz notes that the consequences of this appropriation by the first-century author of Hebrews and by many Christians that followed him eventually led to the negation and disenfranchisement of the Jewish faction, and eventually of Jews in general. For Bibliowicz Hebrews (and Barnabas) marks a turning point in the anti-Jewish strand: from an implicit dejudaizing as it is found in the Gospels to an explicit one.⁵³

7.5.6 Theology

The eschatology of Hebrews leans towards a realized eschatology at times, in that the promise may still be beyond the horizons, it is already present in the promise today (3:7–4:11).⁵⁴

The idea that one had to go through immersion before entering the temple is picked up by the author in 10:19–22 for preparation to enter the heavenly sanctuary.⁵⁵ Because Christ has offered himself as a sacrifice, once and for all time, believers can enter the heavenly sanctuary with confidence. This implies that the standard immersion before entering

⁴⁹ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 116.

⁵⁰ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 117.

⁵¹ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 122.

⁵² Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 123.

⁵³ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 131.

⁵⁴ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 684.

⁵⁵ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 684.

God's presence is not required any longer. There are four other institutions of Judaism that are superseded in Hebrews:

Priesthood 7:1–19

Earthly Sanctuary 8:1–5

Covenant 8:6–13

Sacrifice 10:1–10

7.5.6.1 7:1–22 The Supersession of the Priesthood

Form

7:11–10:18 Demonstrative argumentation; 7:4–28 *midraš pešer*⁵⁶; 7:2–3 Hermeneutic rule: “What is not in the Torah, is not in the world”; Etymology 7:1–2; Encomium 7:1–10; 7:12 Sentence about certain trades (priest)⁵⁷; 7:11–22 Comparison between two persons (Synkrisis).

Kim begins his analysis of Hebrews 7:1–19 by first looking at the views on the priesthood as it is found in the Second Temple Period.⁵⁸ Against this background it is very clear how radical the message of Hebrews is.⁵⁹ According to Berger the first part of this unit is an encomium of Melchizedek and the second part synkrisis of Melchizedek and Jesus.⁶⁰ Berger notes that the section 7:4–28 can also be seen as a single unit of analysis, that is, a *midraš pešer* that applies Genesis 14:17–20 and Psalm 110:4.⁶¹

The author begins his argument that Jesus' priesthood is superior to the Levitical, by referring to the obscure, yet intriguing figure of Melchizedek: the only priest of YHWH before the time of Moses.⁶² After Abraham's involvement in the skirmish between the kings of the North and the South in Genesis 14 he pays a tithe of the spoils to Melchizedek, king of

⁵⁶ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 112. Some scholars pass over the skill of the author of Hebrews in using Jewish exegesis. Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, 126, 15 notes that the author uses *pešer* exegesis (typology) that was only used by the scholars in Qumran and was not tolerated by mainstream Judaism. Steyn, “Methods Utilized,” 348 shows that the author of Hebrews is a “skilled exegete who creatively used and interpreted his Scriptures.”

⁵⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 65.

⁵⁸ Lloyd Kim; *Polemic in the Book of Hebrews* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 64; Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2006), 64–80 looks at 1–2 Maccabees; Sirach; Testament of Moses; Psalms of Solomon; Testament of Levi; The Rule of Community (1QS); Damascus Document (CD); Temple Scroll (11QT); Philo and Josephus.

⁵⁹ Kim; *Polemic*, 81.

⁶⁰ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 222, 345–346.

⁶¹ Cf. also Gert J. Steyn, “An Overview of the Extent and Diversity of Methods Utilized by the Author of Hebrews when Using the Old Testament,” *Neot* 42/2 (2008): 327–352, 339.

⁶² In Gen 14:18 Melchizedek is called פֶּהָן לְאַלְעָלִיּוֹן (ἰερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψίστου).

Salem. The only other references to him in Jewish literature are in Psalm 110 and in some of the writings from Qumran. According to Hebrews, Melchizedek is said by the author of Hebrews to be without father or mother or even genealogy, he does not have beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the son of God he continues as a priest forever. As was the religious practice in the first century, the priests as the descendants of Levi (and thus of Abraham) used to receive tithes from the people. The author notes how Melchizedek receives the tithe from Abraham although he could not have been a descendent of Levi. Then Hebrews uses an implicit syllogism: the inferior is blessed by the superior. The author argues that by implication Levi inside of the person of Abraham pays tithes to Melchizedek (and was blessed by Melchizedek). Therefore Melchizedek is superior to the Levitical priesthood.

Based on this syllogism the author can proceed to his real message: The comparison between Melchizedek and Jesus.

Heb 7:11–12	
¹¹ εἰ μὲν οὖν τελείωσις διὰ τῆς Λευτικῆς ιερωσύνης ἦν, ὁ λαὸς γάρ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς νενομοθέτηται, τίς εἴτι χρεία κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ ἔτερον ἀνίστασθαι ιερέα καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ααρὼν λέγεσθαι; ¹² μετατιθεμένης γάρ τῆς ιερωσύνης ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νόμου μετάθεσις γίνεται. (NA ²⁸)	If there were perfection through the Levitical priesthood (for on the basis thereof the people are furnished with the law) what additional need would there have been for another priest to rise up according to the order of Melchizedek and not according to the order named after Aaron? For a change of the priesthood of necessity becomes a change of the law.

This sentence about the trade of priests becomes a rallying call for the supersession of the law. Kim notes that some scholars prefer to understand “law” as limited to cultic laws, but notes that this dichotomy is not warranted by the text itself.⁶³ The author concedes the difficulty in connecting Jesus, the Judean, with the (high) priesthood.⁶⁴ Once again reference can be made to Melchizedek who also was no hereditary priest. Both Jesus and Melchizedek have an “indestructible life.” The author applies Psalm 110:4 to explain Genesis 14:17–20. Seeing that Psalm 110 is one of the so-called royal psalms, it probably means that the king acquired some priestly responsibilities,⁶⁵ which was relevant at the time as Melchizedek was

⁶³ Kim, *Polemic*, 87.

⁶⁴ Kim, *Polemics*, 89.

⁶⁵ Andrew A. (Wally) da Silva, Dirk J. Human, Gert T. M. Prinsloo, Phil J. Botha & J. Henk Potgieter, “Psalms,” in *Bybellenium: Eenvolumekommentaar: Die Bybel uitgelê vir Eietydse Toepassing* (ed. W. Vosloo & F. J. van Rensburg; Vereeniging: CUM, 1999), 682. Melchizedek appears to have been equated with the archangel, Michael, in the so-called *Melchizedek Document* discovered in Qumran, cf. Gert J. Steyn, “Hebrews”

a Jebusite priest-king, and David had acquired the Jebusite city of Jerusalem. This argument makes it possible for the author to conclude that the supersession of the priesthood is final:

Heb 7:18–19	
ἀθέτησις μὲν γὰρ γίνεται προαγούσης ἐντολῆς διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές – οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος – ἐπεισαγωγὴ δὲ κρείτονος ἐλπίδος, δι’ ἣς ἐγγίζομεν τῷ θεῷ. (NA ²⁸)	For on the one hand the preceding command becomes a cancelation because of its weakness and uselessness – for the law made nothing complete – on the other hand, [it is] a harbinger of a better hope through which we approach God.

The author uses a hendyades of ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές as a predicate of the law to emphasize its worthlessness. The author adds another argument by saying that God has made this decision final through an oath. The author repeats a fuller quotation of the verse and concludes by saying that this explains how Jesus has become the guarantee of a better covenant.

Although many Second Temple writings, especially those from Qumran, present strong criticism of the priesthood, Hebrews comes across as very radical, arguing for the abandonment of the priesthood in favour of a symbolic priesthood of Jesus.⁶⁶

7.5.6.2 Hebrews 8:1–13 Supersession of the Covenant Form

Sentence about certain trades (high priest 8:3); hermeneutic rule: The new act of God supersedes the old (8:1–13); Comparison between two entities (Synkrisis) (8:1–5 [temple] and 8:6–13 [covenant])

In his comparison with other Second Temple literature Kim shows that there were some who thought God's covenant with Israel would last forever.⁶⁷ It is often emphasized that Israel should remain loyal to the covenant, so that God can restore them. The conditional element of the covenant comes out in some writings. In many of the Dead Sea Scrolls the announcement of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31 plays a prominent role, though the writings appear to emphasize “a renewal” rather than a replacement of the covenant.⁶⁸ A clear picture emerges

Angelology in the Light of Early Jewish Apocalyptic Imagery,” *Journal of Early Christian History* 1/1 (2011): 156.

⁶⁶ Kim, *Polemics*, 96.

⁶⁷ Kim, *Polemic*, 111.

⁶⁸ Craig A. Evans, “Covenant in the Qumran Literature,” in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. S. E. Porter & J. C. R. de Roo; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55.

of the important role the covenant played in the identity of Israelites within this period.⁶⁹ Interestingly enough Josephus and Philo do not mention the covenant very often. Against this background it is clear how radical the rhetoric of Hebrews is.⁷⁰

Berger proposes that 8:1–5 is a comparison between two entities, that is, the temple and the heavenly sanctuary while 8:6–13 is a comparison between the old and the new covenant.⁷¹ The high priest, Jesus, is described as sitting next to the throne of Majesty. He is the minister in the heavenly sanctuary, the true tent which is set up not by man, but by the Lord Himself. It is interesting that Hebrews appears to be more concerned with the tent of meeting as a sanctuary than with the temple. At the time of the Second Temple the temple as the centre of political religion appears to have been too controversial, so that many would rather view the tent-sanctuary in the desert as the ideal sanctuary.⁷² This was also the sanctuary that stood central in the literary canon of the law. This focus on the tent of meeting as the sanctuary is also found in John 1:14. Once again the author concedes that Jesus could not become high priest while on earth due to his Judean ancestry. While Jesus was on earth, other (Zadokite) priests fulfilled the functions of offerings according to law. Using some Platonic-sounding argumentation the author makes the following polemical remark⁷³:

Heb 8:5	
οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων, καθὼς κεχρημάτισται Μωϋσῆς μέλλων ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνήν· ὅρα γάρ, φησίν, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει· (NA ²⁸)	They serve a pattern and shadow of the heavenly things, as Moses when on the verge of bringing the tent to completion was instructed: “for behold,” it says, “make all things according to the type shown to you on the mountain.”

⁶⁹ Kim, *Polemic*, 116.

⁷⁰ Kim, *Polemic*, 122.

⁷¹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 222–223. Kim, *Polemic*, 123 also separates the chapter at the same point.

⁷² Bruce J. Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” *BTB* 16 (1986): 93, 92–101 points to the temple’s association with state religion and how controversial it was even in Judaism.

⁷³ J. L. P. (Hansie) Wolmarans, “Hebreërs,” in *Bybellennium:Eenvolumekommentaar: Die Bybel uitgelê vir Eietydse Toepassing* (ed. W. Vosloo & F. J. van Rensburg; Vereeniging: CUM, 1999), 1689 and Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 87 take a Platonic influence for granted. Koester and James Moffat, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (ICC; London: T & T Clark, 1924) are more interested in Philonic influence. Gert J. Steyn, “‘On Earth as it is in Heaven...’ The Heavenly Sanctuary Motif in Hebrews 8:5 and Its Textual Connection with the ‘Shadowy Copy’ [ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ] of LXX Exodus 25:40,” *HvTSt* 67/1(2011) Art. #885, 6 pages. DOI: 10.4102/hts.v67i1.885 concludes that the author might have taken the idea of the shadowy copy over from Philo or Exod 25, but notes that the myth of a heavenly prototype of the earthly sanctuary was common in the Ancient Near East long before Plato. For passages in the Tanak, cf. Ezek 40–48 (especially 43:10–12); Wis 9:8–10; *Jub.* 31:34; *I En.* 14:15–20; 90:28f.; *2 Bar.* 4:2–6; Sibylline Oracles 4:10; 1QSb 4:24ff, cf. Steyn, “‘On Earth,’ 2. Elsewhere Steyn, “An Overview,” 343 has shown that Hebrews and Philo often use a text of the Law that agrees over and against the Septuagint. Interestingly enough Hebrews never uses allegory, something for which Philo is famous for.

The author uses a hendyades of ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιῷ to further discredit the sanctuary. In conclusion the author quotes Exodus 25:40. In comparing the better heavenly sanctuary with the tent of meeting, the author is able to take on the strongest contender for sanctuary within Judaism, as it was the sanctuary that was the purest in Israelite tradition (cf. the resistance against building a “house of cedar” expressed by Nathan in 2 Sam 7:7f).⁷⁴ The second comparison between two entities follows in 8:6–13, between the old and the new covenant.

Hebrews is not the first Christian interpretation of the covenant drawn up at Sinai. In 2 Corinthians 3 Paul also discusses the covenant. Paul compares the believers with a letter from Christ written not with ink, but with the Holy Spirit, not on tablets of stone, but on tablets of fleshy hearts. Paul is the first Israelite author to use the language of “old and new” in saying that God has made them competent as ministers of a new covenant, not of the letter, but of the Spirit, for the letter kills, but the Spirit makes alive. If that which is no longer working were glorious, how much more glorious is that which lasts? Moses wore a veil when returning from the mountain, so that the Israelites might not see the limits of that which is no longer working. Paul argues that the Israelites’ minds were hardened (reminiscent of σκληροκάρδιοι). In reading the old covenant (that is, the law)⁷⁵ the same veil remains unlifted, for in Christ it is not working anymore. It is on this argument of Paul that Hebrews seems to build.

Heb 8:6–7	
νυνὶ δὲ διαφορωτέρας τέτυχεν λειτουργίας, ὅσῳ καὶ κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης μεσίτης, ἵτις ἐπὶ κρείττονι ἐπαγγελίαις νενομοθέτηται. εἰ γὰρ ή πρώτη ἐκείνη ἦν ἄμεμπτος, οὐκ ἂν δευτέρας ἔζητεῖτο τόπος. (NA ²⁸)	But now Christ has attained a more excellent ministry (and) to the degree that he is a mediator of a better covenant which is legislated on better promises. For if that first one were blameless, there would not have been sought after a place for a second.

Twice the author uses hyperbaton with “better covenant” and “more excellent ministry.” As was the case in 7:11 above, the author uses a contra-factual conditional statement to express the inadequacies of the first covenant.⁷⁶ Hebrews alleges that there were errors in the first

⁷⁴ Here YHWH is presented as perfectly content in living in a tent (2 Sam 7:7–8). Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Social Institutions* (2 vols.; New York: McGraw, 1961), *passim* keeps referring to the nomadic ideal in Israelite society and how this also played a role in Israel’s image of YHWH.

⁷⁵ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 41–42.

⁷⁶ Kim, *Polemic*, 124.

covenant.⁷⁷ Kim notes that the sectarian literature from Qumran is quick to blame the people for not remaining loyal to the covenant, it nowhere finds fault with the law, so that Hebrews appears to be separated further from mainstream Judaism than the Qumran community. The author appears to advocate separation from the community that embraces such a covenant. This begs the question how God can institute something that is not perfect. After this, Jeremiah 31:31–34 follows as a proof text:

Heb 8:8	
μεμφόμενος γὰρ [πρώτην διαθήκην] αὐτοῖς λέγει· ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα διαθήκην κανήν, ⁷⁸ (ZNW 75)	For he rebukes it [the first covenant] and tells them: Behold days are coming, says the Lord, and I will bring to completion with the house of Israel and with the house of Judea a new covenant.

The rhetoric of the author is strengthened in that God Himself is the one speaking these words.⁷⁹ Kim notes that it is the author's eschatological perspective that enables him to place these covenants in a historical perspective. This must have been God's plan all along. The new covenant is presented as the climax of Israel's history. Hebrews of course quotes the Old Greek rather than the Masoretic text. The Greek (*οὐκ ἐνέμειναν*) differs from the Hebrew (וְרִפֵּה) in that the covenant is "not continued in" as opposed to "broken." The Hebrew appears to emphasize a single event of breaking, that is, the golden calf incident of Exodus 32, whereas the Greek appears to stress a continued neglect of the covenant.⁸⁰

After this the author provides his interpretation of the prophet's quotation:

⁷⁷ Kim, *Polemic*, 125.

⁷⁸ The reading αὐτοὺς is supported by Ι* Α D* I K P Ψ 33. 81. 326. 365. 1505. 2464 latt co; Cyr and is found in the text of NA²⁸. Meanwhile αὐτοῖς is found in Ψ⁴⁶ Ι² B D² K L 0278. 104. 630. 1241. 1739. 1881 M. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 597 notes the editorial committee of UBS⁴ decided on αὐτοὺς with a B (text is almost certain). Johannes L. P. (Hansie) Wolmarans, "The Text and Translation of Hebrews 8:8," ZNW 75 (1984): 144, 138–144 argues that the last mentioned variant is the lectio difficilior as it would then rather be the object of λέγω and μέμφομαι would have to refer back to an elliptic πρώτην διαθήκην from 8:6–7 which might have been theologically offensive, as it might suggest God made something imperfectly. It is strange that the committee can be so certain of a reading that is split so evenly between the A and B-clusters on the one hand and between the B and D-clusters on the other (cf. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 15–16*). This might be schematized as follows:

Cluster	αὐτοὺς	αὐτοῖς
A		L M
B	Ι Α Ψ 33. 81. 326. co	Ψ ⁴⁶ B 104. 1739
D	D latt	

⁷⁹ Kim, *Polemic*, 129.

⁸⁰ Kim, *Polemic*, 130.

Heb 8:13	
ἐν τῷ λέγειν καινὴν πεπαλαίωκεν τὴν πρώτην· τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ. (NA ²⁸)	In speaking of the new, he has made old the first one. But the antiquated and old is close to vanishing.

He also uses another hendyades of *παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον* to emphasize the old age of the previous sanctuary. In terms of the language the author has framed the issue, it cannot be disputed. Once a new version of something appears, the old one becomes obsolete.⁸¹ To put it into legal terms: a new contract inevitably invalidates the older one. From this it is clear that the author felt the end of the Sinai covenant was at hand, yet as Kim notes the end is not yet there. It is intriguing that the author hesitates to say it is already finished.⁸² Although some have tried to show that Hebrews is advocating the supersession of only the cultic aspects of the law, the language is simply too strong.⁸³ It would be dichotomous to view the law as purity laws versus non-purity laws.⁸⁴ All of these laws were equally binding. The radical argument of Hebrews is clear: Agree to the terms of Christian-Judaism or forsake the covenant.

An abrogation of the covenant would have serious social, cultural and religious implications for the Jewish community.⁸⁵ To make matters worse like a parasite the author uses the same covenant language in order to shape his group's own identity. Especially in the wake of the homily's reception history this would be a separate identity in opposition to Judaism.⁸⁶

Later (10:1–10) the author argues that Christ has superseded the sacrificial system. Here the author can build on some of the criticism of the Psalms and the Prophets. From a rational point of view also it seems difficult to accept that sins are forgiven if these rites are to be repeated *ad infinitum*. The author concludes:

⁸¹ Kim, *Polemic*, 136.

⁸² Hagner quoted in Kim, *Polemic*, 124 thinks that some Levitical rites might have continued in some form after the temple's destruction.

⁸³ Steven McKenzie, *Covenant* (St Louis: Chalice, 2000), 118.

⁸⁴ Kim, *Polemic*, 89.

⁸⁵ Kim, *Polemic*, 122.

⁸⁶ Scholars are not in agreement whether Christians already had their own separate identity by the time of Hebrews. Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, presuppose a separation in the first century already while others like Philip S. Alexander, “The Parting of the Ways” from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism,” in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of Ways AD 70–135* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 1–26; Reed & Becker, *The Ways that Never Parted*, vi emphasize the difficulty in advocating an official separation before state and religion merged under Constantine.

Heb 10:10	
ἐν ᾧ θελήματι ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμὲν διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐφάπαξ. (NA ²⁸)	And through that will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ – once.

In typically Pauline language Hebrews 11:4 notes that Abel was considered righteous, for God accepted his offering.⁸⁷

7.5.7 Reason for Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

There was some resistance to Hebrews within the emerging Orthodox Church, first of all as it opposed the possibility of a second repentance advocated by Hermas which seemed to impact on the compassion of God (cf. Tertullian, *Pudic.* 8.9).⁸⁸ The *canon Muratori* fails to include Hebrews on its list. Secondly Origen made it very clear that Paul could not have been the author based on the different styles. Before the fourth century it seems that Rome did not think it to be truly Pauline either (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.13.6; 6.20.3). Nevertheless, one often finds Hebrews quoted in the earliest Church Fathers. According to Martinez the only “Pauline” epistle of which more papyri have been rediscovered in Egypt is Romans, beating Hebrews by twenty to fifteen.⁸⁹ Of Hermas 23 papyri have been found.

7.5.8 Parallels with P.Oxy. 840

As we have seen from John and the Synoptic Gospels supersession does not really start with Hebrews. Hebrews makes an influential contribution to supersessionist theology by means of logic argumentation. The institutions attacked by Hebrews include immersion before entering the presence of God, the priesthood, the sanctuary, the covenant and the sacrificial system. The attack on the sanctuary is quite relevant to P.Oxy. 840, as it is the purity map of spaces that is affected. In Hebrews the heavenly sanctuary is the only level of worship that remains. We do not know the exact view of P.Oxy. 840 here, as this is the place where the fragment breaks off. What is different is that Hebrews is more concerned with the tent of meeting than with the temple. Of course the genre of P.Oxy. 840 dictates that it had to refer to the temple, whereas the homily of Hebrews had the additional possibility of addressing the purest example from the old covenant, which may have also been dictated by the recent destruction of the temple.

⁸⁷ Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 100.

⁸⁸ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 689.

⁸⁹ David G. Martinez, “The Papyri and Early Christianity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 591, 590–622.

One thing Hebrews does share with P.Oxy. 840 is its ambition to write artistic prose. Although P.Oxy. 840 does not always succeed, Hebrews is at a level of sophistication that is not matched anywhere else in the New Testament and will not be for some time by other Christian authors.⁹⁰

P.Oxy. 840 appears to address a supersession of the institution of immersion for purificatory purposes. Even the purity of the water inside the temple is questioned. From Miller's analysis it is clear how pure water from fountains and from cisterns were.⁹¹ According to law not even a carcass could defile a cistern.⁹² From Leviticus 11:35–36 it is also clear that not even corpses could defile cisterns. If the purity of the famous Pool of David inside the temple would hold impure water, surely the whole legal system of Judaism would be drawn into question. The magnitude of the Saviour's accusation in P.Oxy. 840 should not be underestimated.

Another parallel between Hebrews and P.Oxy. 840 is its stress on inner/outer-dualism as it is found in the Synoptic Gospels. Hebrews 9:1–10 discusses the outer-inner differentiation between the tents of the sanctuary, Jesus goes into the inner shrine behind the curtain (8:19). Although the author expresses this inner/outer-dualism with the tents through *ekphrasis*, it is not that relevant to his theology. Twice Hebrews uses the law-on-hearts-and-mind-motif directly dependent on Jeremiah (Heb 8:10; 10:16). The most relevant passage here is 10:22:

Heb 10:22	
προσερχόμεθα μετὰ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως, ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς καὶ λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῷ. (NA ²⁸)	Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and washed with regard to our body with pure water.

Here the ethical importance of the inside is stressed as in Mark 7 and Matthew 15. At the same time the bodies are pure as they have been baptized.⁹³ This combines the same three elements of P.Oxy. 840 into one: entering God's presence through the importance of ethical

⁹⁰ Nigel Turner, *Style* (vol. 4 of *Grammar of New Testament Greek*; ed. J. H. Moulton; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1976), 3, 81 notes the strongest competition is from James and Paul when at his best (Rom 8 and 1 Cor 13).

⁹¹ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 37–38 based on Lev 11:29–36.

⁹² The later Tannaim determined that a *miqweh* had to have a foundation in the ground (*Sipra Shemini* 9). The casual attitude of the predecessors of the Tannaim seems apparent from the fact that the high priest immersed on Yôm Kippûr in an immersion chamber on the roof of the temple (*m. Mid.* 5.3). Cf. Miller, *At the Intersection*, 83–85.

⁹³ Wolmarans, "Hebreërs," 1694.

purity and baptism. This is similar to the disparagement of the purification of the flesh in 9:13–14.

Heb 9:13–14	
¹³ εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων καὶ σποδὸς δαμάλεως ῥαντίζουσα τοὺς κεκοινωμένους ἀγιάζει πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα, ¹⁴ πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αιώνιου ἐσυντὸν προστήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ, καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι. ⁹⁴ (NA ²⁸)	¹³ For if sprinkling the blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer purifies the defiled persons with regards to the purity of the flesh, ¹⁴ how much more does the blood of Christ, who through the eternal spirit offered himself as blameless as God, purify our conscience from dead works for the service of the living God?

Hebrews develops the dualism of Paul, but is not at the level of John. P.Oxy. 840's dualism is more of a linguistic than a theological dualism. The same inside/outside dualism of Mark is found in both Hebrews and P.Oxy. 840.

Hebrews and P.Oxy. 840 both reflect a radical criticism of Jewish institutions.⁹⁵ P.Oxy. 840 may be a bit further along the time line when the separation between Judaism and Christianity would have taken concrete shape.

7.5.9 Differences from P.Oxy. 840

Hebrews is concerned with the heavenly sanctuary and the tent of meeting, whereas P.Oxy. 840 is concerned with the Second Temple. At the same time this difference seems to be dictated by the difference in genres. P.Oxy. 840 does not seem to be concerned with the supersession of the earthly sanctuary, although this is its setting. P.Oxy. 840 is specifically concerned with the supersession of immersion. One would not be at all surprised if the author of P.Oxy. 840 already took the supersession of the temple for granted. From the little that is remaining from P.Oxy. 840 it seems reasonable to infer that the pericope did not equate Jesus

⁹⁴ With the witnesses split, Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 599 prefers ἡμῶν to ὑμῶν because of intrinsic reasons (harmony with usage of author elsewhere), but only with a C (committee had difficulty deciding).

Cluster	ἡμῶν	ὑμῶν
A		L
B	A	¶ 33. 81. 104 sa
D	D	lat

⁹⁵ Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters,” 282 agrees that P.Oxy. 840’s community seems to have already separated from Judaism.

with the high priest as it is found in Hebrews. The theme of P.Oxy. 840 is the inefficiency of water to purify people.

7.5.10 Supersession within Hebrews

Old institution	New institution
Earthly sanctuary (Tabernacle)	Heavenly sanctuary (Jesus at right hand of Father)
Old covenant	New covenant
Beneficiaries of promises to Abraham (Israel)	Beneficiaries of promises to Abraham (“us” 11:40; Jesus’ followers through priesthood of Melchizedek 7:6)
Immersion before entering earthly sanctuary	Clean conscience allows entry into the heavenly sanctuary
Sprinkling with blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of heifers for purifying the flesh	Symbolic blood of Christ for purifying the conscience
Levitical priesthood	Jesus’ priesthood through Melchizedek
Sacrificial system	Once for all sacrifice of Christ

7.6 The Epistle of Barnabas

7.6.1 Dating

Terminus post quem 70 C.E. with the destruction of the temple (16:3–4).⁹⁶ *Terminus ante quem* Clement of Alexandria referring to Barnabas around 190 C.E. It seems likely that 16:3–4 should be located between the outbreak of Jewish resistance and Hadrian’s building campaign to 130–132 C.E.

7.6.2 Genre

Tractate framed as a letter⁹⁷

7.6.3 Sources

Matthew appears to be the strongest contender for possible New Testament sources for Barnabas, but the evidence is marginal.⁹⁸ From 9:1–3 and 11:4–5 it is clear that the author must have used some testimonies.⁹⁹ The Two-Ways teaching of 18–19 is dependent on some

⁹⁶ Ferdinand R. Prostmeier, “The Epistle of Barnabas,” in *The Apostolic Fathers: An Introduction* (ed. W. Pratscher; trans. E. G. Wolfe; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 32–33.

⁹⁷ Prostmeier, “The Epistle of Barnabas,” 31. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 87.

⁹⁸ Paget, *Barnabas*, doubts it. Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 154 is much more positive than Paget that Barnabas must have known Matthew.

⁹⁹ Prostmeier, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 30.

or other Jewish source that must have existed in multiple recensions.¹⁰⁰ Von Harnack notes the isolation of Barnabas within Early Christianity.¹⁰¹

7.6.4 Christological Titles

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	0	0
Lord Jesus Christ (κύριος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς)	3	2.03
Christ (Χριστός)	2	1.35
Christ, my Lord (ό Χριστός μου κύριος)	1	0.68
Jesus (Ἰησοῦς)	19	12.84
Lord Jesus (κύριος Ἰησοῦς)	1	0.68
Lord ¹⁰² (κύριος)	110	74.32
His Beloved (ό ἡγαπημένος [αὐτοῦ])	2	1.35
Son of God (υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ)	8	5.41
Son of man (υἱός ἀνθρώπου)	1	0.68
Son of David (υἱός Δαυείδ)	1	0.68
Total	148	100

The κύριος-title is preferred by some margin, while σωτήρ is not used at all.

7.6.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

It remains debatable whether the author of Barnabas was Jewish or Gentile.¹⁰³ Barnabas never mentions the term “Jews” or any other sectarian designation, but simply uses an us-vs-them-rhetoric (ἡμεῖς and ἐκεῖνοι).¹⁰⁴ It is not always clear of whom he is speaking. Barnabas discusses various issues that are critical to Jewish identity: the covenant, the temple, the law, dietary traditions, the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision. Barnabas disputes “their” claim to have ever possessed the covenant (4:6–8; 13:1; 14:1). The Israelites lost the covenant due to worshipping the golden calf. The Jewish law never did have any validity

¹⁰⁰ Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 87.

¹⁰¹ Von Harnack quoted in Paget, *Barnabas*, 258–261.

¹⁰² The lexeme κύριος occurs 114 times in Barnabas, seeing that Barnabas has a modalistic theology, it is near impossible to separate between YHWH as Lord and Jesus as Lord in the epistle. Only four cases have been noted where κύριος refers indisputably to Jesus.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Barn.* 3:6; 16:7; Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, 139 thinks non-Jewish; Berger, *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums* (2d. ed.; Stuttgart: Francke, 1995), 87 thinks Jewish.

¹⁰⁴ Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, 141. Reidar Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant: The Purpose of the Epistle of Barnabas and Jewish-Christian Competition in the Second Century* (WUNT 2/82; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 137 connects the us-vs-them-rhetoric with the two-ways theme of *Barn.* 19–20, so that “they” are on the way of darkness and “we” are on the way of light.

(2:10). Barnabas rejects the idea that the covenant could be shared (4:6–8). The Gentile followers of Jesus have now become the people of the inheritance and God has always intended it this way (14:3–4). We are another “kind of people” and a new creation (6:14) who will inherit this promise (6:18–19). These wretched men put their hope on the building, not on their God that made their heart the house of God (16:7–9).¹⁰⁵ They are warned not to get shipwrecked on the law (3:6). An important perspective of the author is that the law was never meant to be interpreted literally but allegorically (5:4). This applies specifically to the food laws (10:9) and circumcision (9:4). The main concern of the law was immorality. Drake emphasizes the author’s accusation of the sexual deviance of “them” (10).¹⁰⁶

7.6.6 Theology

Central to understanding Barnabas is his understanding of the covenant between God and “them.”

Barn. 4:6–8	
<p>Ἄτε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὅν, ιδίως δὲ καὶ πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπέρ τὴν ψυχήν μου, προσέχειν ἔαντοις καὶ μὴ ὄμοιοῦσθαι τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν λέγοντας ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἡμῶν ἡμῖν μένει. ἡμῶν μέν· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὴν λαβόντος ἥδη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· «καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν διαθήκην ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, πλάκας λιθίνας γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ κυρίου.» ἀλλὰ ἐπιστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδωλα ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὴν. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως κύριος· «Μωϋσῆς Μωϋσῆ, κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ἡνόμησεν ὁ λαός σου, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἴγυπτου.» καὶ συνῆκεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἔριψεν τὰς δύο πλάκας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετρίβη αὐτῶν ἡ διαθήκη, ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ ἐνκατασφραγισθῇ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. (SC 172)¹⁰⁷</p>	<p>⁶And this also I further ask you, as being one of you, and loving you separately and everyone more than my own soul, to pay attention so as not to be like some, heaping upon your sins, by saying, “Our covenant remains for us.” ⁷It is ours.¹⁰⁸ But they lost it for ever already by the time Moses had received it. For Scripture says, “And Moses was fasting on the mountain forty days and forty nights, and received the covenant from the Lord, stone tablets written with the finger of the hand of the Lord,” ⁸but turning away to idols, they lost it. For the Lord says so “Moses, Moses! Come down quickly, for your people whom you have led out of the land of Egypt have acted lawlessly!” And Moses met and cast the two tables out of his hands; and their covenant was broken, in order that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed upon our heart, in the hope of his faith.</p>

¹⁰⁵ Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, 143–144.

¹⁰⁶ Susanna Drake, *Slandering the Jews: Sexuality and Difference in Early Christian Texts* (Divination: Rereading Late Ancient Religion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 31.

¹⁰⁷ CCCPG 1050

In discussing the covenant Barnabas stands in the same tradition as Paul (2 Cor 3) and Hebrews 8, though he does not explicitly give credit to their teachings. It is debatable whether Barnabas in fact knew their works first-hand.¹⁰⁹ The lexeme διαθήκη can mean either “testament,” “regulation,” or “treaty, covenant” (*běrît*).¹¹⁰ For the author there is no old and new covenant as it would develop into concepts like Old and New Testament after the time of Barnabas, there is just one covenant – and it is not shared by Jews and Christians.¹¹¹ Christians have exclusive rights to the covenant. The author feels that there is no salvation history before the Christ event.¹¹² This stays true even if the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets revealed God’s plan of salvation.

In 14 the author returns to the theme of the covenant. Although the Lord has given the covenant “they” were not worthy to receive it because of their sins. Because the covenant was broken by “them” God has given the covenant to “us” instead. Because the covenant’s validity had already been broken at Sinai, “they” always misunderstood the sacrifices, the food laws, circumcision and the Sabbath. All of this was not to be taken literally, but spiritually.¹¹³

Many things in the letter are interpreted by Christological typology as in Hebrews, including the circumcision. By applying the hermeneutical strategy of gematria the author (9) notes that the first person who was circumcised, Abraham, went on to circumcise 318 men.

¹⁰⁸ The textual witnesses are in agreement here. Bart D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 2:22 follows the Latin reconstructing the text as λέγοντας ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἔκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν. ἡμῶν μέν· (saying that the covenant is theirs and ours – for it is ours). The text of Pierre Prigent & Robert A. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé* (SC 172; Paris: Cerf, 1971), ad loc. might preserve the lectio difficilior, but it is seems to reflect the opposite meaning of what is intended, unless it is spoken from the perspective of “them.”

¹⁰⁹ Cohick, *The Peri Pascha*, notes that Tertullian appears to take the language of “old and new” the furthest, so that his theology can be described as *theologia vetustatis*. It should be noted that James C. Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas* (WUNT 2/64; Tübingen: Mohr), 258–261 is much more sceptical regarding Barnabas’ familiarity with Paul, Hebrews and other Christian literature in general. Paget instead argues for conceiving of Barnabas as a strikingly independent theologian, noting that it was a common dilemma within early Christianity to come to integrate Scriptural witness with the Christ event. Paget also argues that the concept of “supersession” does not apply easily to Barnabas, as Barnabas argues that there never was a valid covenant before Jesus (225). Similarity between John, Paul, Hebrews and Barnabas should rather be seen against the background of a common Zeitgeist, cf. Paget, *Barnabas*, 230.

¹¹⁰ Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture*, 91.

¹¹¹ The concepts of Old and New Testament ultimately go back to the Greek ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη respectively (cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.6; 2 Cor 3:14) which could mean both “testament” and “covenant.” Cf. Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 42 note ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη is first used in the sense of our “Old Testament” by Melito and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη in the sense of “New Testament” in the polemics against Montanism just before the start of the third century.

¹¹² Prostmeier, “The Epistle of Barnabas,” 42.

¹¹³ Ps.-Clem. *Recog.* 36 notes that Moses instituted the vice of sacrificing to YHWH, because the people had learnt from the Egyptians to sacrifice and could not live without it.

The number 318 can be interpreted to spell Jesus' name plus the symbol of the cross, so that even the circumcision might be a pointer to Jesus as Messiah. The author self-consciously notes that his audience have not heard a more genuine argument from him, but that they are worthy of it. This is in contrast to "they" that are consistently found to be unworthy of the covenant. In addition an ethical argument is made that our hearing should be circumcised, so that "we" can hear God's word.

In 10 Barnabas makes a systematic allegorical interpretation¹¹⁴ of the food laws. The author refers to the prohibitions of the law regarding the digestion of pork, birds of prey and fish without scales (Lev 11; Deut 14). The author immediately expresses his own interpretation, which can be presented as follows:

Literal command	Spiritual meaning
Do not eat pork	Do not associate with people that are like pigs. Pig-like people only acknowledge their master (the Lord) when in need of food
Do not eat birds of prey	Do not associate with people that act like birds of prey. Such people do not earn their living honestly
Do not eat fish without scales	Do not associate with people that are ungodly and are condemned to death
Do not eat hares	Do not commit pederasty
Do not eat hyenas	Do not commit adulterer
Do not eat weasels	Do not partake in oral sex

In every case the spiritual interpretation is also an ethical interpretation.¹¹⁵ The last three are taken as sexual sins. The author is adamant that "they" were blinded by their desire and misunderstood Moses:

Barn. 10:9	
περὶ μὲν τῶν βρωμάτων λαβὼν Μωϋσῆς τρία δόγματα οὗτος ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν· οἱ δὲ κατ’ ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σαρκὸς ώς περὶ βρώσεως προσεδέξαντο. (SC 172)	Moses received three doctrines concerning food and spoke like this in spirit. But they according to the lust of the flesh received it as if concerning food.

Barnabas argues that the literal interpretation of "them" is rooted in the lust of the flesh (ἐπιθυμία τῆς σάρκος). This hermeneutic leaves them vulnerable to illicit sex.¹¹⁶ Followers of

¹¹⁴ Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture*, 129 notes that Barnabas does not always interpret the law allegorically, noting some literal interpretations, e.g., 4:7–8 and 1:28 are understood literally.

¹¹⁵ Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture*, 188.

¹¹⁶ Drake, *Slandering the Jew*, 31.

Christ interpret Scripture according to the spirit making it possible for them to interpret Scripture correctly. Although Paul also reflects this dualism between spirit and flesh it remains debatable whether Barnabas has taken this motif over from Paul.¹¹⁷ Although Paul did design a rhetoric against an Other that would attack their sexual morality, this was aimed at Gentiles and (almost) never at Jews. Barnabas appears to be the first Christian author to accuse Jews of sexual immorality.

Barnabas makes Scripture the monopoly of Christians – past and present.¹¹⁸

Another Jewish institution Barnabas attacks is that of immersion for the sake of purity:

Barn. 11	
<p>¹ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ κυρίῳ προφανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὄδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. περὶ μὲν τοῦ ὄδατος γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ φέρον ἀφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν οὐ μὴ προσδέξονται, ἀλλ’ ἔαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσουσιν. ²λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· «ἔκστηθι οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλεῖον φριξάτῳ ἡ γῆ, ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν ὄδατος ζῶσαν, καὶ ἔαυτοῖς δρυξαν βόθρον θανάτου.»</p> <p>⁸αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὄδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὕρισεν. τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει «μακάριοι», οἵ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει «ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ». τότε, φησίν, ἀποδώσω.</p> <p>¹¹τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὄδωρ γέμοντες ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ρύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἔχοντες. «καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγῃ ἀπὸ τούτων, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.» τοῦτο λέγει· ὃς ἂν, φησίν, ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλούμενων καὶ πιστεύσῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. (SC 172)</p>	<p>'But let us investigate whether the Lord cared to reveal before hand about the water and the cross. About the water it is written about Israel how they will by no means accept the baptism bringing forgiveness of sins, but will build [something] for themselves. For the prophet says: "Be beside yourself heaven! And let the earth tremble more for this reason: That two evils this people have committed. Me, the living fountain of water, have they left behind and have dug for themselves a pit of death."</p> <p>⁸Notice how He marked out the water and the cross in this very thing way. For He says "blessed are those that hope on the cross and descend into the water, for the reward" it says "in its season" He says "I shall pay back."</p> <p>¹¹This He says that we descend into the water full of sin and defilement and we ascend bearing fruit in our heart with fear and hope in Jesus in the Spirit. "And whoever shall eat of these things shall live unto eternity" it says. "Whoever" it says "listens to what is spoken and believes, shall live unto eternity."</p>

¹¹⁷ Drake, *Slandering the Jew*, 87; Paget, *Barnabas*, 220. The idea of the Jewish tendency to lust reminds one of the cultural stereotype found in historian, Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5.2 (between 100–120 C.E.). *[Iudei] Separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, proiectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil inlicitum* ([The Jews] Separated from meals, severed from beds, a people prone excessively towards lust, they stand aloof from lying together with foreigners, but among each other nothing is forbidden). Cf. Charles K. Barret, *Texte zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments* (ed. C.-J. Thornton; 2d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), §149.

¹¹⁸ Prostmeier, "The Epistle of Barnabas," 36.

Barnabas manipulates Jeremiah 2:13 so as to serve as a prediction that Israel would rather practice immersions than baptism. “They” seem to have spurned baptism that brings the remission of sins, for building something for themselves, that is, cisterns. Ferguson and Miller are the first scholars to situate P.Oxy. 840 within the context of the Christian-Jewish polemic on baptism and immersion.¹¹⁹ The dilemma is that the same Greek word applies to immersion and baptism: βάπτισμα. This must have made it difficult to differentiate between these two concepts. By making use of comparison (synkrisis) Barnabas implies the supersession of immersion rites by baptism. Barnabas is clearly referring to Jeremiah 2:12–13.¹²⁰ For the purpose of Barnabas’ midrashic argument he does not hesitate to change the text of the Old Greek to get his point across:

Jeremiah 2:12–13 LXX	
ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαὸς μου· ἐμεῖς ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν ὕδατος ζωῆς καὶ ὥρυξαν ἔαντοῖς λάκκους συντετριψμένους, οἵ οὐδὲν ἀνήσονται ὕδωρ συνέχειν. (SVTG 15/3)	For, two evils have my people committed: Me, the fountain of water of life have they left behind and have dug for themselves broken cisterns that shall not be able to hold water.
Text of Barnabas	
ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶσαν, καὶ ἔαντοῖς ὥρυξαν βόθρον θανάτου.	...that two evils have <i>this</i> people committed: Me, the living fountain of water have they left behind and have dug for themselves <i>a pit of death</i> .

In changing his source to this extent the anti-Jewish tendency of Barnabas becomes clear. Barnabas equates *miqwāṭ* with pits of death. Barnabas discusses the exact same issue as P.Oxy. 840: Jewish immersion rites are insufficient to purify people. Like P.Oxy. 840 Barnabas makes very negative remarks about the water Israelites use to purify themselves: they are called pits of death. Scholars that propose to find inter-textual parallels for P.Oxy. 840 for a similar negative attitude towards water in Gnostic texts should also keep in mind Barnabas’ thinking. Barnabas explicates this by pointing to the efficiency of baptism which leads to believers who bear fruit that is able to give others eternal life. This is of course in stark contrast to the pits of death.

Miller also notes the agreement in language between Barnabas and P.Oxy. 840 in terms of descending and ascending into and out of the water as it is put in the mouth of Levi

¹¹⁹ Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 266–271; Miller, *At the Intersection*, 146.

¹²⁰ Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 269; Miller, *At the Intersection*, 146.

to describe his ritual immersion.¹²¹ Miller notes this is a shared tradition among rabbinic and Christian believers. While opposing Kruger's view on P.Oxy. 840 he reflects accurate knowledge of the Judaism of the time of Jesus and of P.Oxy. 840. In describing *miqwāôt* Miller also tries to find answers in the archaeology of Christian baptisteries.¹²² Although little is said about the architecture of baptisteries, Miller suggests that P.Oxy. 840 might simply be projecting its experience of what baptisteries looked like onto the Pool of David Levi had immersed in. In contravention of Kruger's refutation of Bovon, Miller notes that even if the first archaeological remains of churches are closer to the time of the Constantinian revolution Christians might have been using baptisteries with steps even before this even if they used buildings on a smaller scale. Eventually Christians also donned white clothes after baptism as the priests did. This makes Miller want to date P.Oxy. 840 to a later period where all of these elements were documented. But as Miller's own suggested inter-texts of the Didache, Barnabas and Justin show, this could have been possible in the second century as well.

7.6.7 Reason for the Text's Identification with Its Trajectory

The text of Barnabas was quite popular among proto-Orthodox Christians, like Justin, the Valentinian Mark, Irenaeus, Clement, Origen and Tertullian. There are even extent codices that have preserved Barnabas as part of a New Testament canon, like Codices Sinaiticus and Hierosolymitanus. The only thing that might appear to be Gnostic is the use of the importance of the concept of knowledge ("writing that they might have perfect knowledge" cf. 1), but there are no other indicators of Gnosis. If one tries to fit it into the Proto-Orthodox model the following emerges:

Proto-Orthodox Model	
A Receding Eschatological Hope	Yes. The return of Christ is mentioned in passing, but does not play an important role (1:7).
A Receding Importance of Prophecy	In speaking against the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem the author notes that the temple is unnecessary, as God prophesies within us (16:9). Otherwise prophecy is seen as something that happened in the Tanak, to prefigure the life of Jesus (e.g. 5:12–13; esp. 6; 11:9).
Increasing Institutionalization (spectrum: congregational, presbyterian or episcopal)	The author of <i>The Epistle of Barnabas</i> does not reveal what kind of organization its church has. No offices are explicitly mentioned. The Spirit seems to play an important role in the first and last chapters, so

¹²¹ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 114–115.

¹²² Miller, *At the Intersection*, 117.

	that a congregational organization may be taken for granted by the author.
Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms	No <i>regula fidei</i> is found in Barnabas. The teaching of the two ways reflects some standardization, but is concerned more with ethics than with doctrine.
The Propaganda of Martyrdom	This is not made explicit, but Christ's suffering is emphasized throughout the letter.
The Primacy of Peter	No. Surprisingly, no other famous Christians are mentioned except for Jesus.
Anti-Judaism	Barnabas reflects some of the severest forms of anti-Judaism in all of Early Christianity. The whole salvational history of Israel is written off, in that they broke the covenant before they even received it when they worshipped the golden calf. For Barnabas salvational history starts with Jesus. Abraham himself is saved by the cross through the application of gematria and allegory (9). The law is viewed as a misunderstanding caused by Israel's idolatry. Barnabas accuses Jews of lust and explains their lustful behaviour by their carnal hermeneutic.
Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)	Yes: In the manhood of Christ the Godhood is present (7:3; 11:9). ¹²³ Barnabas also remarks that the difference between God, the Saviour and Jesus is that Jesus is the Saviour come in the flesh. ¹²⁴
It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel	Christ's pre-existence is taken for granted (5:5). Barnabas 19:1–2 speaks of the Creator and then speaks of how He has redeemed you from death, so that modalism might be reflected. In 14:5–9 the author is more careful to differentiate between Father and Jesus. ¹²⁵
No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak	None. This is clear not only from the part of the teaching of the two ways (19:2), but also elsewhere (6:4, 11; 13:7; 15:3).
Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy: Doctrine of the Λόγος Apophatic Predications for God	Barnabas seems to be representative of a Christianity that has not been exposed to much philosophizing. Nevertheless, the treatise has a very systematic approach to the topics it addresses. No new charter myths are set forth. The author has to use prose to make his point. The Λόγος does not play any role. Apophatic predications are not used. Barnabas 5:6 speaks of a resurrection of the dead which is

¹²³ Prostmeier, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 37.

¹²⁴ Prostmeier, "The Epistle of Barnabas," 37. The argument of Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 48 that Barnabas has more of a Docetic Christology than anything else is without substance. He does not provide evidence for this claim. Jesus' physical suffering is reiterated in *Barn* 5.1; 5.6 ([SC 172] ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι [that it was necessary for him to become manifest in flesh]); 5.13; 6.7; 6.9; 7.2; 7.5; 12.9. In contrast to δοκέω (meaning stretching to illusory appearance), the lexeme φανερώω is used for something that is seen clearly or evidently, cf. the nuances in L&N, "φανερώω; φανερός," 2: 255 and "δοκέω," 1: 31.29.

¹²⁵ Prostmeier, "The Epistle of Barnabas," 37.

	slightly more subtle than speaking of the resurrection of the flesh, though it is different from the idea of the immortality of the soul.
Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel	No. It is not evident whether Barnabas was familiar with any of the writings of the Fourfold Gospel.
The Tanak Is Retained, but Interpreted from a Christological Perspective	Bauer concedes that Barnabas ostensibly avoids condemning the Tanak, but turns it topsy-turvy with its allegorizing. ¹²⁶ Despite this the Tanak is still the canon from which the author argues.
Jesus Was Born of a Virgin	The virgin birth is not mentioned. The idea that Christ is the son of David is rejected (12:11). Instead his incarnation plays a bigger role (5:5).
Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible	Barnabas clearly used the Septuagint. ¹²⁷ Barnabas shows no reserve in manipulating the text of the Septuagint to make his point (11:2).
Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving	Barnabas appears to have had strict ethics, though he emphasizes the law should not be understood too literally. This leads to lust. At times Barnabas appears positive towards the commands of the law, so that he can even speak of the readers as having to fulfil “every command” (21:8). ¹²⁸ More than anywhere else this nomism comes out in the importance of the teaching of the two ways.
Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity	Barnabas is very intolerant towards Jewish believers.

7.6.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Slandering Jews as sexually immoral people, starts in the second century, it is found in Barnabas and in P.Oxy. 840. The idea of supersessionism of the people of Israel and of their covenant appears to be parallel to P.Oxy. 840’s idea of the abolition of the purification law. Barnabas goes well beyond the proposals of supersession found in Hebrews, applying the concept rigorously to most of the markers of Jewish identity: sacrifices, Sabbath observing, the law, and food laws. The author seems less concerned with purity laws. The whole law is viewed as a misunderstanding caused by Israel’s idolatry. P.Oxy. 840 is also undermining a very important part of the law, that is, purification which also concerns purity laws, so that it might indicate a step behind Barnabas, unless P.Oxy. 840 is a literary fiction intended to reflect an earlier setting.

While Barnabas disparages Jewish institutions he also addresses the issue of immersion for purity. In doing so, Barnabas is the first Christian author to explicate the

¹²⁶ Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 47.

¹²⁷ Paget, *Barnabas*, 86f.

¹²⁸ Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 153.

abolition of immersion. Linguistically speaking immersion and baptism is the same thing in Greek, βάπτισμα. It may have been implied already by Jesus' criticism of purity in the Synoptic Gospels, but here is the first time it is spelt out. Hebrews 9:13 has spoken of the “purification of the flesh” with the sprinkling of blood. According to this dissertation’s reading P.Oxy. 840 also propagates baptism as replacement for immersion.

7.6.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The genres of the two texts are clearly different. P.Oxy. 840 identifies the Jewish opponent specifically as a Pharisaic high priest. This is quite different from the us-vs-them-rhetoric of Barnabas. The fact that the first pericope of P.Oxy. 840 does not identify the opponents might be due to an accident of preservation. This difference might be explained by the fact that the genre of gospel demands more specificity than a polemical tractate. There are a number of Jewish institutions that are invalidated in Barnabas, but in contrast to a writing like Hebrews that argues by way of comparison, Barnabas argues that before Christ there was no faith, so that, as Paget notes, one cannot really speak of supersession in Barnabas. That being said there are dualisms in Barnabas, as the previous analysis shows, for example, regarding the carnal food laws and their spiritual meaning, and immersion versus baptism.¹²⁹

7.6.10 Jewish Institutions Disparaged

Sacrifices
Circumcision
Covenant
Temple
Law
Dietary Traditions
Sabbath

7.7 Excursion: The Apologists and the Demise of the Gospel

Berger notes the demise of the genre of Gospel in the second century (end of the apostolic period) and its replacement by apologies and dialogues of the Redeemer.¹³⁰ This coincides

¹²⁹ Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, 112 argues more for an implicit supersession.

¹³⁰ The disappearance of the genre of Gospel appears earlier within the majority church than among Gnostics. There are some Gnostic Gospels like the Gospel of Judas and the *Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium* (Codex P. Berol. 22220) which present a pre-Easter Jesus or Saviour. Seeing that both relate especially to the Last Supper,

with what Marksches calls “the professionalization of Christianity.”¹³¹ The form of the controversy dialogue, despite Berger’s discomfort with the term, was replaced by Jewish-Christian dialogues, like Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho*.¹³² In terms of its form Koester notes that the Christian Apology is nothing other than a *protreptikos*, or an invitation to philosophy.¹³³

As with almost all things Christian thought is indebted to its Jewish heritage in this instance as well. The form of Apology was also used among Jewish authors since the coming of Hellenism by the likes of the Graeco-Jewish historian, Eupolemus, around 150 C.E. and the Alexandrian historian, Artapanos.¹³⁴ The most famous Jewish apologist is Philo of Alexandria. These authors cast famous figures from Israel’s history, like Moses, in a very Graecized mould.¹³⁵

This coincides with what Malina thinks about Early Christianity’s inability to articulate its thought in abstract form. This observation is extremely generalized as often happens in Social Scientific analysis, for who would say that Paul could not express himself in terms of abstract thought or that there is no abstract thought in the Tanak.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the genre of the Gospel does seem to resist abstract thought, although ideas like the Logos and allegories start to surface with John’s Gospel. Abstract thought and the quest for the truth play a more important role in apologetics than in the Gospels, so that the institution of religion starts gaining some independence from the institutions of kinship and politics in Christian communities during the second century.¹³⁷ As Wischmeyer notes, the genre of apology represents the first Christian writings that are not intended for an esoteric audience, but for non-Christians as well.¹³⁸

Justin’s *Dialogue with Trypho* is of course not alone in its genre as there were also writings like Ariston’s *Controversy between Jason & Papiscus* which probably served as one

it seems worthwhile to consider the possibility that these writings are not a variation of the Dialogue of the Risen Lord, as if it is a Last Supper Dialogue as an expansion of the form of the narration of the passion. The fact that so many writings from the Nag Hammadi Library are called “Gospel” is misleading as they do not fit the standard genre of Gospel. James M. Robinson, “Logoi Sophoi,” also contends that even the Gospel according to Thomas is not a Gospel, as much as it is a loose collection of sayings of the Lord.

¹³¹ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 11.

¹³² Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 366–368.

¹³³ Koester, *The People of Israel in the Hellenistic Period*, 39.

¹³⁴ Koester, *The People of Israel in the Hellenistic Period*, 256.

¹³⁵ Cf. Marksches, *Hellenisierung des Christentums*, 87 makes a plea for a more careful usage with the terms “hellenism” and “hellenize” as limited to the period between Alexander and Actium.

¹³⁶ Malina, “Religion in the World of Paul,” 94.

¹³⁷ Bruce Malina, “Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World,” *Int* (1987) 41: 358, 354–367.

¹³⁸ Wilhelm Wischmeyer, “Justin Martyr,” in *Arbeitsbuch: Theologiegeschichte: Diskurse, Akteure, Wissensformen* (ed. G. M Hoff & U. H. J. Körtner; Stuttgart, 2012), 13, 11–21.

of Justin's sources for his dialogue.¹³⁹ Bibliowicz calls Justin "the first Proto-Orthodox author to attempt a systematic articulation and argumentation of the emerging 'Via Media'" between Judaism and Gnosis.¹⁴⁰ This genre of Jewish-Christian dialogue is thought to resort under the umbrella of the *Contra Iudaeos*-literature along with testimonies and tractates, and is represented well into the Middle Ages.¹⁴¹ Though the first one to appear after Justin is the Dialogue between Athanasius and Zacchaeus dated around 385 C.E.¹⁴² At the same time the Jewish-Christian dialogue genre is also a form of apology aimed at a Jewish audience.¹⁴³

7.8 Justin, Dialogue with Trypho

7.8.1 Date

The dialogue (120) mentions Justin's first Apology which is dated after 155 C.E. Justin was executed between 162–168 having been sentenced by the *praefectus urbi*, Junius Rusticus, so that a dating around 160 C.E. seems appropriate.¹⁴⁴

7.8.2 Genre

Socratic dialogue

7.8.3 Sources

It seems reasonable to infer that Justin must have been familiar with all the works of the Fourfold Gospel.¹⁴⁵ It is debatable whether he held all of them in the esteem with which he

¹³⁹ Oskar Skarsaune, "Jewish-Christian Sources Used by Justin Martyr and Some Other Greek and Latin Fathers," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. O. Skaraune & R. Hvalvik; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2006), 381, 379–414.

¹⁴⁰ Bibliowicz, *Gentiles and Jews*, 175.

¹⁴¹ Lawrence Lahey, "Evidence for Jewish Believers in Christian-Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (Excluding Justin)," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. O. Skaraune & R. Hvalvik; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2006), 585–619 mentions thirteen examples of this sub-genre during this period.

¹⁴² Almost two centuries after Justin and long after Nicea. Lahey, "Evidence for Jewish Believers," 591. Nevertheless, the fragment P.Oxy. 2070 has a terminus ante quem of the late third century.

¹⁴³ If not aimed at a specifically Jewish audience, these dialogues can at least be categorized together because of its limited theme. It is very controversial to whom the *Contra Iudaeos*-literature was actually directed. Paula Fredriksen, "What Parting of the Ways?" in *The Ways That Never Parted* (ed. A. H. Becker & A. Y. Reed; TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr, 2003), 41 argues that it was written for a Christian audience for edification. Here the vindication of the *prima facie* position by Lahey seems like the most plausible inference.

¹⁴⁴ David Rokéah, *Justin Martyr and the Jews* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 5; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 2.

¹⁴⁵ There is no consensus among scholars whether Justin was familiar with John's Gospel or not. According to Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums*, the scholarship of the last years seems to have reverted to the more traditional presupposition that Justin must have been familiar with John's Gospel. In *I Apol.* 61:4–5 Justin applies a *logion* of Jesus from the tradition from John 3:4. *Dial.* 105:1 takes recourse to the μονογενῆς idea also pre-figured in Ps 21:21b. Nagel notes how unlikely it is that two different authors at the time, that is, John and Justin, would have invented the concept of the Λόγος becoming flesh. Because of the previous mentioned cases it seems likely that Justin is dependent on John's Gospel. Otherwise Justin shows familiarity with John's

holds Matthew or whether he would have included John among what he calls τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων (*I Apol.* 67). Justin also appears to be familiar with Paul's writings, although this is also not without controversy.¹⁴⁶

7.8.4 Christological Titles

Title	Amount	Percentage
Saviour (σωτήρ)	5	0.56
Lord (κύριος)	350	39.41
Jesus (Ἰησοῦς)	101	11.37
Christ (Χριστός)	402	45.27
Son of man (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)	11	1.24
Son of God (ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)	19	2.14
Total	888	100

Justin does use the title of σωτήρ, but this amounts to less than 1% of the times he speaks of Jesus. His title of preference is clearly Χριστός as it is used 45% of the time.

7.8.5 Anti-Jewish Rhetoric

For Bibliowicz Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* is the first systematic articulation of the supersession of Judaism.¹⁴⁷ Justin is more tolerant towards Jewish-Christians than is Barnabas, in that they are tolerated as long as they do not compel other Christians to uphold the law (*Dial.* 47.2–3). Nevertheless, following the traditions of Q and Mark, Justin blames the Ἰουδαῖοι for Jesus' death (38; 47; 49).¹⁴⁸ Justin is the first author to argue that the law was given to the Jews to restrain their natural tendency to sinfulness.¹⁴⁹ Continuing Barnabas'

language and his conceptual world which is difficult to explain simply by transmission from an oral tradition: Sendungschristologie in *Dial.* 17:3, Christ as light (John 1:9 and *Dial.* 140.4), our Lord according to the will of the Father that sent him (*Dial.* 91.4), the idea of immanence (*Dial.* 136.3 cf. John 5:23) and the reference to the Eucharistic bread as σάρξ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (*I Apol.* 66.2). Such a familiarity is what one would have expected from Justin's own presence in Ephesus which is readily associated with the Johannine literature.

¹⁴⁶ Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy*, 120; Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 30; Hunt, *Second Century Christianity*, 55. Drake, *Slandering the Jew*, 28, 34, 36 is more cautious, although her argumentation implies a trajectory from Paul to Barnabas, Justin, Origen, Hippolytus and eventually John Chrysostom: "Rather the incipient trope whereby Jews were represented as sexually deviant developed, at first, without reference to Paul." She feels Paul was still a controversial figure in the first century, but implies that Barnabas and Justin must have been familiar with ideas of Paul, if not at first hand with his writings. Her point is that they did not want to associate themselves with Paul as Origen and Chrysostom would later on.

¹⁴⁷ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 177.

¹⁴⁸ Cohick, *The Peri Pascha*, 61. This is also followed by Hippolytus, *Expository Treatise against the Jews*; Ref; Tertullian, *Marc.* 3.6.1–10; 5.15.1–2; *Cult. Fem.* 1.3.3; *Fug.* 6.1–6.

¹⁴⁹ Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 267. Barnabas of course feels that the law was never intended to be taken literally in the first place.

systematic attack on the Jewish institutions, Justin makes many historically significant arguments against Judaism: circumcision in the flesh is a mark of separation of Israel (16.2), so that Israel should rightfully suffer now that her lands are desolate (cf. Q 11). This implies that people entering Jerusalem after the rebellion against Hadrian could be identified by circumcision upon entering the city (Jews were forbidden entry).¹⁵⁰ The laws were enjoined on Israelites because of their hardness of heart, and food laws so that they may be reminded of God, since they are prone to depart from the knowledge of him (20.1). If before Abraham there was no need to practice circumcision, and before Moses no need to practice the Sabbath, festivals and offerings, there is also no need to do so after Christ (23.3).

7.8.6 Theology

7.8.6.1 *Dial. 19.5 Prophetic Criticism of Idolatry, Apostasy, and Fornication with Foreigners*¹⁵¹

Justin, <i>Dial. 19</i>	
<p>¹<καὶ> ὁ Τρύφων· τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ ἀπορεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ὑπομένοντες οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, περὶ ὧν νῦν ζητοῦμεν, φυλάσσετε.</p> <p>²οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀναγκαία αὕτη ἡ περιτομή, ἀλλ’ ὑμῖν μόνοις, ἵνα, ὡς προέφην, ταῦτα πάθητε ἂ νῦν ἐν δίκῃ πάσχετε. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀνωφελές τὸ τῶν λάκκων προσλαμβάνομεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦτο τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἐστι. διὸ καὶ κέκραγεν ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐγκατελίπετε αὐτὸν, πηγὴν ζῶσαν, καὶ ὠρύζατε ἐαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμένους, οἵ οὐ δυνήσονται συνέχειν ὕδωρ. ¹⁵² ³καὶ ὑμεῖς μέν, οἱ τὴν σάρκα περιτεμημένοι, χρήζετε τῆς ἡμετέρας περιτομῆς, ἡμεῖς δέ, ταύτην ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν ἐκείνης δεόμεθα. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαία, ὡς δοκεῖτε, οὐκ ἀν ἀκρόβυστον ὁ θεός ἔπλασε τὸν Αδάμ, οὐδὲ ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις τοῦ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ σαρκὸς προσενέγκαντος</p>	<p>[Trypho]: ¹It is this with regards to which it is fitting to be lost: that such things you endure, but do not keep all the other things, about which we are currently investigating.</p> <p>[Justin]: ²This circumcision is not, however, necessary for all men, but for you alone, in order that, as I have said before, you might suffer these things which you now justly suffer. Nor do we receive that useless baptism of cisterns, for it has nothing to do with this baptism of life. Wherefore also God has cried out that you have left Him behind, the living fountain, and have dug for yourselves broken cisterns which shall not be able to hold water. ³Even you, who are the circumcised according to the flesh, need of our circumcision; but we, having the latter, do not require the former. For if it had been necessary, as you hold, God would not have formed Adam uncircumcised; would not have looked</p>

¹⁵⁰ Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 57 doubts whether Jews really were banned from Jerusalem as it is maintained only by Christian sources like Justin, *1 Apol.* 47.5–6; *Dial.* 16.2–3; 92.2–3 and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.6.3.

¹⁵¹ Drake, *Slandering the Jew*, 32.

¹⁵² Justin's text of Jer 2:13 regarding πηγὴν ζῶσαν is only slightly different from Barnabas' πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶσαν, but closer to it than the πηγὴν ὕδατος ζωῆς found in Joseph Ziegler, "Jeremias," *SVTG* 15/3 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 2006). Like Justin, Philo also omits ὕδατος.

θυσίας Ἀβελ, οὐδ' ἀν εὐηρέστησεν ἐν ἀκροβυθστίᾳ Ἐνώχ, καὶ οὐκ εύρισκετο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.⁴ Λὼτ ἀπερίτμητος ἐκ Σοδόμων ἐσώθη, αὐτῶν ἔκεινων τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ κυρίου προπεμψάντων. Νῦν, ἀρχὴ γένους ἄλλου, ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις ἀπερίτμητος εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰσῆλθεν. ἀπερίτμητος ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου Μελχισεδέκ, ὃ καὶ δεκάτας προσφορὰς ἔδωκεν Αβραάμ, ὁ πρῶτος τὴν κατὰ σάρκα περιτομὴν λαβών, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὸν· οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τὸν αἰώνιον ἱερέα ὁ θεὸς καταστήσειν διὰ τοῦ Δαυεὶδ μεμήγυκεν.⁵ ὑμῖν οὖν μόνοις ἀναγκαία ἦν ἡ περιτομὴ αὕτη, ἵνα ὁ λαὸς οὐ λαὸς ἦ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος οὐκ ἔθνος, ὡς καὶ Ωσηέ, εἰς τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν, φησί. καὶ γὰρ μὴ σαββατίσαντες οἱ προωνομασμένοι πάντες δίκαιοι τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησαν καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἀβραάμ καὶ οἱ τούτου νιοὶ ἀπαντεῖς μέχρι Μωυσέως, ἐφ' οὗ ἀδικος καὶ ἀχάριστος εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὁ λαὸς ὑμῶν ἐφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μισχοποιήσας.⁶ θεον ὁ θεὸς ἀρμοσάμενος πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ θυσίας φέρειν ὡς πρὸς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνετείλατο, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆτε· ὅπερ οὐδὲ ἐφυλάξατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἐθύετε τοῖς δαιμονίοις. καὶ σαββατίζειν οὖν ὑμῖν προστέταχεν, ἵνα μνήμην λαμβάνητε τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τοῦτο σημαίνει λέγων· τοῦ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἔγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ λυτρωσάμενος ὑμᾶς.

(Paradosis 47/1)¹⁵³

upon the gifts of Abel who brought offerings in the uncircumcision of the flesh, nor would Enoch in uncircumcision have been pleasing, for God transposed him.⁴ The uncircumcised Lot was saved from Sodom with those angels themselves and the Lord escorting him. Noah, the beginning of another generation went into the ark with uncircumcised children. Uncircumcised was the priest of the highest God, Melchizedek whom Abraham, the first to take circumcision after the flesh, gave tithes, and Melchizedek blessed him. God made known through David that he shall appoint him as priest by an eternal arrangement.⁵ Only for you was this circumcision necessary, so that the people would be no people and the nation no nation as also Hosea, one of the twelve prophets, says. And all the righteous mentioned before were pleasing to God without keeping the Sabbath and after them Abraham and all his sons until Moses, under whom your people appeared unrighteous and ungrateful toward God by making a calf in the desert.⁶ From which God joined Himself with that people and commanded that they bring sacrifices as if to his name, so that you would not serve idols, which you have not kept and you sacrificed your children to demons. Then he commanded you to keep the Sabbath, so that you may receive a remembrance of God. For his word indicates this by saying: “for the sake of the knowledge that I am the God that ransomed you.”

The argument that there were righteous people even before God made the covenant with Israel at Sinai under Moses, is important. It is indeed the inventive logic found in Paul (Rom 4; Gal 3:1–20), but instead of stopping at Abraham Justin argues that Melchizedek, Noah,

¹⁵³ CCCPG 1076 is older than the editions by Miroslav Marcovich, ed., *Iustini Martyris Apologiae pro Christianis & Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone* (repr. ed., 1994–1997; PTS 38/47; Berlin, de Gruyter, 2011) and Philippe Bobichon, ed., *Dialogue avec Tryphon: Edition critique* (Paradosis 47/1–2; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003). Marcovich’s edition makes a strong departure from the traditional text of Justin’s writings, in that he views B (Musaei Britannici Ms Loan 36/13) as an apograph of A and of no value for reconstructing the text of Justin. He emends many of the lacunae of the oldest text found in A (Parisinus Graecus 450). Cf. Miroslav Marcovich, “Notes on Justin Martyr’s Apologies,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 17/2 (1992): 323–335. Bobichon seems less critical of the value of B and is therefore closer to the traditional text.

Enoch, Lot, Abel and Adam were already justified although they were never circumcised. In this pericope four Jewish institutions are criticized:

Institution	Reason for Its Invalidation after Christ
Circumcision	1. As a convenient sign for easy identification in punishing Jews 2. Righteous before Abraham never circumcised ¹⁵⁴
Immersion	Superseded by baptism of life
Sabbath	1. Reminder of the redeeming nature of God 2. The Righteous before Abraham never observed Sabbaths ¹⁵⁵
Sacrifices	Compromise by God to prevent Israel into idol worship after the golden calf incident

The idea that Israel was permitted to offer sacrifices because of its inclination to idolatry appears to be dependent on the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (1.35–36).¹⁵⁶ Rokéah notes the fact that Justin's view of the law is a departure from Paul who argues the law is invalid after Christ and Barnabas that argues for an exclusively allegorical interpretation of the law.¹⁵⁷ Justin appears more concerned with the unity of divine revelation in his opposition of Marcionites and Gnostics who argued for the differentiation between Jesus' Father and the God of Israel. This is made possible by arguing that the sinfulness of the Jewish people is motivation enough for instituting the law. According to Justin the laws given to Israel is not a sign of God's favour but of his rejection.¹⁵⁸ In so doing, Justin could argue for the perfection of God's revelation. God is not arbitrary as He is often viewed in Judaism or Gnosis.¹⁵⁹

Justin addresses the inefficacy of baptism after touching anything forbidden by Moses or after sexual intercourse as he puts it (*Dial.* 46.2). To his credit Justin is able to quote the version of the Old Greek more faithfully than Barnabas. Nevertheless, he still calls the Jewish immersion τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀνωφελὲς τὸ τῶν λάκκων (that useless baptism of cisterns). Justin is trying to differentiate between Jewish immersion and Christian baptism, but the

¹⁵⁴ In 23:5 Justin notes women are not able to be circumcised, so that one cannot assign a moral meaning to circumcision, so that it would contribute to piety. In 19:3–6 and 29:3 Justin notes that God created man without circumcision, cf. the quotation above.

¹⁵⁵ In 12:3 Justin reinforces the cultural stereotype that Jews do not work on the Sabbath because of laziness as it is also found in Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4; cf. Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 50. In 29:3 Justin notes God Himself works on the Sabbath, not dissimilar from John 5:17.

¹⁵⁶ Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance and Theological Profile* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 316–320.

¹⁵⁷ Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 59. Malina, *The New Testament World*, would add that Paul only kept the Ten Commandments.

¹⁵⁸ Mihaly, "A Rabbinic Defense," 121.

¹⁵⁹ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*, 120.

language is failing him as the same Greek word is used for both (cf. Jdt 12:7; Sir 34:30;¹⁶⁰ Luke 11:37 βαπτίζω; Christians preferred βάπτισμα to βάπτισμός).¹⁶¹ Justin does this by modifying βάπτισμα with (τὸ ἀνωφελὲς) τὸ τῶν λάκκων.

In 22 the institution of sacrifices is again criticized, for God does not need sacrifices like humans need food. The institution of the temple is also criticized, for God did not need a place of habitation, but allowed Israel the temple to channel their tendency to idolatry. In order to settle the matter the prophetic criticism found in Isaiah 66:1 is quoted.

7.8.6.2 Dial. 14.1–2 Carnal Hermeneutic of Jews Criticized

Justin, <i>Dial. 14.1–2</i>	
<p>¹διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ οὗν τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν λαῶν τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονεν, ως Ἡσαίας βοῶ, ἡμεῖς ἐπιστεύσαμεν, καὶ γνωρίζομεν ὅτι τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, ὁ προηγόρευε, τὸ βάπτισμα, τὸ μόνον καθαρίσαι τοὺς μετανοήσαντας δυνάμενον, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὄδωρ τῆς ζωῆς· οὓς δὲ ὑμεῖς ὠρύξατε λάκκους ἔαυτοῖς, συντετριμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμῖν χρήσιμοι. τί γὰρ ὅφελος ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ὁ τὴν σάρκα καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμα φαιδρύνει; ²βαπτίσθητε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ὄργης καὶ ἀπὸ πλεονεξίας, ἀπὸ φθόνου, ἀπὸ μίσους· καὶ ίδον τὸ σῶμα καθαρόν ἐστι... ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντα σαρκικῶς νενοήκατε, καὶ ἥγεῖσθε εὐσέβειαν, ἐὰν τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντες τὰς ψυχὰς μεμεστωμένοι ἦτε δόλου καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀπλῶς. (Paradosis 47/1)</p>	<p>¹Because of this layer of repentance and the knowledge of God, which is for the sake of the lawlessness of the people of God, as Isaiah cries, we believed and make known that that very baptism which he foretold that can only purify those that have repented, that is the water of life. But you have dug for yourselves cisterns that are broken and are not at all of benefit to you. For what is the use of that baptism that only cleanses the body? ²Baptize your soul from anger and covetousness, from envy, from hatred. And behold! The body is pure...But you have understood everything carnally and you think it is piety, but in doing such things, you are filled in your souls with fraud and simply all evil.</p>

This section seems to have Mark 7:1–23 (par) in mind. It criticizes Jews for neglecting ethics for outward ritual. Like the Synoptics it also incorporates a list of vices including covetousness, envy, hatred and deceit. Ferguson has also noted the similarities between Justin and P.Oxy. 840 in this instance.¹⁶² Reference is made to Jeremiah 2:13; 17:13 where the people reject YHWH as the water of life for broken cisterns that cannot hold water.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 57.

¹⁶¹ Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 48.

¹⁶² Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 270. In addition he also notes parallels with *Dial.* 12:3; 13:1; 14:1–2; (and 19:2–3); Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts*, 107 fn.8.

¹⁶³ Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts*, 106.

Elsewhere Justin contends that immersion is unnecessary for he has been baptized with the Holy Spirit (29). Justin builds on the accusation found in Barnabas' (9:10, 12; 14) that Jewish exegesis is carnal, in that it fails to go beyond the literal meaning to the spiritual (and allegorical).¹⁶⁴ This is what causes their lust. By using the criticism of the prophets of Israel as emphasizing the ritual aspects of the law to the exclusion of moral ones, Justin argues that the law is not required for the faithful.

Nevertheless, Justin also feels that there are some useful things in the law, especially the Ten Commandments and ethical commandments. Rokéah notes the complexity in Justin's language¹⁶⁵: when referring to ritual commandments like circumcision, Sabbath, holidays, sacrifices and immersion he speaks of νόμος, but when referring to ethical commandments and narrative portions of the law Justin speaks of γραφή, either in the singular or the plural. This attitude is not different from that of Paul reflected in Romans 13:8–10 (affirmation) and 1 Corinthians 7:19; 8:8; Romans 2:21–26; Galatians 4:9–10; 5:2, and 6 (mockery).¹⁶⁶ This is made explicit in the following:

Justin, <i>Dial. 44</i>	
<p>¹...καὶ ἐξαπατᾶτε ἔαντούς, ὑπονοοῦντες διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα σπέρμα πάντως κληρονομήσειν τὰ κατηγγελμένα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθήσεσθαι ἀγαθά. ²οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲ<ν>¹⁶⁷ ἐκείνων οὐδαμόθεν λαβεῖν ἔχει πλὴν οἱ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐξομοιωθέντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἐπιγνόντες τὰ μυστήρια πάντα, λέγω δὲ ὅτι τὶς μὲν ἐντολὴ εἰς θεοσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοπραξίαν διετέτακτο, τὶς δὲ ἐντολὴ καὶ πρᾶξις ὁμοίως εἴρητο ἢ εἰς μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ <ἢ> διὰ τὸ σκληροκάρδιον τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ περὶ τούτου ἀποφανόμενος ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν· ἐὰν Νῶε</p>	<p>¹And you deceive yourselves by thinking that because of being the seed of Abraham according to the flesh you will inherit the good promises that shall be given by God through Christ. ²For no one of the seed of Abraham can receive from anywhere, except those that have become of a similar mind in the faith of Abraham and recognize all the mysteries. But I say some commands are commanded towards piety and righteous practice, other commands and practices were similar spoken either towards the mystery of Christ because of the hardness of your people's hearts. And this is what God disclosed and said in Ezekiel: "If Noah and Jacob and</p>

¹⁶⁴ Justin's dependence on Barnabas (14) is also shown by his claiming the monopoly on the Scriptures for Christians in 29:2 ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀπόκεινται γράμμασι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχ ὑμετέροις ἀλλ' ὑμετέροις· ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς πειθόμεθα, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀναγινώσκοντες οὐ νοεῖτε τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν ([Paradosis 47/1] They are laid up in store in your literature, or rather not yours, but ours. For we believe them; but you, though you read them, do not have the mind that is in them.)

¹⁶⁵ Rokéah, *Justin and the Jews*, 45.

¹⁶⁶ Rokéah, *Justin and the Jews*, 45; Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3d ed.; Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 83 also notes this affirmation of the Ten Commandments especially.

¹⁶⁷ The reading οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκείνων [ἀγαθῶν] οὐδαμόθεν λαβεῖν ἔχει could be understood as "No one can receive any of the good things from anywhere." Bobichon's text prefers the understanding οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων [τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα σπέρμα] οὐδαμόθεν λαβεῖν ἔχει as reflected in my translation.

καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Δανιὴλ ἔξαιτήσωνται ἡ νίοὺς ἡ θυγατέρας, οὐ μὴ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς.³ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἔφη οὕτως· εἶπε κύριος ὁ Θεός· καὶ ἔξελεύσονται καὶ ὅψονται τὰ κῶλα τῶν παραβεβηκότων ἀνθρώπων· ὁ γάρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί.⁴ ὥστε τεμόντας ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην σπουδάσαι δεῖ ἐπιγνῶναι, δι’ ἣς ὁδοῦ ἄφεσις ὑμῖν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν γενήσεται καὶ ἐλπίς τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν κατηγελμένων ἀγαθῶν· ἔστι δ’ οὐκ ἄλλη ἡ αὕτη, ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιγνόντες καὶ λουσάμενοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν διὰ Ἡσαίου κηρυχθὲν λουτρὸν ἀναμαρτήτως λοιπὸν ζήσητε.

(Paradosis 47/1)

Daniel should ask either sons or daughters it shall not be given to them at all.”³ And in Isaiah about this He said the following: “Speak Lord God and they shall go out and see the body parts of the transgressing people. For their worm shall not cease and their fire shall not be put out and they shall be a sight for all flesh.”⁴ You must hasten to cut yourselves from this hope of your souls and to recognize through which way there shall be forgiveness of sins and a hope of the inheritance of good things. But there is no other way than this, to recognize this one as Christ and to be washed with the immersion proclaimed by Isaiah for the sake of the forgiveness of sins and to live without sin for the rest.

In referring to the Jews who think that if they are the seed of Abraham they automatically qualify for God’s promises, Justin is obviously referring to Matthew 3:9, but in Pauline language “the seed of Abraham according to flesh.” This is one of the arguments Justin uses to argue for the annulment of the election of Israel and their replacement by Christians.¹⁶⁸ Rokéah notes that Justin’s (and Paul’s) dichotomist understanding of the law comes to expression here.¹⁶⁹ Some commands are for the sake of righteousness, that is, the ethical commandments, while others are because of the hardness of their hearts or to prophetically point them to some kind of mystery of Christ. The accusation of hardness of heart (*σκληροκαρδία*) against Jewish opponents goes back to a *logion* of Jesus in teaching on divorce (Mark 10:5; Matt 19:8). Paul mentions it (Rom 2:5). It is mentioned in criticizing the people by the prophets in Ezekiel 3:7 (*σκληροκάρδιοι*, בָּלִיְשׁׂׂק) and Isaiah 63:17 (ἐσκλήρυνας ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας, נָנוּ לְבָלִיְשׁׂׂק).¹⁷⁰ After Hebrews and Justin use characters in the Tanak like Melchizedek and Enoch as examples of believers that were not circumcised their estimation falls in Jewish literature.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 83; cf. also *Dial.* 120.

¹⁶⁹ Rokéah, *Justin and the Jews*, 45.

¹⁷⁰ The locus classicus is, of course, the hardness of the Pharaoh’s heart in Exodus 7:14.

¹⁷¹ Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 10. Cf. Sir 44:1–18 and Jub. 4:16–25 on Enoch with Gen. Rab. 5:24; Sir 44:20, Enoch and apGen on Noah with Gen. Rab. 6:9. In Qumran a whole text is dedicated to the mysterious figure of Melchizedek ascribing messianic if not divine status to him. Num. Rab. 4:6 tries to explain how Melchizedek though no Levite could have become high priest by associating him with Noah’s son, Shem.

It is not clear to which portion of Isaiah Justin is referring at the end. Cyprian quotes Isaiah to the same effect, but it is only the last words that are indeed found in Isaiah 1:15–20 (Cyprian, *Adv. Jud.* 1.24).

In order to prove that the Christians are not only sons of Abraham but the true seed of Jacob Justin (123:5) quotes the prophet Jeremiah:

Jer 31:27 quoted in Justin, <i>Dial.</i> 123:5	
ἐγερῶ, φησί, τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ Ἰούδᾳ σπέρμα ἀνθρώπων καὶ σπέρμα κτηνῶν. (Paradosis 47/1)	He says: “I will raise a seed of men and a seed of beasts up to Israel and Judah ...”

Rokéah notes that Christians would probably be representative of the seed of men and the Jews of the seed of beasts.¹⁷² For Justin the Christians constitute the new Israel as is clear from the following passage (interpreted allegorically by Justin):

Justin, <i>Dial.</i> 123:5–7	
⁵ ...καὶ διὰ Ἡσαίου περὶ ἄλλου Ἰσραὴλ οὗτοι φησί· τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται τρίτος Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις, εὐλογημένος ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἣν εὐλόγησε κύριος Σαβαὼθ λέγων· εὐλογημένος ἔσται ὁ λαός μου ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, καὶ ἡ κληρονομία μου Ἰσραὴλ.	And through Isaiah [19:24–25] concerning another Israel he says the following: “in that day Israel shall be third among the Assyrians and the Egyptians, blessed in the land which the Lord Sabaoth blessed: ‘Blessed shall be my people in Egypt and in Assyria and my inheritance, Israel.’”
⁶ ...καὶ γεννήσω ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώπους, τὸν λαόν μου Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθε αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάσχεσιν, καὶ οὐ μὴ προστεθῆτε ἔτι ἀτεκνωθῆναι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν.	⁶ “And I will father people among you, my people, Israel, and they shall inherit you and shall be their possession, and by no means shall you any more be associated with being childless through them.”
⁷ τί οὖν; φησὶν ὁ Τρύφων. ὑμεῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἔστε, καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν λέγει ταῦτα; (Paradosis 47/1)	⁷ What then? Says Trypho, you are Israel and concerning you he spoke thus?

Justin does not explicitly state that the Christians are Israel in answer to Trypho’s question.¹⁷³ He has announced it earlier:

Justin, <i>Dial.</i> 11:5	

¹⁷² Rokéah, *Justin Martyr*, 124.

¹⁷³ Cohick, *The Peri Pascha*, 61.

'Ισραηλιτικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀληθινόν, πνευματικόν, καὶ Ἰούδα γένος καὶ Ἱακὼβ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ, τοῦ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει μαρτυρηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εὐλογηθέντος καὶ πατρὸς πολλῶν ἔθνῶν κληθέντος, ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, οἱ διὰ τούτου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ προσαχθέντες, ὡς καὶ προκοπτόντων ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων ἀποδειχθήσεται. (Paradosis 47/1)	The true, spiritual Israel and a kind of Judah, Jacob, Isaac and Abraham (who in uncircumcision was attested by God both blessed and called “father of many nations” because of his faith) are we who were led to God because of the crucified Christ as it shall be proven while the words strike us.
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Israel has been superseded as the people of God by the Christians by means of Justin's inventive use of allegory.

Justin attacks the carnal hermeneutic of Jews further as illustrated by their polygamous interpretation of Jacob, Leah and Rachel as opposed to the allegorical interpretation of church as opposed to Judaism.¹⁷⁴ Accordingly Jews abuse this pericope to justify their lustful behaviour.

Justin, Dial. 134	
<p>Ἐῑ οὖν καὶ ύμᾶς δυσωπεῖ τά τε τῶν προφητῶν διδάγματα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ, βέλτιόν ἐστιν ύμᾶς τῷ θεῷ ἐπεσθαῑ ἢ τοῖς ἀσυνέτοις καὶ τυφλοῖς διδασκάλοις ύμῶν, οἵτινες καὶ μέχρι νῦν καὶ τέσσαρας καὶ πέντε ἔχειν ύμᾶς γυναικας ἔκαστον συγχωροῦσι, καὶ ἐὰν εὑμορφόν τις ιδὼν ἐπιθυμήσῃ αὐτῆς, τὰς Ἱακὼβ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατριαρχῶν πράξεις ἀνιστοροῦντες καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν λέγοντες τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας, τάλανες καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὄντες. ²ώς προέφην γάρ, οἰκονομίαι τινὲς μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἐν ἑκάστῃ τινὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει ἀπετελοῦντο. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς γάμοις τοῦ Ἱακὼβ τίς οἰκονομία καὶ προκήρυξις ἀπετελεῖτο, ἐρῶ, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπιγνῶτε ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ θειωδέστερον, δι' ὃ ἑκάστη πρᾶξις γέγονεν, ἀπεῖδον ύμῶν ἀεὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ χαμαιπετῆ καὶ τὰ διαφθορᾶς μᾶλλον πάθη. προσέχετε τοιγαροῦν οἵς λέγω. ³τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μελλούσης ἀπαρτίζεσθαι πράξεως τύποι ἥσαν οἱ γάμοι τοῦ Ἱακὼβ. δύο γὰρ ἀδελφᾶς κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐ θειτὸν γαμήσαι τὸν Ἱακὼβ· καὶ δουλεύει δὲ τῷ Λάβαν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων, καὶ ψευσθεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ</p>	<p>If then the teachings of both the prophets and of the aforementioned moves you, it is better that you follow God than your stupid and blind teachers who until now make room for you for four or five women each (man). And if someone sees a well-shaped (woman) and desires her they inquire about the deeds of Jacob, or Israel and of the other patriarchs and say that there is nothing unjust in doing the same, and because of this they are wretched and foolish. ²For, As I have said before certain arrangements of great mysteries were accomplished in each action for each act of this kind. For in the marriages of Jacob a certain arrangement and proclamation were accomplished, I say, so that in these things you might recognize that with nothing your teachers looked at what is more divine, through which each act happened, but only at base things and passions of corruption. Pay attention therefore to what I say: ³The marriages of Jacob were types of the act that would be completed by Christ. For it is not lawful for Jacob to have married two sisters at the same time. And he serves Laban for the sake of the daughters,</p>

¹⁷⁴ Drake, *Slandering the Jew*, 33.

νεωτέρα πάλιν ἐδούλευσεν ἐπτὰ ἔτη. ἀλλὰ Λεία μὲν ὁ λαὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ συναγωγή, Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑμῶν. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων δουλεύει μέχρι νῦν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις δουλῶν.⁴ επεὶ γάρ τοῖς δυσιν νίοις τὸ <τοῦ> τρίτου σπέρμα εἰς δουλείαν ὁ Νῶε ἐδώκε, νῦν πάλιν εἰς ἀποκατάστασιν ἀμφοτέρων τε τῶν ἐλευθέρων τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δουλῶν Χριστὸς ἐλήλυθε, τῶν αὐτῶν πάντας καταξιῶν τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δουλῶν γενόμενοι τῷ Ἰακὼβ πάντες νίοι καὶ ὄμοτιμοι γεγόναστι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τάξιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν, ὅποιος ἔκαστος ἔσται, προλέλεκται.⁵ ἐδούλευσεν Ἰακὼβ τῷ Λάβαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥαντῶν καὶ πολυμόρφων θρεμμάτων· ἐδούλευσε καὶ τὴν μέχρι σταυροῦ δουλείαν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ποικίλων καὶ πολυειδῶν ἀνθρώπων, δι’ αἵματος καὶ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ κτησάμενος αὐτούς· Λείας ἀσθενεῖς ἦσαν οἱ ὄφθαλμοι· καὶ γὰρ ὑμῶν σφόδρα οἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄφθαλμοι. ἔκλεψε Ῥαχὴλ τοὺς θεοὺς Λάβαν καὶ κατέκρυψεν αὐτοὺς ἔως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας· καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπολόλαστιν οἱ πατρικοὶ καὶ ὑλικοὶ θεοί. ⁶ τὸν χρόνον πάντα ἐμισεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὁ Ἰακὼβ· καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν μισεῖται ὑφ’ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώπων, ὅντων πάντων τῇ φύσει ἀδελφῶν. Ἰσραὴλ ἐπεκλήθη Ἰακὼβ· καὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀποδέεικται, ὁ ὧν καὶ καλούμενος Ἰησοῦς.

(Paradosis 47/1)

and after he is lied to with regards to the younger one he served another seven years. But Leah is your nation and the synagogue, but Rachel is our church. And for the sake of these Christ serves until now and for the sake of his slaves in both. ⁴For since Noah gave his two sons the seed of a third towards servanthood, Christ on his part has come towards the restoration of both the free children and those in bondage among them, because he judges all of those that keep his commands worthy of the manner, both those that are free and slaves, as they have all become sons and peers of Jacob. It was foretold what each should be according to order and foreknowledge. ⁵Jacob served Laban for the sake of speckled and many-spotted creatures. And Christ served the servanthood until the cross for the sake of many-coloured and many-shaped people when he bought them through the blood and mystery of the cross. The eyes of Leah were weak and the eyes of your soul are very weak. Rachel stole the gods of Laban and has hidden them until today. And our paternal and material gods have been lost. All the time Jacob was being hated by his brother. And now we and our Lord himself are being hated by you and by other people in general, as we are all brothers in nature. Israel is called Jacob. And Israel signifies Christ who is also called Jesus.

It is noteworthy that despite his heavy anti-Judaism Justin notes that Christ still serves for the benefit of his slaves in the church and in the synagogue, so that Justin is known for a more accommodative attitude towards Jewish-Christians than Irenaeus and other Church Fathers.¹⁷⁵ This is even clearer from the following:

Justin, <i>Dial. 47.1.</i>	
καὶ ὁ Τρύφων πάλιν· εὰν δέ τις, εἰδὼς ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν	And again Trypho: Now if someone knows that this is the case concerning these things and in addition to this

¹⁷⁵ Paget, “Jewish Christianity,” 750.

<p>έπιστασθαι δηλονότι καὶ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, βούλεται καὶ ταῦτα φυλάσσειν, σωθήσεται; ἐπυνθάνετο.</p> <p>κἀγώ· ως μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ὃ Τρύφων, λέγω ὅτι σωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰὰν μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης περιτμηθέντας, ἐκ παντὸς πείθειν ἀγωνίζηται ταῦτα αὐτῷ φυλάσσειν, λέγων οὐ σωθήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξωσιν, ὅποιον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων καὶ σὺ ἔπραττες, ἀποφανόμενος οὐ σωθήσεσθαι με ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξω. (Paradosis 47/1)</p>	<p>clearly understands this man to be the Messiah and that he believes and trusts him but wants to keep these things [the law], will he become saved? Do you understand?</p> <p>And then myself: As it appears to me, Trypho, I say that such a person will become saved unless they after all struggle to persuade the other people – but I mean those from the Gentiles who have been circumcised after their going astray – to keep these things and say that they will not be saved lest they keep these things which in the beginning of these arguments you kept doing showing that I will not become saved lest I keep these things.</p>
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As Justin only devotes a small passage in this dialogue to Jewish-Christians and little is said about them in other literature it probably shows that they were not really a significant presence in the church any more.¹⁷⁶ In agreement with Tacitus' stereotype of Jews Justin also accuses the Jews of *πορνεία* (fornication).

Justin, <i>Dial. 132.1</i>	
καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐμοσχοποιήσατε καὶ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀλλογενῶν πορνεῦσαι καὶ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι ἐσπουδάσατε... (Paradosis 47/1)	And in addition to this you made a calf and were eager to fornicate with the daughters of strangers and to serve idols...

The fornication with foreigners echoes the measures of the scribe, Ezra, to cleanse the Jewish people of foreign blood (Ezra 10:44). According to both Barnabas and Justin, Jewish lust is rooted in their literalist hermeneutic. The only way out of this dilemma, is to understand Scripture (i.e. the Tanak) through a Christ-centred lens.¹⁷⁷ Christian men restrict themselves to one wife (*Dial. 110.3*). This whole argument of Jewish sexual deviance is made possible because of an appropriation of the dualistic rhetoric of Paul that separates between spirit and flesh.

¹⁷⁶ Paget, “Jewish Christianity,” 750.

¹⁷⁷ Drake, *Slandering the Jew*, 33.

7.8.7 Reason for the Identification of the Text with Its Trajectory

Proto-Orthodox Model	
A Receding Eschatological Hope	Justin speaks of two advents of Christ (<i>I Apol.</i> 52; <i>Dial.</i> 32; 52), nevertheless his eschatology is chiliastic (<i>Dial.</i> 81). ¹⁷⁸
A Receding Importance of Prophecy	No. It is especially prophecy in the Tanak and its fulfilment in Jesus that forms the backbone of his philosophy. Justin often mentions the fact that John the Baptist was the last prophet among the Jewish people (49; 51–52). He also argues that this prophetic gift of the Jews has been transferred to Christians even to the present time (82). The author of Revelation is called a prophet (81).
Increasing Institutionalization (spectrum: congregational, presbyterian or episcopal)	In discussing how prophecy has ceased in Israel Justin mentions how God still imparts the gifts of the Spirit to believers according to how He deems each man worthy thereof (87). ¹⁷⁹ While doing this he quotes Joel 2:28. Justin does not often mention offices like bishops and seems to take a more individualistic Christianity for granted. ¹⁸⁰ Justin seems more familiar with a congregational church organization.
Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms	Although <i>regulae fidei</i> do not play such an important role with him as with Ignatius, Irenaeus and Tertullian, ¹⁸¹ there are formulaic expressions that seem to bear testimony to its importance for him and his community (<i>Dial.</i> 30; 76; 85; <i>I Apol.</i> 21). ¹⁸²
The Propaganda of Martyrdom	With Justin martyrdom is not just part of the rhetoric, but he himself is executed by Junius Rusticus for his faith.
The Primacy of Peter	The disciples and any authority they might represent are not important to Justin. Peter is identified as one of Christ's disciples as if his audience would not know him (100). Mention is made of

¹⁷⁸ Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century*, 72.

¹⁷⁹ Justin, *Dial.* 87.5 speaks of δόματα, ἀ ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκείνου τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν πιστεύοντι διδώσιν, ὡς ἄξιον ἔκαστον ἐπίσταται ([Paradosis 47/1] gifts which are from the grace of the power of his Spirit which he gives to those that believe in him, as he understands each to be worthy). This is not the language of 1 Cor 12–14, but very close to the sense thereof.

¹⁸⁰ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 230, 236.

¹⁸¹ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 236.

¹⁸² Especially in the context of exorcism, cf. *Dial.* 85.3 [Paradosis 47/1] κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ ὄνόματος αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεννηθέντος καὶ παθητοῦ γενομένου ἀνθρώπου, καὶ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθανόντος, καὶ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, πᾶν δαιμόνιον ἐξορκιζόμενον νικᾶται καὶ ὑποτάσσεται (for according to the name of this Son of God and firstborn of all creation, that was born through the virgin, that having became a suffering human being, that was crucified by Pontius Pilate and died through your people, that rose from the dead and ascended to heaven, every exorcized demon is conquered and obeys).

	<p>the fact that Jesus changes Simon's name to Peter and the sons of Zebedee to Boanerges to link Jesus with YHWH in the Tanak (106). John the Seer is equated with John, the disciple (81) of whom nothing else is said. John the Seer is more important to Justin as he authored Revelation. Justin's chiliasm can be explained by Revelation. John the Baptist as the last prophet of Israel is mentioned much more often than the disciple. Paul is not mentioned at all, though Justin seems familiar with some of his ideas.</p>
Anti-Judaism	Justin is more tolerant of Jewish-Christians than Barnabas. Following Q and Mark, Justin blames the Ἰουδαῖοι for Jesus' death. Justin is the first Christian author to say that the law was given to Israel to restrain their natural tendency to sin. The laws were given because of Israel's hardness of heart. Justin argues based on the logic that circumcision and keeping the Sabbath is unnecessary, in that it was not kept before Abraham and Moses.
Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)	Justin does argue that Christ took on a body (<i>2 Apol.</i> 10). ¹⁸³
It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel	Justin appears to have an angelic Christology. ¹⁸⁴ Justin identifies Jesus very strongly with the Λόγος through whom the transcendent God creates the cosmos (<i>Dial.</i> 87; 127). Justin often equates the anthropomorphic revelations of God in the Tanak with Jesus or the Λόγος. ¹⁸⁵
No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak	None. He calls those that blaspheme against the Creator and Father of the patriarchs, atheists and confessors of Jesus in name only (<i>Dial.</i> 35). In the same context he distances himself from Marcionites, Valentinians and those that follow Saturninus.
Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy: Doctrine of the Λόγος Apophatic Predications for God	To a certain extent Justin (and Aristides Marcianus before him) starts the professionalization of faith in being the first authors to write a <i>protreptikos</i> , an invitation to [Christian] philosophy. Their writings are composed for non-Christian readers as much as Christian, a departure from previous Christian custom. It is not that there are no myths in Justin's writings, but they play a lesser role than in Gnostic writings. Justin's application of the spermatic Λόγος concept makes it easy to separate consistently between the transcendent Father and the immanent Λόγος. ¹⁸⁶ Justin might not

¹⁸³ Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century*, 68.

¹⁸⁴ Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 90, 230. Remember the hierarchy of Wagner, *After the Apostles*, 110.

¹⁸⁵ Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century*, 68.

¹⁸⁶ Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century*, 68.

	have invented the Christian version of the Λόγος (John did), but he transformed it into a doctrine. Although there were Gnostics before Justin that mixed Christianity with philosophy, it was Justin's version of Christian philosophy that propelled Christianity from an obscure Jewish sect into a philosophy that could compete with Middle Platonism, Stoicism, Peripateticism and Pythagoreanism. Justin's doctrine of the Λόγος seems to have played an important role in this development. His philosophical methodology would be taken further by Tatian, Irenaeus, Clement and Origen.
Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel	Yes. Justin often quotes from the Fourfold Gospel, especially from the Synoptic Gospels. Justin seems to have used a harmony of them. Although he seems to refer to John, it is not clear how authoritative he thought it to be.
The Tanak Is Retained, but Interpreted from a Christological Perspective	Yes. Justin aggressively applies allegory in designing his Christian philosophy.
Jesus Was Born of a Virgin	Yes, this is confirmed by the inspiration of the seventy translators of the Septuagint (Justin, 1 Apol. 33; Dial. 43.5; 66.4; 77–78; 84; cf. <i>Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula</i> 301–316).
Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible	Justin takes recourse to the “Septuagint” being the first Christian author to defend its authority based upon the legend of the Epistle of Aristeas. Interestingly the issue that gives cause to this defence of the Septuagint is Trypho’s criticism of the virgin birth.
Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving ^g	Justin insists on the importance of Jewish morality as found in the ten commandments, for example. The legislation of the law that is still binding is called “Scripture” as opposed to “law.”
Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity	In contrast to authors like Irenaeus, Justin is willing to accommodate Jewish-Christians that do not insist that Gentile Christians obey the law.

7.8.8 Parallels between Text and P.Oxy. 840

The language Justin uses in 19 is indeed very close to that of P.Oxy. 840. For Justin the point is that immersion has been superseded by baptism. Christians like Barnabas and Justin were at pains to differentiate between immersion and baptism which makes sense in the context of Christian identity formation as opposed to (mainstream) Jewish identity. It is outside of their frame of reference to consider that Jesus himself must have also undergone immersions in his own times.

The proximity of 14 to that of P.Oxy. 840 is taken even further by the fact that Justin uses a “full of x and y”-formula: ἐὰν τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντες τὰς ψυχὰς μεμεστωμένοι ἦτε δόλου καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀπλῶς (“if they do this your souls are simply full of fraud and all evil”). This parallel shows us that P.Oxy. 840’s language is relatively close to the saying found in Q 11. The third thing this pericope shares with P.Oxy. 840 is its indirect reference to the alleged lust of the Jews. Justin tries to address the root of the problem: their carnal exegesis. Justin does not neutralize the whole law. The Decalogue is still valid for believers.

Justin discusses the limitations of immersion for purity twice (*Dial.* 14.1–2; 19). In both cases he rests his argument on Jeremiah 2:13 about the people’s preference for broken cisterns above the living fountain, that is, YHWH. Typical of the language of Q and Mark it is inside purity, that is, moral purity, that is the most important thing. Justin cannot understand what to him appears like an overemphasis with the purification of the flesh as Hebrews puts it. Justin uses this language regarding immersion with water. P.Oxy. 840 applies this idea of Jewish lust to the Pharisaic high priest by comparing him to prostitutes (πόρναι). Elsewhere Justin speaks of Jewish πορνεία in sleeping with foreigners.

Jewish lust is illustrated by Jewish literal interpretation of the story of Jacob’s wives, Leah and Rachel, which is used to legitimate polygamy instead of understanding them as symbols of Israel and the church respectively (*Dial.* 134). Jewish lust is contrasted to Christian insistence on monogamy.

7.8.9 Differences between Text and P.Oxy. 840

Of all the texts compared to P.Oxy. 840 Justin’s *Dialogue with Trypho* appears to be the best fit. Although the genres differ the two texts seem to share the same context and to address the same problems. The systematic theorizing of Justin to prove that Christianity is superior to Judaism is different than that found in P.Oxy. 840. Gospels tend to use argument much more sparingly. Justin is the first Christian author that could skilfully systematize Christian teaching. Although he was preceded by the apologist, Aristides, Justin was much more successful. He stands at the end of apostolic Christianity and at the start of Christian philosophy.

7.8.10 Jewish Institutions Superseded in Justin

Old institution	New institution
Purity	Moral Purity

Old covenant	New covenant
Old Israel	True spiritual Israel
Levitical priesthood	Jesus' priesthood through Melchizedek
Sabbath	The Lord's day
Feasts	—
Circumcision (24)	Blood of salvation
Immersion	Baptism
Sacrifices (33)	Jesus born without sin
Sacrificial system	Once for all sacrifice of Christ
Literal Hermeneutic	Allegorical/Typological hermeneutic
Temple	—

7.9 Sub-Conclusion

With **Mark** one sees a Gospel packed with material that is critical of Jewish purity maps. If one purity law was to fall away it would necessarily imply that the whole law has become invalid. This is exactly what happens in the oldest extant Gospel: contrary to the law (not just a scribal enactment) all foods are declared pure by Jesus. Nevertheless, Mark never mentions the abolition of the law, only of the purity laws. Another important boundary that is crossed by Mark is the demonstration in the temple. This event is interpreted differently in scholarship, but if Sanders is correct and Mark's version presents a symbolic destruction of the temple, it is indeed a very strong anti-Jewish statement in one of the oldest Christian books: the temple has been superseded. Though by no means clear by what, it must have something to do with Jesus. Another way in which Mark sets the anti-Jewish agenda is by holding the Jewish people accountable for the death of Jesus while exonerating Pilate. This motif is taken over in all the Gospels.

In Mark 2:23–28 (plucking grain on the Sabbath) Mark applies an analogy (*gezērā šāwā*) from narrative passage (from the Prophets, 1 Sam 21:1–7) to defend the disciples behaviour (haggadic reasoning). According to Jewish exegetical practice a law could only be overruled by another legal practice. The message of Mark seems to be that for God relief from hunger is more important than cultic propriety, God is merciful. Matthew adds substance to this pericope by adding two additional arguments: a *qal wāḥōmer* to the effect that something greater than the temple is here (mercy) and a prophetic admonition from Hosea 6:6 noting God prefers mercy to sacrifice. Lk^S has added the detail that the grain was harvested by pushing out the kernel of wheat which would have counted as an “abnormal

Sabbath act” (*b. Besah* 13b–14a). P.Oxy. 840’s argumentation is less technical than Matthew and of Lk^s and corresponds to Mark’s more casual approach.

In Mark 2:15–17 (table fellowship with sinners) the author makes his point by applying the sentence: the strong have no need of a physician. Matthew adds the prophetic support from Hosea 6:6. Luke increases the polemic between Jesus and the Pharisees. He adds a theological principle that Jesus has come to call sinners to repentance.

With Mark 3:1–5 (healing on the Sabbath) Mark uses a *deductio ad absurdum*, implying the Pharisees argue that one cannot do something good on the Sabbath. Mark and Luke hint at the principle of *pîqqûâh nefesh* that Jesus breaks the Sabbath to save a life. Matthew avoids this, as Jesus was in fact not saving a life, by rather applying the *qal wâhômer* of the sheep in the pit and the prophetic criticism of sacrifice at the expense of mercy. Unlike Matthew, P.Oxy. 840 does not prove to have legal principles in its arsenal of arguments. P.Oxy. 840 also uses a *deductio ad absurdum* in noting Pharisees think they can be purified by water which has actually been polluted by impure animals. Of course P.Oxy. 840’s reasoning is invalid legally speaking. Purification pools could not be polluted even by the corpses of impure animals (Lev 11:35–36). P.Oxy. 840’s argumentation implies a problem with the law of Leviticus 11:35–36. P.Oxy. 840’s author implies that water’s purificatory powers cannot be overruled.¹⁸⁷

In Mark 7:1–23 (the controversy over the unwashed hands) Mark makes a *deductio ad absurdum* to make his point that ethical (inner) purity trumps ritual (external) purity. To do this Mark applies a sentence. Mark makes the mistake to ascribe washing hands before meals to all Jews, whereas this was a Pharisaic practice.¹⁸⁸ Mark seems to make this mistake because to him only the Jews that were Pharisees seem to have mattered. Mark 7:19 is a redactional note remarking that Jesus declared all foods pure. The biggest difference between Matthew and Mark’s account of this is that Matthew omits this redactional note. Matthew also omits the idea that nothing outside of the human can defile him. This would contradict Matthew’s perspective that the law is still in force. For Matthew, impure foods are still impure. On the law Matthew is only prepared to compromise in cases where there is conflict between laws. In such cases, especially regarding purity laws, the love command and ethical commands overrule other commands. Both Mark and Matthew’s versions correspond to

¹⁸⁷ One cannot say whether the author of P.Oxy. 840 would have thought his argument through to this level. The point is that he does not seem troubled by the prospect of transgressing the law. At his time Christians have already made peace with this. Only the Decalogue was special.

¹⁸⁸ Even as Pharisaic practice it seems to have become established practice only in the second century. Cf. Luz, *Matthew*, ad loc. (Matt 15).

Jewish debate conventions where one first has a confrontational question and then an acerbic rhetorical question. For example:

Opponent: "Why do they violate?"

Response: "Why do you violate?"

Again P.Oxy. 840 would have sided with Mark on this issue. Aside from also applying a *deductio ad absurdum* P.Oxy. 840, also seems to oppose the law, not just a scribal enactment. Like Mark, P.Oxy. 840's perspective on Jews is also determined by Pharisees, so much so that even the gatekeeper is a Pharisee. P.Oxy. 840 has absorbed these Jewish debate conventions through exposure to the gospel. The author was probably entirely ignorant of the fact that it was applying Jewish debate conventions. P.Oxy. 840 uses the exact same formula:

Opponent: "Who has allowed you to walk impure in the temple?"

Jesus: "Are you pure?"

P.Oxy. 840's siding with Mark illustrates a paradox within Christianity: even though Matthew was the most popular Gospel hands down, most Christians' theology was closer to Mark's law-free gospel. Mark's radical gospel would eventually be somewhat tempered by the Apostolic Council (Acts 15) which would establish a more conciliatory tone between Jewish and Gentile Christians.

With Mark 11:15–19 (the demonstration in the temple), Mark is the only evangelist to refer to Jesus not allowing anybody to carry a vessel through the temple. That would be the temple's vessels used for transporting pilgrims' offerings to the altar. Gray's interpretation implies Jesus was boycotting the normal functioning of temple's cultic functions. Are these the vessels P.Oxy. 840 is referring to? If indeed P.Oxy. 840 has Mark's version of the demonstration in mind, it only seems possible if he already misunderstood what this statement in Mark meant. This is not impossible, as this has always been an enigmatic verse in Mark. On balance it seems to be a circumstantial parallel between Mark and P.Oxy. 840. On the reading of this dissertation "behold these holy vessels" is a hendyadic expression for "set foot in this sanctuary." That is, they are two different ways of saying the same thing artistically. The meaning of the concept of "vessel" is thereby dissolved to any object inside which could only be seen there. P.Oxy. 840 argues for the abolition of the purificatory

mechanism of Judaism, immersion by water. This undermines not only the whole temple establishment, but also the law.

Mark's 11:27–33 (the authority of Jesus questioned) contains much linguistic overlap with the text of P.Oxy. 840. Most important is the setting of the chriae: καὶ περιέπατε ἐν τῷ ιερῷ. Three kinds of Jewish opponents approach Jesus, high priests, scribes and elders. In P.Oxy. 840 it is one person that is both a gatekeeper and a Pharisee. Both chriae are concerned with the authority of Jesus. The question from the opponent in P.Oxy. 840 is framed as “who has allowed you to set foot in this sanctuary?” This seems to be a redundant way of asking “why are you in this sanctuary?” This seems to heighten the polemical tone of P.Oxy. 840. The author seems to be concerned with Jesus' authority although it does not feature in the rest of the chria. This is also something that shows what a good conjecture Kruger makes in speaking of the ὕδασι ζῶ[στι... ἐλθοῦσι ἀπὸ [τοὺ πατρὸς ἔπανω]. This picks up neatly to the authoritative nature of the opponent's question.

P.Oxy. 840 has a particularly close affinity with Mark: not only because of its emphasis on inner purity, but also in its setting. P.Oxy. 840 shows strong agreement in language with Mark 11:37–41, the question on Jesus' authority. The setting is identical, the questions of the opponents overlap, the high priest plays an important role, five words overlap, and the form is the same. Nevertheless none of the parallel words are very rare, so that one cannot say for certain that P.Oxy. 840 has this in mind. P.Oxy. 840 seems to be a continuation of the trend in Mark where the law is overruled. In Mark all foods are declared pure, in P.Oxy. 840 immersion for the sake of purification is abolished. To fit P.Oxy. 840 into the Markan chronology is more meaningful than into the Johannine. In Mark it would be somewhere between the demonstration in the temple and Jesus' arrest. In John's chronology P.Oxy. 840 could come anywhere between John 2's Demonstration and the Last Supper.

Unlike Mark, Jesus does not apply sentences in P.Oxy. 840 to argue his point. The *deductio ad absurdum* does occur in the Synoptic Gospels as we have seen, but is more readily associated with argumentation as it is found in Paul, for example.

The Gospels that follow Mark, Matthew and Luke, both contain material that are more sympathetic towards the law because of the material from their unique sources. Matthew and Luke for the most part take over what is already in Mark and Q: both regarding purity issues and concerning the passion. Whereas Luke makes statements that soften the culpability of the Jewish people for Jesus' death, he still ends on a disappointed note where Paul declares that the Christian mission will from now on focus only on Gentiles. In taking

over the “full of x and y”-language from Q, both Luke and Matthew expand the gnome in various ways. In the end P.Oxy’s 840’s version is closer to Luke’s version but not by much.¹⁸⁹ It is not a clear-cut case that P.Oxy. 840 took it over from Luke. He might be quoting it from memory, or he might be an adventurous author. In comparing the form of chria found in P.Oxy. 840 with a chria from Luke regarding the Rich Young Man it becomes immediately apparent how wordy P.Oxy. 840 is and how little action effectively is taking place. P.Oxy. 840 uses redundant language.

With **John** 10:23–39 (apology of the messiah) the same setting as Mark 11:27 and P.Oxy. 840, καὶ περιέπατεὶ ἐν τῷ ιερῷ, is used.¹⁹⁰ If one has to make a decision whether this was taken over from either from Mark or John, Mark is favoured because of the linguistic overlap of P.Oxy. 840 with the rest of Mark 11:27–33. It is clear that John used Mark as source for writing his Gospel, even though his dependence on Mark is not as clear as with Matthew and Luke on Mark. John might have taken this over from Mark. Nevertheless, it needn’t be as simple as this. Theoretically P.Oxy. 840 could have taken this over from Mark, John or from another lost source – written or oral. In the end the third possibility seems to be the likeliest source for P.Oxy. 840, because both Mark and John use it in different contexts.¹⁹¹ This phrase seems to have functioned as some kind of generic setting for chriae. Because P.Oxy. 840 has an indirect dependence on the Fourfold Gospel, it will always remain difficult to determine its sources.

In John 3:5–6 (the dialogue with Nicodemus) being born of water might theoretically include a pun on the waters of baptism, but it seems to only refer to the waters of physical birth because of the parallel clause following it “what is born of the flesh is flesh.” In turn being born of the spirit is parallel to “what is born of the spirit is spirit.” Therefore it does not follow to connect it with P.Oxy. 840 as Kruger has done.

John 7:44 is the first time Jews are said to do the lusts of their father, the devil. This enigmatic statement will eventually take on a life on its own in Christian literature, as more Christians start accusing Jews of lust.

Regarding John 13:1–20 (The Washing of the Disciples’ Feet) the position Kruger of Johannine influence on P.Oxy. 840 because of an overlap in the language of “wash,” “clean”

¹⁸⁹ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 161–175.

¹⁹⁰ The exact form is of course closer to that of John as Mark uses a Genitive absolute construction, but Greek authors could switch between these constructions at will, so this is not significant.

¹⁹¹ Jesus does not answer the question of Mark 11:27 by whose authority he does things like his demonstration in the temple. John 10’s apology of the messiah is concerned about the validity of the testimony of Jesus, in that he should be believed because he does the works of his Father, so that the Father testifies to his validity.

and “feet” seems unjustified. For Kruger being clean in John is applied to being clean from the guilt of sin. This is not part of the context of John 13:1–20. The lexemes *vípttw* (16 times in NT) and *λούω* (5 times in NT) are not so rare to stand out. An overlap in the language of “wash,” “clean” and “feet” with P.Oxy. 840 can be explained by the shared context of washing.

John’s version of the demonstration in the temple points to the supersession of the temple by Jesus. God is not to be worshipped in a temple, be it on Gerizim or in Jerusalem. The Logos has set up his tent and lives among his people. In P.Oxy. 840 it is immersion for purificatory purposes that is superseded by baptism.

An argument against P.Oxy. 840’s familiarity with John can be made as there is no indications that P.Oxy. 840 knew John’s truncated Question about Jesus’ Authority in John 2. For this Mark 11:27–33 seems a more likely candidate.

As far as textual conjectures go, Kruger’s suggestion that the text of P.Oxy. be reconstructed to include the last sentence of *ἐν ὕδαστι ζῶ[σιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ]ν ἐλθοῦσι ἀπὸ [τοῦ πατρὸς ἔπανω]* is quite plausible. It gives P.Oxy. 840 a very Johannine ring though. It picks up nicely on the idea of P.Oxy. 840 starting with a question of authority and John’s Gospel’s tendency to draw the Father in as witness to Jesus Messianic claims. It also fits in well with the language of living water as is confirmed by Justin the Gnostic. Of course as with all textual conjectures we will never know. It would fit in well with the Johannine idea of life-giving water, but not that the Spirit gives, but Jesus who, as Kruger incidentally conjectures, comes from the Father. The supersession of Israel as the elect is also final for John as the Ἰουδαῖοι do not know Jesus or his Father. John more frequently uses allegory than other evangelists (e.g. John 15:5 “I am the vine”). This becomes a staple of the way Christians do exegesis and is often used in argumentation against Jews to cement the church’s role as the elect that has replaced Israel. Jews are resented by authors like Barnabas and Justin for their failure to understand Scripture allegorically and use this as the main cause of Jewish lust – their failure to go beyond the literal and carnal meaning.

The conception of the Saviour-title in John seems different from that of P.Oxy. 840 (actually “Saviour of the world”). In John it is associated with the emperor and underscores Jesus’ authority. It is only used only once. In P.Oxy. 840 it is used as the standard way of expressing Jesus as the subject of the sentence.

Characteristic of John are the metaphorical self-predications “I am *x*.” It seems certain that P.Oxy. 840 did not use this. It would not fit the second chria. Perhaps the form of chria,

characteristically more critical and rational does not allow of these self-predications. John's preferred medium for controversies with Jews is of course the dialogue. Papyrus Egerton provides us with a precedent for a Gospel that applies both chriae and dialogues for controversies with Jewish opponents.

The Johannine dualism Kruger ascribes to Johannine influence is not entirely necessary. Inside/outside-dualism is found in Q 11 and Mark 7:1–23. This is not found in John's Gospel. Dualism seems to have been typical of Christian thinking in the first century as can also be seen in Paul.

In breaking away from the Synoptic tradition of involving Jesus in purity controversies John seems to reflect historical conditions where purity was no longer controversial for Christians. Why does P.Oxy. 840, if it were written around 150 C.E. return to this issue? The answer would have to be sought in the author's need to construct a new Christian as opposed to a Jewish identity. In doing so, the author makes two points: firstly, Christians do not do immersions for purification, but are pure ethically and secondly, baptism is better than immersions as it provides access to living water, that is, everlasting life.

Whereas the Synoptic Gospels seem more concerned with Jesus transgressing the traditions of elders, John has more of a supersessionist agenda. The temple is superseded by the temple of Jesus' body. True worshippers worship the Father in truth, that is, in Jesus.

John's influence on P.Oxy. 840 has been noted since von Harnack regarding the living water. A Johannine reading of P.Oxy. 840 has become popular especially since the time of Tripp that connected the language of P.Oxy. 840 with the foot washing of John 13. Kruger and Shellberg have taken this even further. This dissertation agrees with von Harnack's position that the living water points to Johannine influence. Theoretically P.Oxy. 840 might have picked up the idea from oral traditions going back to the Targumim, but the Johannine living water-language was so influential on second century Christianity, be it Jewish-Christian, Gnostic, or Proto-Orthodox Christianity, that it seems reasonable to assume P.Oxy. 840 picked this up from John or at the very least from a Johannine tradition, if the author had not necessarily read John's Gospel. This dissertation does not agree on influence of the foot washing scene in John 13 on P.Oxy. 840. These are simply parallels of language. It is entirely circumstantial. Whether the author of P.Oxy. 840 was familiar with the writing we call John's Gospel today is not 100% sure. As the research of Daniels on Papyrus Egerton has shown, there is a theoretical possibility that Johannine traditions were floating around in the form of chriae and dialogues with a specifically Johannine ring before John's Gospel as

we know it today was finalized. The evidence regarding Johannine influence is not that clear, so that it is an inference that has to be drawn. If one takes into consideration the hypothetical dating of P.Oxy. 840 around 150 C.E., firstly at a time where Gospel harmonies were more popular than ever, secondly Justin seems to have referred to John's Gospel, though with slightly less authority than the Synoptic Gospels, while thirdly his disciple, Tatian, took its authority as Gospel for granted, it seems reasonable to conclude that P.Oxy. 840 was familiar with John's Gospel. Taking this for granted opens other possibilities of Johannine influence, but the foot washing-scene's parallels are entirely circumstantial. This is to be explained rather by P.Oxy. 840's preference for hendyadic expression ("without having washed yourself, without your disciples even having immersed their feet?").

The *Epistula Apostolorum* is the oldest writings to refer to all the works of the Fourfold Gospel. The *Epistula Apostolorum* is much closer to the Johannine tradition than the Synoptic. Both the *Epistula Apostolorum* and P.Oxy. 840 seem to share the same informal approach to the Fourfold Gospel as a mine for constructing their own narrations about Jesus. P.Oxy. 840 also seems to reflect familiarity with Synoptic and Johannine Christianity. It reflects the idea of eschatological damnation for sinners as does P.Oxy. 840. It seems to be oldest writing to cite all the authors of the Fourfold Gospel. It is equally if not more graphic than P.Oxy. 840 concerning the punishment of sinners in the afterlife. The mention of the water of life that is able to save people in the afterlife echoes P.Oxy. 840. In the *Epistula Apostolorum* baptism is specifically called the water of life, as many also understand living water to be in P.Oxy. 840. Even though this treatise is not extant in Greek, it betrays similar stylistic characteristics to P.Oxy. 840, including the redundancy and antithesis. Despite translation one can still sense that the original Greek of the *Epistula Apostolorum* must have contained many cases of hendyades and antithesis. P.Oxy. 840 has the same stylistic taste.

With **Hebrews** the anti-Judaism of the Gospels seems to step up a gear. By using typical Jewish exegetical strategies like *midraš pesher* the author of Hebrews makes a systematic comparison between Christianity and Judaism (without using these terms as yet) to the disadvantage of Judaism. Hebrews also applies the *pešer* exegetical method as used in Qumran and already a staple of Christian exegesis by the time of the writing of this epistle. Four Jewish institutions are superseded in Hebrews: the Levitical priesthood, the sacrificial system, the sanctuary and the covenant. Hebrews applies logical argumentation and makes a significant contribution to the ideas of supersessionism and anti-Judaism. For Hebrews the only level of worship that remains is the heavenly sanctuary. One would assume something

similar for P.Oxy. 840, although the issue is not addressed by its author. The temple is merely seen to be the setting of the chria. P.Oxy. 840 addresses the supersession of immersion as purificatory ritual. Miller emphasizes the purifying properties of cisterns and from Leviticus 11:35–36 it is clear that nothing could defile a cistern. If the water of the famous Pool of David could be contaminated it would put a question mark behind the whole legal system. Hebrews reflects the same inside/outside-dualism as P.Oxy. 840. Especially Hebrews 10:22 encourages the faithful to enter God’s presence confidently with their hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and their bodies washed pure with water. The ethical importance of the inside is stressed as is the case in Mark 7, Matthew 15 and P.Oxy. 840. At the same time the body is pure because it has been baptized. All three elements are found in P.Oxy. 840: for entering God’s presence ethical purity and baptism are required. When compared to other Jewish literature of the time, the radicalism of Hebrews and P.Oxy. 840 is apparent. As Stewart-Sykes notes, it seems P.Oxy. 840’s community has already separated from Judaism.¹⁹² With Hebrews this has probably not yet happened. Regarding its eschatology the eschatological promises still apply to Israel, but salvation only occurs through Christ’s high priestly ministry. The eschatology of Hebrews tends to realized eschatology at times.

Barnabas builds on ideas found for the first time in Paul regarding the dualism between flesh and spirit. Barnabas applies this to hermeneutics, so that “they” are accused of having a carnal hermeneutic (literal understanding of Scripture). “We” on the other hand interpret Scripture spiritually through allegory. This literal understanding explains why “they” are intent on obeying the food laws. This carnal understanding opens “them” up to missing the sexual dangers lurking behind these sins, so that “they” are vulnerable to sexual sins and lust. Barnabas argues for the abolition of the Jewish institutions one by one: sacrifices; circumcision; covenant; temple; law; dietary traditions; immersion and the Sabbath. Barnabas is the first Christian author to attack the idea of immersion. This seems to be the start of the Jewish-Christian immersion/baptism-debate. Barnabas’ argumentation implies that these immersions have been superseded by baptism. He calls the ritual baths pits of death. Baptism provides Christians with fruit that is capable of giving others eternal life. P.Oxy. 840 provides the very same criticism of immersion in the genre of Gospel. Where the Gospels cannot help but criticize some of the purity laws, Barnabas views the whole law as a misunderstanding caused by Israel’s idolatry. The law never did have validity before Christ. Israel never was God’s elect. P.Oxy. 840 also seems to undermine an important part of the

¹⁹² Stewart-Sykes, “Bathed in Living Waters,” 282. Cf. also Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 188.

law, namely purification, so that it is perhaps one step behind Barnabas. Although Hebrews 10:22 touches on the idea that immersion is unnecessary after ethical purity and baptism, Barnabas is the first author to make this explicit. The genre of Barnabas is of course different from P.Oxy. 840 and makes it possible for the author to avoid giving his opponents a name aside from “us/them.” Barnabas does not use comparison like Hebrews does. For Barnabas there was no faith before Christ, so that, as Paget has shown, no supersession is possible. P.Oxy. 840 is more like Hebrews regarding this, as there is a clear notion of what Jews do and how Christians do it better.

Miller and Ferguson have shown the proximity of **Justin’s ideas** to P.Oxy. 840.¹⁹³ Justin builds further on the typological and allegorical hermeneutics of his predecessors to argue that the law was given to Israel as a means to restrain her natural tendency to sin. Like Barnabas, Justin connects the literal hermeneutic of Jews with a weakness for lust. By refusing to use typology and allegory, Jews abuse the Scriptures to legitimate lust. In so doing they miss the real meaning of Scripture. This fornication of Israel is exemplified by them pursuing foreigners (as Ezra reports) and by their polygamy. Justin criticizes even more Jewish institutions than Barnabas does. He also criticizes immersion on much the same basis as Barnabas. Immersion has been superseded by baptism for Justin. With Justin and Barnabas, we note the dilemma that the same Greek word could be used for immersion and baptism. Linguistically there was no difference between the two concepts. Justin artificially creates the expression “that baptism of cisterns” (*Dial.* 19.5) to remove this obstacle to Christian identity formation. The parallel from Carnal Hermeneutic of Jews Criticized (*Dial.* 14.1–2) seems to be the closest parallel to P.Oxy. 840 of all. Not only is baptism superseding immersion, but the language of “full of x” is used in an ethical context, and thirdly there is an indirect reference to the sexual sins of Jews. Compared to Justin’s full of x-formula, P.Oxy. 840’s language is closer to Luke 11 (from Q). Justin’s criticism is combined with the accusation that Jews are full of fraud and evil, so that is indeed the same message as P.Oxy. 840, but in different words and a different genre. The same passage describes the carnal hermeneutic of Jews, which can be connected with their “natural inclination to lust.” Justin applies Jeremiah 2:13 to argue against immersion as Barnabas has done. Like Hebrews Justin calls immersion “the purification of the flesh.” Because Justin is using a different genre he can paint using broader strokes, so that he illustrates the Jewish tendency to lust by referring to Jewish polygamy, apparently practiced in his time. His systematic theorizing will

¹⁹³ Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 266–271 and Miller, *At the Intersection*, 146–147 have also suggested that these (*Dial.* 14; 19) are two texts that reflect a similar concern to that of P.Oxy. 840.

transform Christianity into Christian philosophy, in many respects laying the foundation for orthodoxy. Ironically this will end the genre of Gospel. P.Oxy. 840 seems to be one of the closing acts.

P.Oxy. 840 seems to fit in best with the Proto-Orthodox texts. Because this trajectory is closer to Judaism, in that it appropriates its literary canon, it also seems to push some Christians to want to show that they are in fact not that close to Judaism. This seems to have caused them to deny being Jewish and to construct an identity that emphasizes their distance from Judaism.

If one were to subject P.Oxy. 840 to the Proto-Orthodox model one would see the following:

Proto-Orthodox Model	
A Receding Eschatological Hope	—
A Receding Importance of Prophecy	—
Increasing Institutionalization (spectrum: congregational, presbyterian or episcopal)	—
Crystallization of Faith into Set Forms	—
The Propaganda of Martyrdom	—
The Primacy of Peter	—
Anti-Judaism	Yes. The Pharisees are slandered as being sexually deviant.
Christ's Humanity Is Accepted (Somewhat Grudgingly)	—
It Is Not Yet Agreed Whether Jesus Was Fully Divine or an Angel	—
No Separation between the Father of Jesus and the Creator of the Tanak	—
Proto-Orthodoxy Tends to Embrace Philosophy: Doctrine of the Λόγος Apophatic Predications for God	Yes. Platonic influence and artistically constructed sentences balanced with hendiadys and antithesis. P.Oxy. 840 appears to be a mixture of prose and mythological elements. Certainly it is concerned with concrete details of the life of Jesus. Even the first pericope only hints at the fate of the evildoers of men by only touching on mythological language. The second pericope is set during Jesus' earthly existence, but appears to start using mythological language of water coming from somewhere. The form of chria is usually associated with rational and critical language. One should emphasize such mythological language would not be out of the

	ordinary for Proto-Orthodox Christians. These are no charter myths as one would associate with Gnostics. Chriae were not typically used by Gnostics.
	Platonic eschatology probably shows that other Platonic elements were to be found in the rest of the Gospel of which P.Oxy. 840 is part.
Proto-Orthodoxy Preferred the Fourfold Gospel	Probably Mark, Luke and John read at some time.
The Tanak Is Retained, but Interpreted from a Christological Perspective	—
Jesus Was Born of a Virgin	—
Proto-Orthodoxy Prefers a Greek Bible	—
Their Attitude to Ethics Is Quite Forgiving	It is not clear that P.Oxy. 840 is very forgiving. Pharisees seem to be criticized for an over-emphasis on outside purity.
Proto-Orthodoxy Was Willing to Embrace Diversity	—

Of all the trajectories analysed in this chapter, P.Oxy. 840 clearly shows more indicators of being Proto-Orthodox than of any other trajectory.

8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary of Findings

Before we come to this dissertation's main conclusions, it seems fitting to remember the main findings of the dissertation.

In Chapter 4: The Reading of P.Oxy. 840 the following elements crystalized:

- The literary quality of P.Oxy. 840 has been underestimated by scholars;
- the second chria of P.Oxy. 840 is very long-winded if compared to other Christian chriae;
- P.Oxy. 840's eschatology is influenced by Plato;
- P.Oxy. 840 redraws more than one purity map;
- P.Oxy. 840 undermines the whole law;
- scorpions have an associative meaning of sexuality.

In Chapter 5: Gnostic Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840 the following was illustrated:

- Based on the theological development found in P.Oxy. 840, it is not impossible to keep the early dating thereof to 150 C.E.;
- living water enjoyed wide currency in Gnostic literature;
- the Fourfold Gospel is used as sources for Gnostic literature with a clear preference for John and secondly Matthew and Luke;
- the christological title, Saviour, is indeed used often in the Gnostic inter-texts looked at, but nowhere as often as in P.Oxy. 840;
- the Gnostic inter-texts show little interest in the concrete time and space in which Jesus actually lived;
- anti-Jewish rhetoric is not common in Gnostic literature;
- a consistent anti-baptism theology as proposed by Bovon and others is not found in the Gnostic inter-texts;
- Gnostics shared a symbolic understanding of purity with the Proto-Orthodox in opposition to most Jewish-Christian groups;

- controversies over purity is very common in Judeo-Christian literature.

In Chapter 6: Jewish-Christian Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840 the following was established:

- P.Oxy. 840's knowledge of the *ḥalākā* of its day has been overestimated;
- Jewish-Christian authors tend to be comfortable with transgressing scribal enactments, but usually not with transgressing the law;
- only some Jewish-Christian groups propagated an exclusive mission to Israel;
- the Jewish-Christian inter-texts do not use “Saviour” as a christological title;
- the Jewish-Christian writings use all the books of the Fourfold Gospel as sources;
- Jewish-Christian authors also make themselves guilty of anti-Judaism;
- regarding purity, Jewish-Christian authors are willing to compromise on traditions, but not on the law.

In Chapter 7: Proto-Orthodox Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840 we learnt the following:

- Despite the harsh anti-Jewish rhetoric, many Proto-Orthodox authors are hesitant to name their opponents;
- the main parameters for the Proto-Orthodox understanding of purity are already in place after Mark – one of the earliest Christian writings;
- the accusation of Jewish lust seems to have started as a cultural stereotype of Jews;
- the christological title of Saviour does not seem to have become popular in Proto-Orthodox discourse before Clement of Alexandria;
- although the Johannine language of “living water” is somewhat ambiguous, it quickly takes on the reference of baptism (as it is also found in Gnostic writings);
- P.Oxy. 840 seems to be an institutional dinosaur;
- by 150 C.E. the form of the chria is more of a hindrance than a help in Christian discourse.

8.2 Conclusions

8.2.1 The Reading of P.Oxy. 840

Although this chapter was intended to show how the author of the dissertation understands P.Oxy. 840, the following conclusions can be drawn from it. The **literary quality of P.Oxy. 840** has been passed over for too long. Although there are Semitic elements in the Greek, the author has taken great care to write a chria that abounds in rhetorical devices like hendyades, parallelism, enallage, images and hyperbaton. The **length of P.Oxy. 840** becomes immediately obvious when placed alongside other chriae from the New Testament. More than anything else the second chria has been expanded by hendyades.¹ A hendyadic reading of P.Oxy. 840 takes away several of the difficulties of understanding it: *ιερόν* is the same as *ἀγνευτήριον*, set foot in this sanctuary is the same as to behold these holy vessels, to wash yourself is the same as to immerse your feet. Many of the Semitisms scholars like Jeremias highlight in P.Oxy. 840 need not be Semitisms. While Kruger notes the length of P.Oxy. 840 when compared to other controversy dialogues, he does not note the literary motivation of the author of P.Oxy. 840: the author is at pains to compose a more literary Gospel. The author seems to be concerned with providing the gospel with a higher social standing. This also comes out in the way prostitutes and pipe girls are disparaged, something that one would not expect of the gospel as it is represented in the Fourfold Gospel.

Although the first chria is often ignored in scholarship on P.Oxy. 840, it seems to preserve an **eschatology influenced by Plato** (whether directly or indirectly via Luke 18:30). Not only is the language similar to the myth of Er, but also the idea that there is punishment in this life and the next. The verb used for the concept of doing evil in P.Oxy. 840, *ἀδικέω*, is associated with punishment in the afterlife even before the time of Plato, going back as far as Pindar.

In P.Oxy. 840 the **purity map** of space is redrawn, in that Jesus and his disciples enter the temple without the standard immersion. Their baptism trumps immersion, so that a purity map of purifications is also transgressed. Finally the purity map of people is redrawn, in that the gatekeeper of the temple is vilified by Jesus as himself impure. This language seems to suggest that Jesus and his disciples are no longer part of the in-group of the temple establishment (or Judaism), but are now outsiders. This judgement agrees with Kruger and Stewart-Sykes estimation that P.Oxy. 840 belongs to a community that has already separated

¹ The first chria has only one example of hendyades.

from Judaism.² It is not clear against whom the first chria of P.Oxy. 840 directs its threat of judgement. There are at least two possibilities: firstly tyrants that persecute Christians and secondly Jews that do not accept Jesus as the Messiah.

Malachi 3:1–5 seems to be a plausible **raison d'être** for the second chria of P.Oxy. 840. It seems to pick up the same prophetic anti-Judaism aimed against the temple establishment.

P.Oxy. 840 undermines the validity of the whole law by its application of a *deductio ad absurdum*. If pigs and dogs have access to the Pool of David how can one assume the water thereof is pure? Logically speaking anything can become polluted, even water.

Although not much is preserved about the associative meaning of **scorpions** among Hebrews, it is clear from Greek, Mesopotamian and Indian folklore that scorpions could symbolize sexuality. Likewise the pipe girls also had a very sexual connotation.

Because of the cultural stereotype that Jews over-emphasized purity at the expense of morality, as shown by Chaniotis, a chria about this becomes a useful tool in terms of identity formation of Christianity as opposed to Judaism. From Norris it is clear that it is after some of the local persecutions in the second century some conception of a Christian identity separate from Judaism becomes more tangible. This is where P.Oxy. 840 seems to fit in.

8.2.2 Gnostic Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840

Based on the **theological development of the time around 150 C.E.** there is no reason to doubt that P.Oxy. 840 could not have been written by then. Recently the theories of Bovon and Miller have favoured a later dating closer to the date of the manuscript. But the fact that P.Oxy. 840 preserves textual corruptions, seems to indicate that it must have been written long before the time P.Oxy. 840's manuscript was copied.³

The concept of **living water** is a shared tradition and plays a major role in both Judaism and in Christianity. Apart from the importance attached to living water in John's Gospel (4; 7:37–38), it formed an integral part in Jewish purification rites. Justin the Gnostic sticks to the positive estimation of living water found in John, the *Epistula*

² Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 199; Stewart-Sykes, "Bathed in Living Waters," 279.

³ Bovon, "Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840," 705 proposes second or third century. Stewart-Sykes, "Bathed in Living Waters," 282 prefers an earlier date, but notes a purity controversy could have taken place any time between the second and mid-fourth centuries. One should not forget the 32 or so purity controversies preserved in the Synoptic Gospels of the first century. Miller does not want to commit himself to a date, but prefers a later dating than 150 C.E.

Apostolorum and Sethian writings but applies it to another sacrament, that of drinking water, instead of baptism. Living water is equated with baptism by *The Trimorphic Protennoia*, *The Gospel of the Egyptians* and *Zostrianos*. The *Testimony of Truth* is the only work to speak of a literal baptism of death.⁴ The *CMC* replaces purity with knowledge.

When we look at the **sources** on which these writings depend we see something interesting. When using the canonized Gospels some of the writings prefer John, writings like the Sethian works *The Trimorphic Protennoia* and *The Gospel of the Egyptians*. Some writings use at least John, Matthew and Luke, like *The Testimony of Truth* (though it also seems to have used *The Protevangelium Jacobi* which is based on synoptic accounts) and *The Gospel of Mary* (which also seems to have used *The Gospel of Thomas*). One writing prefers to use Matthew and Luke, that is, *The Book of Thomas the Contender*. This last mentioned work has also probably used *The Gospel of Thomas*. *The Paraphrase of Shem* does not prove familiarity with any of the canonized Gospels. Justin the Gnostic seems to have depended on Luke and John. The *CMC* is the only writings clearly showing familiarity with all the canonized Gospels. The following tables provide a summary of the data.

John	John & Luke	John, Matt & Luke	Matt & Luke
Sethian works	Justin the Gnostic	<i>Testim. Truth</i> <i>Gos. Mary</i>	<i>Thom. Cont.</i>

Fourfold Gospel
<i>CMC</i>

The study of Tuckett has demonstrated that in the writings of the Nag Hammadi Library the most popular Synoptic Gospel was Matthew. This is followed by Luke and then Mark. In most of the works discovered at Nag Hammadi, Matthew was evidently the most popular of the Synoptic Gospels. The works we have discussed here has shown almost as much Lukan as Matthean influence. This might be determined by the sample of texts. Even more popular among Gnostic authors than Matthew though, is John.

⁴ *Zostrianos* uses it figuratively.

Concerning the **Christological titles** we certainly do see that Saviour is often used, nowhere more so than in *The Gospel of Mary*. Though *Zostrianos* does not make many direct references to Christianity it uses Saviour once. Obviously this title must have been convenient as the author seems reluctant to sound too Christian. In *The Book of Thomas the Contender* it is also the title used most often. This is definitely one thing that these writings have in common with P.Oxy. 840. In the writings of this chapter, Saviour is only used of Jesus during either his pre-existence or after his resurrection from the dead. P.Oxy. 840 uses this epithet for Jesus during the time of his earthly ministry. *The Testimony of Truth* refers to Jesus primarily as “son of man.”

In this literature we see a Saviour set on fulfilling his unknown Father’s mission. This is also the reason that the title Saviour became so popular with them. If ever there were an international title for Jesus, this was it. Nowhere do we see this more than with *Zostrianos*. All obviously Christian titles are avoided, the only ones that do occur, are Saviour and son of God. Both these titles were highly generic so that the hearers of this treatise could apply this concept to anything imaginable. For these Christians, the Saviour was the one that saved them from evil in any form. Much of the historical character of Christianity faded into oblivion. What is more, the title Saviour could be used to refer to Jesus’ pre-existence, whereas Jesus could not. The title Saviour had more of a cosmic significance. In many of the Gnostic writings more focus is placed on this Saviour-figure. The fact that he was Jesus is almost brought in as an afterthought. This is especially clear from *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (62–64) where Seth is the Saviour and puts on Jesus only for the duration of his earthly existence. P.Oxy. 840 is different from all of these treatises that apply the title of Saviour, in that it refers to Jesus before his death and resurrection. None of these treatises uses Saviour as consistently as P.Oxy. 840. Indeed in P.Oxy. 840 it is the standard way of referring to Jesus as the subject. No other writing uses the Saviour-title as consistently.⁵

With many of these Gnostic writings we have seen little interest in the **concrete time and space** in which Jesus lived. History or even the portraying fictional events as history are rare, if not altogether absent. The obvious exception here is the *CMC*. This treatise is difficult to compare to any of the other works analysed in this chapter, but is also a text which does correspond to P.Oxy. 840 a number of times. Many of these other treatises are set in a time frame corresponding to “once upon a time.” We see this with

⁵ Cf. the reference to the Valentinian custom by Grenfell & Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 5: 8. At the same time the text of P.Oxy. 840 is but a very small sample.

Zostrianos who died during the sixth century B.C.E. and most of all with *The Paraphrase of Shem* going back to antediluvian times. Marksches notes that Gnosis was concerned with making their faith more competitive on the philosophical (or religious) market of the day.⁶ Perhaps we can conclude from this disinterest in the historical *Sitz im Leben* of Jesus that the Gnostics wanted to present a more international Jesus. The Judean background of Jesus would have hardly impressed people accustomed to cities like Rome, Antioch and Alexandria. In the process, the flesh and blood of Jesus have been stripped away. Much of the realistic character of the Synoptic material – and of P.Oxy. 840 – must go back to the form of the chria. By no means a Judeo-Christian form, Berger notes that chriae are always bound to historically recognizable personalities;⁷ chriae are very critical e.g. with regard to accepted values;⁸ chriae are very rational and do not make space for the miraculous.⁹ The Gnostic literature discussed in this chapter prefers the more Johannine model of the dialogue. Only *The Book of Thomas the Contender* and *The Gospel of Mary* contain chriae – the one not Gnostic, and the other only showing some indicators of Gnosis.

Three writings analysed in Chapter 5 portray **anti-Jewish rhetoric**: *The Gospel according to Mary*, *The Testimony of Truth* and the fragments of Justin the Gnostic. All of them argue for the abolition of the law. As most Gnostics obviously abolished the law, this is not surprising in the case of *The Gospel of Mary* and Justin the Gnostic. *The Testimony of Truth* appears to feel that the law is too liberal regarding sex. Justin the Gnostic's criticism of Israel is much more subtle. The villain, Eden, is sometimes called "Israel." Justin denies that Israel ever knew the Good (i.e. the transcendent God). Israel is accused of paternal ignorance. Naas prevails over Moses and all the prophets and Jesus is described as the only one that resists Naas to point the way to the Good. *The Testimony of Truth* appears to be an anomaly with regards to anti-Judaism among Gnostic writings. At the same time the Orthodox are resented for the same reason. Many Proto-Orthodox authors also attack Jews specifically because of their alleged sexual deviance.

Some of these works share the idea of **eschatological damnation** for sinners with P.Oxy. 840 like *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (though non-Gnostic), *The Trimorphic Protynnoia* (Sethian)

⁶ Marksches, *Die Gnosis*, 94.

⁷ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 82.

⁸ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 83.

⁹ Berger, *Formgeschichte*, 84.

Bovon portrays the Gnostics as if they all display an **anti-baptism theology**, but from our analysis it is evident what big role baptism played among Sethians and Valentinians. He has argued otherwise for at least *The Trimorphic Protennoia* and *Zostrianos*. Baptism rather seems to have been the only sacrament among the Sethians. In all three of the writings analysed in this chapter baptism is thought to be indispensable for salvation.¹⁰ The two Gnostic works defying further classification, that is, *The Paraphrase of Shem* and *The Testimony of Truth*, do betray anti-baptism ideas as Bovon has suggested. Although Bovon is correct that the Manichaeans are anti-baptism due to their roots in the Elchesaite movement, they do not relegate water entirely from their liturgy. Before prayer believers had to wash their hands. With Justin the Gnostic, Bovon is also correct that he is anti-baptism and that he felt the groundwater was defiled, yet it is also clear that Justin has established some kind of sacrament where one takes the oath Elohim took and then drinks from the living water. When we take all of this into account it hardly seems reasonable to speak of a Gnostic aversion to water baptism. Not that Gnosis ever was a unified movement.

Gnostics and Proto-Orthodox share the **symbolic view of purity** where it has diminished to a mere function of language.¹¹ The only difference between the trajectories seem to be the fact that the Proto-Orthodox continued to remember the purity chriae and felt it important to remember Jesus in this way, whereas the Gnostics felt it irrelevant for their teaching. The Fourfold Gospel with its concern to write narrative history, does often refer to purity controversies. These are the models that were important for P.Oxy. 840. Although the Gnostics agreed that purity is to be abolished they seem to have viewed these controversies as ancient history and uninteresting for their purposes. This can be explained by their tendency to dissolve the context of gospel, in favour of an esoteric teaching where the focus shifts from the third to the second person.

Against Bovon it has to be said that chriae and **controversies over purity** are so common in Judeo-Christian literature, that P.Oxy. 840 is **commonplace**. If one were to raise doubt whether such a purity controversy is really about purity and not perhaps about sacraments, then one would have to go through this whole literature and do the same. One of the main goals of this dissertation has been to look at the writings Bovon has proposed and to

¹⁰ Brakke, *The Gnostics*, 84–85.

¹¹ E.g., in describing sex as polluted (*Thom. Cont.* 144.10–12) where the metaphorical potency of purity is applied to increase the parainetic thrust of what is said.

gain a big picture of them. To refer to one or two parallel statements in inter-texts is not that difficult. But if one systematically compares these writings to P.Oxy. 840 one sees that they are quite different. The heavy mythological atmosphere, the supra-temporal quality and the abstract thought of Gnostic writings are not found in P.Oxy. 840. Parallels between P.Oxy. 840 and Gnostic texts can be explained by the similar environment in which they developed. That does not indicate a homologous relationship.

Bovon's proposals on Gnostic, Valentinian and Manichaean parallels make for interesting reading, but are not an adequate framework to understand P.Oxy. 840. An interesting parallel does not necessarily indicate a direct connection. In the words of Smith "analogy is not the same as homology." What is valuable from the parallels he has suggested is that it makes even clearer the wide currency enjoyed by concepts like living water and the soteriological effect of water. Unfortunately for the purpose of this dissertation, where we are trying to isolate criteria for placing P.Oxy. 840 on its proper trajectory, it is not of much help.

That the Saviour of P.Oxy. 840 is criticizing water baptism is a **peculiar reading of P.Oxy. 840 by Legrange, Tripp and Bovon.**¹² The *interpretatio gnostica* remains a speculative theory that cannot be proven. The most obvious reading is that the Saviour is criticizing the high priest for his over-emphasis on purification rituals. This is a commonplace *topos* in Judeo-Christian literature from 1QS 3.3–9 to the *CMC*, from the Second Temple Period to the time of the Tannaim, as Neusner has illustrated.¹³ P.Oxy. 840 belongs among the examples named on that list.

8.2.3 Jewish Christian Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840

Q, Matthew, and Lk^S reflect a solid knowledge of Jewish law and *ḥalākā*. Scholars have argued for the historicity of P.Oxy. 840, because of details that are not specifically contradicted by the primary literature and archaeology. Miller has shown that P.Oxy. 840 does not show familiarity with *miqwāôt*.¹⁴ There cannot have been a *miqweh* on the temple mountain as it would not have been able to supply it with living water. There is no evidence

¹² Credit has to be given also to Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, for showing that the baptisteries Bovon has in mind is too late to be considered for P.Oxy. 840 (the manuscript is dated to the fourth century, so that composition must have been much earlier) and Stewart-Sykes, "Bathed in Living Waters," 280 for showing that catechumens may have been forbidden to eat and drink of the Eucharist, but would have been allowed to participate. These are even more problematic for Bovon's theory of a Gnostic P.Oxy. 840.

¹³ All these examples are quoted in my chapter 3 on method under 3.3.2. Ib "Immersion as Means to Remedy Impurity."

¹⁴ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 110 which goes against what other rabbinic and Second Temple scholars have argued, e.g. Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," 271.

that split stairways were compulsory for *miqwāôt*.¹⁵ He concludes that the author's knowledge of Second Temple halachic practice can be adequately explained from what he knew from Scripture about living water in addition to what he observed of Jewish immersion practice.¹⁶ Even Safrai & Safrai, who are more positive regarding the author of P.Oxy. 840's familiarity with halachic practice, note that living impure animals could not defile purificatory water.¹⁷ This is a clear instance where the author of P.Oxy. 840 makes an allusion to Jewish legislation but where his ignorance shows. Regarding the white clothes, the same is true as what was discussed with the *CMC*: it hardly reflects learnedness to report pilgrims to the temple of Jerusalem wore white garments. This is circumstantial. Regarding the Pool of David, it is certainly possible that it existed, but would one expect an author writing around 150 C.E. to be familiar with the Second Temple that was destroyed in 70 C.E.? This level of familiarity is not even expected from the evangelist, John, writing around 100 C.E.

Scribal enactments can be transgressed, the law interpreted through Christ's teaching, but **the law cannot be abandoned**. This is clear from Q, Matthew and Papyrus Egerton. Only *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* advocates abandoning sacrifices – probably after the temple cult had come to an end anyways. P.Oxy. 840 ends up undermining the whole law.

Ebionism propagated a different degree of Judaism in advocating an **exclusive mission to Israel**. These very same words obviously depend on Matthew 10:5. Nevertheless, this is overruled by the great commission at the end of the Gospel (Matt 28:18–19) Clearly Matthew's final words show a Universalist perspective. It seems reasonable to suppose *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* did not contain the great commission found in our Matthew, as Ebionites were infamous for only practicing an Israelite mission. Matthew seems to propagate a non-Pharisaic, Judaism whereas *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* is propagating a more pro-Pharisaic Judaism. They probably did not have any awareness of being Christian as opposed to being Jewish.

The writings analysed as Jewish-Christian documents do not often use the **christological** title of Saviour.¹⁸ The occurrence of this title seems to be because of the redactional comments of Origen and Jerome. Matthew and Papyrus Egerton stick to Jesus' proper name. The Sayings Source, Q, has a peculiar preference for "son of man." By preferring the title of Saviour, P.Oxy. 840 seems to make a christological comment. People

¹⁵ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 113.

¹⁶ Miller, *At the Intersection*, 113.

¹⁷ Safrai & Safrai, "Papyrus Oxyrhynchus," 273.

¹⁸ One example is *The Testament of the Patriarchs* mentioned in my method chapter.

with a command of Hebrew would have been familiar with the saving implication of Jesus' name. P.Oxy. 840 wants to emphasize this for a non-Hebraic and most probably non-Jewish audience. The isolated chria from Didymus uses Saviour for Jesus as subject of the sentence, exactly as P.Oxy. 840 does, but it is not clear whether this text hailed from a Jewish-Christian grouping.

Some Jewish-Christian documents have a strong preference for Synoptic **sources**, like *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* (the same is true of low-indicator Jewish-Christian Gospels, i.e. *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* and *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*). *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* does not depend on a familiar Gospel as Vorlage. Papyrus Egerton by contrast is familiar with Synoptic and Johannine sources. P.Oxy. 840 has this in common with Papyrus Egerton.

These various documents depend on their Gospel sources differently. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* is a harmony of the Synoptic documents clearly goes back to a written undertaking. Its various sources can be isolated without difficulty as the colour chart shows. It is as easy to identify the sources behind *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*. This becomes much more difficult with Papyrus Egerton as it shows an indirect dependence on the Fourfold Gospel. P.Oxy. 840 also has such a relationship to its sources.

Regarding the matter of **Anti-Judaism**, Jewish-Christian documents start with a bang in Q. The Jewish-culpability theme is spelt out in the oldest reconstructible Christian source, Q. In Q it still seems uncertain who exactly is implicated in Jesus' death. Although the Pharisees are addressed, this accusation goes beyond that, in that Jesus' death and that of all the prophets is to be avenged on this generation. Despite Matthew's presentation of Jesus' ministry in terms of a Jewish framework, he is also very open to Gentiles as can be seen with the great commission. At the same time Matthew takes over the Jewish culpability theme and compounds it with the blood motif (where Jesus' blood is put on the conscience of the crowd's descendants). After the demonstration in the temple with Matthew's version of the parable of the vineyard and the tenants (21:43), the kingdom of heaven is given to another nation that will bear its fruit. This seals Israel's supersession as the elect of YHWH. Papyrus Egerton is at pains not to mention the name of Jesus' opponents, but still the implication is that Jesus' opponents are Jews that try to kill him twice and eventually succeed in doing so. Unlike John, Papyrus Egerton does not mention Ἰουδαῖοι that often. *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes'* only anti-Jewish rhetoric is levelled against John the Baptist. The idea that he could baptize for the forgiveness of sins is resented. The implication is that only Jesus might

offer such a baptism. *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* is clearly anti-sacrifice. According to the reading of this dissertation, P.Oxy. 840 applies some prophetic anti-Judaism in linking up with Malachi 3's criticism of the temple establishment. The other case of anti-Judaism of P.Oxy. 840 is found in the insinuation that Pharisees have a problem with lust as they are compared to prostitutes and that the gatekeeper, Levi, symbolic of Pharisees, is not pure. Of the writings analysed in this chapter, only Matthew 15 has something to compare this against in the controversy over the unwashed hands where Jesus' criticizes an over-emphasis on outer purity at the expense of ethical purity. The implication of Jewish lust is not found in any other treatise in this chapter.

Regarding **purity**, it is Matthew that has the most to say. Seeing that it is also the only complete writing, this also gives it an advantage above the other texts. Matthew has taken over nearly all the purity map transgressions from Mark. This shows that despite Matthew's insistence on the continued validity of the law he did not have a problem with Jesus transgressing purity maps which are scribal enactments. Where Matthew draws the line is in his version of Mark 7:1–23 (Matt 15) where he omits the idea that Jesus ever declared all foods pure in Mark 7:19 and the idea that nothing outside of man can defile him. Evidently Matthew still honoured this legislation, as can be expected, since the food laws are written into the law. Papyrus Egerton contains the chria of Jesus healing a leper from Mark 1:40–44 and Matthew 8:1–4. Papyrus Egerton seems to reflect the Matthean variant Petersen reconstructs for the Diatessaron. Jesus heals the leper by command and instructs him to show himself to the priests to fulfil the law of Moses. Importantly Jesus adds that he should not sin any more (by ever eating with lepers again). This implies that Papyrus Egerton views transgressions of purity legislations as sin.

8.2.4 Proto-Orthodox Texts Comparable to P.Oxy. 840

In more than one of the writings that have been analysed one senses some **hesitation in naming the rhetorical opponent**. This is illustrated most clearly by Papyrus Egerton. Most of the time it is addressing "the leaders of the people." Only once is it explicitly mentioned that Jesus is speaking to the lawyers. John's Gospel uses the more generic Ἰουδαῖοι for Jesus' opponents and on occasion he is more specific. Despite the fact that they are called differently, it seems evident that both Papyrus Egerton and John are in fact aiming their rhetoric against the same opponents despite Papyrus Egerton's hesitation. In Barnabas this problem is overcome by simply referring to us/them. In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus'

opponents' specific names are given whether, Pharisees, scribes, Sadducees, elders, high priests or Herodians. This is one area where P.Oxy 840 is overdetailing in naming Jesus' opponent a Pharisaic gatekeeper. The temple personnel were of course more readily associated with the Sadducees. Nevertheless, it seems clear enough that by noting the gatekeeper is Pharisaic, P.Oxy. 840 is also notifying the reader who the rhetoric is aimed against.

Justin (*Dial.* 44) argues that God has given certain precepts of the law for the sake of the people's hardness of heart. That explains why God made the compromise of allowing them to make sacrifices to Him. In his dialogue Justin (*Dial.* 123:5–7) tries to convince the Jew, Trypho, that the church has superseded Israel as the elect of God.

To a certain extent the Proto-Orthodox philosophy on **purification** is determined by the first writing analysed in this chapter, Mark. This evangelist records no less than 32 purity map violations. All four purity maps, people, places, things and times are transgressed by Jesus or his disciples. Both Matthew and Luke take over these maps *in toto*. Q 11 also emphasizes the importance of inner purity by the image of the cup that is only washed on the outside. John is the only evangelist to deviate from this pattern. Only two or three purity transgressions are reported by him. Though John needs more space to address these infringements, it seems likely that purity is less of a bone of contention by the time of John. **This begs the question why P.Oxy. 840 would address a purity controversy if it is at least fifty years later than John's Gospel.** One possible solution is that P.Oxy. 840 is intended as a literary fiction designed to look like a Gospel written in the apostolic period. Mark's position seems to have established itself among Christians, so that there was little room for any controversy. In Hebrews with its focus on supersession of Jewish institutions, we see Hebrews 10:22 touching on the issue of entering God's presence through a clear conscience and baptism rather than purificatory rituals like being sprinkled with the blood or ash of animals mentioned in Hebrews 9:13–14. This seems to inaugurate the Jewish-Christian immersion-baptism debate. Barnabas discusses this in more detail and applies Jeremiah 2:13 to show that Israel spurned baptism for the forgiveness of sins to build cisterns for immersion. Baptism is equated with Jeremiah's living water. A similar idea appears in Justin (*Dial.* 14; 19) who also applies Jeremiah 2:13 to make his point. Justin manipulates the language to make his point by calling immersion "that (useless) baptism of cisterns." Jewish baptism only purifies the body on the outside. Justin argues in Synoptic fashion that one needs ethical purificatory measures to be really pure. He implies Jews are full of vices like

anger, covetousness, envy and hatred on the inside. He adds that it is because of their carnal hermeneutic that Jews fail to understand the real meaning of Scripture. **That is where P.Oxy. 840 comes onto the scene and in which its contribution to Christian literature lies: Representative of the endangered genre of Gospel, it adds two additional arguments in the form of a *deductio ad absurdum* that Jews have the impression that water that has in actual fact been polluted by pigs and dogs has the power to purify them (similar point made by CMC).** Secondly he applies the strong image that Pharisees are like prostitutes that are beautiful on the outside but full of evil and lust on the inside. P.Oxy. 840 also calls baptism the living water. To underscore his point the author of P.Oxy. 840 makes the setting of this chria the temple in Jerusalem – which is P.Oxy. 840's way of addressing the idea of entering God's presence.

It is clear from Bibliowicz that it was especially the Proto-Orthodox faction of Christianity that got involved in **anti-Jewish polemics**. The writings discussed in this chapter form continuous development from Mark to Justin. When viewing the different perspectives in the writings it becomes clear how Christianity struggles to find its feet in these controversies.

The idea of **Jewish lust** seems to have started because of cultural stereotypes as recorded in Tacitus early in the second century. An enigmatic reference to Jews doing the lusts of their father, the devil, is made in John 7:44. The dualistic thinking used by Paul with regard to the opposition between flesh and spirit, carnal and spiritual seems to have had a major impact on Christian thinking. Barnabas makes this sexual deviance pertinent and explains the cause of this lust as the Jewish resistance to go beyond the literal and carnal meaning of scripture to interpret it allegorically. Prohibitions on eating hares, hyenas and weasels were never about literally eating them. All of this was meant by Moses to be understood in an allegorical way to mean different kinds of sexual sins. By having misunderstood this, Jews were vulnerable to sexual perversion. Christians or “we” as the author calls them, interpret Scripture spiritually, making it possible for them to understand it correctly. This is developed by Justin who gives examples of the way Jews fail to understand Scripture by applying allegorical interpretations. This method makes it possible for Justin (*Dial. 134*) to argue that Jews justify their polygamous lifestyle because of stopping at the literal understanding of Scripture. Justin refers to Jacob marrying the two sisters and argues that Leah should be understood as the synagogue and Rachel as the church. He accomplishes this by noting Jacob is a cypher for Israel and Israel is a cypher for Jesus, so that he concludes

that this story prophesied God's election of the church all along. Justin also applies Ezra 10:44 to show how Israel committed fornication with foreigners and had to be reprimanded for this. P.Oxy. 840 applies a chria and compares Pharisees with prostitutes that are beautiful on the outside, but are full of injustice and lust.¹⁹ Being limited by the confines of a chria, P.Oxy. 840 cannot draw this picture with the same broad strokes Justin can in a Socratic dialogue. P.Oxy. 840 stands in this same tradition. It is noteworthy that the two metaphors used in P.Oxy. 840 the prostitutes/pipe girls and scorpion-images are both of a sexual nature. This might provide us with an identity of the generic “evil” (*κακία*) that is found twice in the short fragment. P.Oxy. 840 seems to have been especially concerned with sexual sin. We know from contemporary literature including Paul that the ethics of Christianity was extremely important to early Christian identity, especially the sexual ethics inherited from the mother religion, Judaism. If P.Oxy. 840 is to be located at the time of Justin this makes even more sense. At the time of Justin and Tatian, asceticism was a widespread feature of Christian faith. This feature has been associated with many Christian communities to this day. In Chapter 7 it was shown how Jewish sexual ethics was one of the main bones of contention in the Jewish-Christian polemic. It is tragic that Christianity changed this characteristic inherited from its mother-religion against the mother.

The **christological title** of “Saviour” does not feature in the Proto-Orthodox texts that have been analysed in this chapter. It is used on 3% of the occasions in the *Epistula Apostolorum* and 4% of the times as “Lord and Saviour.” Nevertheless “Lord” is clearly preferred. The use of “Saviour” in Proto-Orthodox circles only seems to have caught on in the time of Clement of Alexandria.

Although John starts the **language of living water**, or life-giving water, it is not clear from the Gospel that this is to be understood as baptism. Seeing that Gospel as genre is concerned with the life and passion of Jesus, it is not possible for a Gospel to discuss baptism. Barnabas (11) is the first author on record to connect baptism with the living water spoken of in Jeremiah 2:13. He equates baptism with the remission of sins, which was actually a predicate for John the Baptist’s baptism. It is clear that Barnabas attributes soteriological powers to baptism. The *Epistula Apostolorum* (27), a very Johannine writing, connects the living water to baptism. It is living water, because it has soteriological significance, opening the door to heaven for the baptized. This is even more significant as it is in Hades that Jesus is baptizing figures from the Tanak, that is the patriarchs, like

¹⁹ As has been noted in this dissertation’s reading of P.Oxy. 840, scorpions signify lust.

Abraham. Justin continues in Barnabas footsteps and also connects baptism with Jeremiah 2:13. For Justin only baptism as the water of life is able to purify those that have repented. Because of the fact that P.Oxy. 840 is bound by the format of a chria it is not at liberty to explain as much as Justin can with a Socratic dialogue. It only mentions living water. At this point the text unfortunately breaks off. Seen in the light of the meaning of living water testified to, not only by the Proto-Orthodox authors, Barnabas, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, and Justin, but also the Sethian writings, *The Trimorphic Protynnoia*, *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Zoroaster* and Justin the Gnostic, it is clear enough that the equation of living water and baptism was common to many Christians during the second century. Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that living water in P.Oxy. 840 is to be understood as baptism. Compared to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, P.Oxy. 840 is an **institutional dinosaur**. The author of P.Oxy. 840 uses so many words to tell such a short chria. He seems frustrated by the medium he has chosen. It may have been chosen out of refusal to use the new literary technology available to Christians, that is Christian philosophy.

By using a **chria**, P.Oxy. 840 chooses a medium of expression that is hardly used by Gnostics. The last mentioned group had a clear preference for Johannine dialogues. This does not disassociate P.Oxy. 840 from Jewish-Christian material. The fact that P.Oxy. 840 makes itself guilty of anti-Judaism and that of such a slanderous variety seems to be a clear indication that it is not to be associated with Jewish Christianity.²⁰ This chapter has demonstrated how characteristic a motif Jewish lust had become by the time of Justin and P.Oxy. 840. Jewish-Christians could of course also apply anti-Judaism to make their point, but an accusation of sexual depravity of their own people seems unlikely. In Jewish-Christian circles prophetic anti-Judaism would be more palatable. We did see that Jewish lust played a role in the *Testimony of Truth* it is true, but so does Proto-Orthodox lust, as the *Testimony* is an Encratite document. P.Oxy. 840's argument does not make sense legally speaking. A Jewish-Christian would have made a more fitting illustration. P.Oxy. 840 does not pass the shibboleth-test regarding knowledge of Jewish legal practice.

When we compare Gnostics' **utilization of the familiar Gospels** with that of Jewish-Christian trajectories and Proto-Orthodox Churches, there is a clear difference in the importance attached to the Gospels. It stands out that it is not important in Gnosis to argue based upon the Gospels. A recognizable canon plays a lesser role. In Jewish- Christian and

²⁰ If one would argue that John's Gospel should be seen as a Jewish-Christian Gospel it would not mean that John as a Christian that is still Jewish intended to initiate the slander of Jewish lust. John seems to use ἐπιθυμία in terms of "sin" that is rather general.

Proto-Orthodox literature a different picture emerges. There material is used from an authoritative tradition (that later became the Gospels of our canon) without giving credit to the author whether it was taken from Q, Mark, or the rest of the Fourfold Gospel. Often material will be quoted as a dominical saying, without any indication that the material is taken over from another source (today this is called plagiarism).²¹ At the same time it is clear that citations in the first half of the second century were not at all done accurately – not by any trajectory. In this sense the Gnostic writings looked at in Chapter 5 are much more independent of a literary canon than the Proto-Orthodox literature. Even more interesting is that Gospels like Q and Mark were absorbed in toto by super-gospels like Matthew and Luke.²² In their case the Gospel(s) used is (/are) held to be authoritative. One literally has to go through the data associated with Gnosis with a fine comb to find parallels to prior Gospels. In looking at the texts from the other two trajectories it is much easier to establish parallels as they are drenched with the language found in the Gospels, even if somewhat sloppy. This is clear from Chapter 6 and 7.

The genre of Gospel appears to have become obsolete as a creative art form by the time of Justin. It seems to be the success of the Fourfold Gospel in providing a complete narration of the gospel of Jesus that brought on the end of the genre. One would expect that before this time had come literary evidence should be available for reflecting the widespread popularity of the Fourfold Gospel. Justin seems to be the first author to incorporate material from all four of these evangelists. It seems that he held the Synoptics in higher regard than John as the ἀπομνημονεύματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Irenaeus seems to have recorded the oldest preserved articulation of the Fourfold Gospel canon.²³ In dating P.Oxy. 840 around 150 C.E., it is placed at the same time as Justin where a Fourfold Gospel canon seems to be unofficially accepted by the majority of Christians. One would expect P.Oxy. 840 to show the same appreciation of the Fourfold Gospel. The study of Kruger has argued convincingly that P.Oxy. 840 used the redacted versions of Matthew 23:13–32 and Luke 11:37–52 and to a lesser extent Mark 7:1–23, though only with an indirect dependence. Living water must go back ultimately to John’s Gospel.²⁴ At the same time this familiarity with the Fourfold Gospel is not immediately obvious. This familiarity seems to have shaped the author of P.Oxy. 840’s theology more than anything else.

²¹ Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 87.

²² Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 335.

²³ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.11.8

²⁴ Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 161–175.

Although many scholars propose **parallels to the Fourfold Gospel** for Early Christian texts, it has become a feature of this dissertation that for the second century it is not always easy to detect whether an author is dependent on the Fourfold Gospel or not. This brings a unique challenge to scholars looking at this time frame to think outside of the framework that the canonical Gospels should underlie everything. Even for the first century it appears to be easier to determine which sources are used: Matthew and Luke plagiarized all of Mark, John used Mark and Luke.²⁵ The authors of the second century had a great deal of freedom when working with the texts. A difficult problem to solve is often the chicken and egg problem where one has to ask, for example, whether Papyrus Egerton or John is older.

After the Fourfold Gospel had become accepted, **the need for new Gospels** must have diminished. There was just a short period where people would still write Gospels that were in agreement with the Fourfold Gospel. This narrows down the dating of P.Oxy. 840 to around 150, shortly after the *terminus post quem* for the acceptance of the Fourfold Gospel by the *Epistula Apostolorum*. After this short spell there could only be scope for a unique Gospel maybe interacting with the fourfold Gospel, but not an imitation. Another example of this would be *The Apocryphon of James*, though we do not have any idea as to its popularity.

It has been demonstrated that the *Testimony of Truth* and *The Paraphrase of Shem* are very **negative towards the idea of baptism** and that they in fact deny that Jesus was baptized in the first place. Amongst the so-called Jewish-Christian Gospels we also saw how *The Gospel of the Nazarenes* denied Jesus' baptism. This is only superficially similar as the two Gnostic writings oppose the idea that water can purify from sin, while *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes* is involved in a polemic against John the Baptist and his followers.

Bovon's proposals on Gnostic, Valentinian and Manichaean parallels are not an adequate framework to understand P.Oxy. 840. An interesting parallel does not necessarily indicate a direct connection. In the words of Smith "analogy is not the same homology." What is valuable from the parallels he has suggested is that it makes even clearer the wide currency enjoyed by concepts like living water, the soteriological effect of water and the symbolic understanding of purity. For the purpose of this dissertation where we are trying to isolate criteria for placing P.Oxy. 840 on its proper trajectory, it is not of much help.

That the Saviour of P.Oxy. 840 is criticizing water baptism is a peculiar reading of P.Oxy. 840 by Legrange, Tripp and Bovon. The *interpretatio gnostica* remains a speculative theory that cannot be proven. The most obvious reading is that the Saviour is criticizing the

²⁵ Pokorný & Heckel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 688. Perhaps it is better to say the results are on firmer ground, for here one has the problem of which Gospel was first.

high priest for his over-emphasis on purification rituals. This is a common-place *topos* in Judeo-Christian literature from 1QS 3.3–9 to the *CMC*, from the Second Temple Period to the time of the *Tannaim*, as Neusner has illustrated.²⁶ P.Oxy. 840 belongs among the examples named on that list. Credit has to be given also to Kruger for showing that the baptisteries Bovon has in mind are too late to be considered for P.Oxy. 840 (the manuscript is dated to the fourth century, so that composition must have been much earlier) and Stewart-Sykes for showing that catechumens may have been forbidden to eat and drink of the Eucharist, but would have been allowed to participate.²⁷ These are even more problematic for Bovon's theory of a Gnostic P.Oxy. 840.

Kruger's classification of P.Oxy. 840 as a Jewish-Christian, or Nazarene, document is not convincing. As has become evident in my method chapter after Luomanen's research Epiphanius' testimony on the Nazarenes seems dubious. Even if Epiphanius' account were entirely accurate, it would always remain a tall order to match the data of one and a half chriae with such a sect. Nazarene has always been the Eastern word for Christian. Nazarene Jewish-Christianity becomes a shadow one tries to embrace. Equally problematic is Kruger's reification of hypothetical title *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*. While the title *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* can be applied without objection to the Ebionites, as it goes back to a uniform tradition ("The Gospel the Ebionites use" in Epiphanius), this is not the case with the title *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes*. If the theory of a Jewish-Christian trajectory is considered, it seems evident that there are no positive signs for assuming a Jewish(-Christian) author for P.Oxy. 840. The argumentation is rhetorical and if analysed carefully comes across as ignorant of Jewish legislation. It is not necessary to explain P.Oxy. 840's interest in purity by postulating a *Sitz im Leben* where conservative and less conservative Jewish Christians are engaged in polemics as Kruger proposes. Chaniotis' research shows that **cultural stereotypes existed that Jews overemphasized purity** at the expense of ethics. Later Greeks thought the same about their own forefathers and would have been sensitive to other cultures that did not yet see the light. Such a scenario where the author is more exposed to Greek thinking (e.g. the literary skills, the rhetorical device of *deductio ad absurdum* and his Platonic basis) and betrays some ignorance of Jewish thinking seems more

²⁶ Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 78. All these examples are quoted in my method chapter 3 under 3.3.2. Ib "Immersion as Means to Remedy Impurity." 1 QS 3.3–9; Philo of Alexandria, *Det.* 20; *Deus* 7–8; *Spec.* 3.209; The controversy between John the Baptist and Pharisees reported in Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116–119 and Luke 3:7–8; the controversies between Jesus and other Jewish groups; *t. Kippurim* 1:12; *CMC*.

²⁷ Stewart-Sykes, "Bathed in Living Waters," 280.

plausible than to postulate some kind of Jewish-Christian audience.²⁸ What better tool existed to construct an identity separate from Judaism? Like Bovon, Kruger has proposed a speculative theory to make sense of P.Oxy. 840. A careful analysis of the available evidence should rather be used to determine the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840. The evidence should determine the reading, not the other way round. Kruger's argument of the Jewish-Christian provenance of P.Oxy. 840 is not textual, but more of a theological approach where he has tried to match dogmatic criteria with what he can find in P.Oxy. 840. In this dissertation a textual approach has been followed instead, where comparisons have been made with more Jewish(-Christian) material and P.Oxy. 840 to identify the different strategies Jewish authors apply.

To a certain extent all the parallels this dissertation has looked at has informed the reading. It has become clear **how much these trajectories overlapped**. After Justin's time this pluralism diminished. The mono-episcopal powers that (would) be would suppress the idea of overlap to carve out its own identity. The further one goes back in time the more this overlap would be visible. For this reason one would expect P.Oxy. 840 to show some features of Gnosis, that is, the appropriation of Platonic ideas and the use of the title of Saviour. This is because there were not as yet clear chains of command in Christianity where doctrine would be policed. This would only come after the time of Constantine.

It should be noted that this dissertation argues for a **baptismal interpretation of P.Oxy. 840 like Stewart-Sykes, Ferguson and Miller, despite taking the early date of P.Oxy. 840 for granted**. As has been shown in this dissertation since Hebrews baptism has been opposed to immersion and other purificatory rites. The more time progressed, the more immersion would start dominating Jewish purification at the expense of sprinkling blood and ashes, which was associated more with the temple cult. At the same it should be remembered that to Christians that were outsiders to Judaism, the most visible Jewish purificatory rite would have been immersion.

For the **form criticism** of P.Oxy. 840 the following was important. The statements of woe, the rebuking, the rhetoric of "Pharisees are full of *x* and *y*" ultimately go back to the Sayings Source, Q. The medium of chria used by P.Oxy. 840 seems to be used for the first time by Mark. Both Mark and Q apply the inside/outside-duality that is such a feature of P.Oxy. 840's theology. Even if other Gospels might have acted as host for these forms these forms ultimately go back to Q and Mark. To understand P.Oxy. 840 these are also the most

²⁸ Seeing that the time of the Principate (P.Oxy. 840's time) was culturally dominated by Greeks, despite being under Roman political control, this would hardly be surprising.

important yardsticks to measure P.Oxy. 840 against. Similar forms occur in the Fourfold Gospel and in the Jewish-Christian Gospels.²⁹ The Gnostic writings Bovon has proposed for comparison with P.Oxy. 840 do not use the medium of the chria, showing a clear preference for the Johannine dialogue. The unrivalled pre-immanence of the chria in Christianity passes away at the time of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* and the Dialogues with the Redeemer. This development would thrust Christianity onto the philosophical stage. P.Oxy. 840 seems to have been exposed to some Platonic philosophy, whether directly or indirectly, but does not make its point in a philosophical form like Justin would. P.Oxy. 840. seems to stand on this threshold with Justin. Unlike Justin it takes recourse to the old Christian forms. At the same time there was an audience for a Gospel like that of which P.Oxy. 840 was a part. The manuscript fragment we call P.Oxy. 840 was copied almost two centuries after its composition.

8.2.5 Summa

In the end it seems reasonable to conclude that **P.Oxy. 840 can be placed on an anti-Jewish trajectory** stretching from Mark to Justin. Although anti-Judaism was not limited to Proto-Orthodoxy within Christianity as can be seen by the *Testimony of Truth*, it does seem to have played a bigger role in Proto-Orthodoxy, probably because of its appropriation of Jewish Scriptures in contrast to Gnostics and therefore a sub-conscious need to distance oneself from Judaism.³⁰

The way P.Oxy. 840 fits on the trajectory that has developed in chapter 7 tells a story. Although Q 11 was discussed in chapter 6, one could see the idea of washing the inside of the cup so that the whole cup is clean. This idea is followed up in Q by the language of “full of x,” x being some or other vice. That P.Oxy. 840’s trajectory starts in another chapter, need not alarm us, for Christianity started as a Jewish movement. The further one goes back the more this is apparent. Because we are applying the trajectory methodology it is also possible to change direction. Something that also starts in Q is the anti-Jewish idea that this generation will be held responsible for Jesus’ death. Similar anti-Judaism is found in Mark. In Mark we witness the transgression of 32 purity maps by Jesus and his disciples. Mark seems to start the idea of the supersession of the temple in Jerusalem, although it remains a mystery how the demonstration in the temple is to be understood. Mark is our first source for the

²⁹ *The Gospel according to Thomas* does not use chriae, but strips them of their immediate context, so as to only include the element περιέπειται (Jesus said).

³⁰ Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles*.

setting of chriae introduced as καὶ περιέπατεὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. With John's Gospel one sees the mystical teaching about living water. John also uses the setting καὶ περιέπατεὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, but to introduce dialogues. In John's Gospel supersession gets underway in earnest. Access to God's presence is no longer through a temple, but is in the temple of Jesus' body. John mentions in passing that Jesus' opponents, the Ἰουδαῖοι do the lusts of their father the devil. In the Epistle to the Hebrews supersession is carried out through analytical argument. The author makes drawn out comparisons between the old and Jewish and the new faith. He touches on the idea that one can enter God's presence through a clean conscience and a clean body, indicating ethical purity and baptism. He also asks the rhetorical question that if the blood and ash of animals could purify the body, how much more can the blood of Jesus purify the conscience. These ideas are taken further by Barnabas. *The Epistle of Barnabas* rigorously illustrates how all the Jewish institutions are invalid. He also addresses the institution of immersion. He quotes Jeremiah 2:13 and is the first to equate living water with baptism. He argues that Israel preferred building cisterns to being baptized in living water, a baptism that could serve as pardon their sins. Barnabas starts the theory that Jewish lust – as was the common stereotype as Tacitus shows – is caused by their carnal exegesis. By failing to penetrate beyond the literal meaning of Scripture, they have made themselves vulnerable to sexual temptations. The *Epistula Apostolorum* takes a few steps back and argues that Jews and Gentiles have the same hope of salvation and all have their part to play in the kingdom. It is the oldest writing to refer to all the books of the Fourfold Gospel. Its citations are very sloppy. It applies these sources to reconstruct its own narratives of the Lord' resurrection. Justin Martyr takes up the reins where Barnabas left them regarding the anti-Jewish rhetoric. He mentions various examples of how the carnal Jewish hermeneutic blocks them from seeing God's message. The synagogue is no longer the elect, but has been replaced by the church. Justin also uses Jeremiah 2:13 to argue against the futility of immersion. Justin calls immersion "that useless baptism of cisterns." Such a baptism can only purify the outside, but ethical purificatory measures are what are required. Jews are full of vices. This carnal hermeneutic stops Jews from understanding God's message.

P.Oxy. 840 also argues that immersion is useless to purify the evil inside. Jesus and his disciples have been baptized in living water. The Jewish opponent, named Levi is compared to prostitutes and is full of evil and lust. That seems to be the trajectory of P.Oxy. 840 mapped from Q to Justin Martyr.

P.Oxy. 840's message that true purity is inside purity, or ethical purity is nothing new. This point has already been made by Mark. **P.Oxy. 840's contribution lies in its argument that immersion is an inadequate means of purification.** The purification that is lasting is baptism. This message is hardly anything new and quickly became obsolete. The victory of the Fourfold Gospel made it indispensable. It might explain why such a rhetorically impressive Gospel would eventually be forgotten two to three hundred years after its composition. P.Oxy. 840 was not hidden like other sectarian literature the Nag Hammadi Library or the Dead Sea Scrolls as a means to preserve it. This highly rhetorical Gospel that aspired to compete with the Fourfold Gospel and dared to challenge the temple establishment and Pharisees for their lack of inner purity was destined for a rubbish heap that would be covered by the sands of Egypt.

8.3 Summary of Contributions

P.Oxy. 840 is concerned with the supersession of immersion by baptism – not the supersession of the *miqweh* as Shellberg argued.³¹

Living water refers to baptism, as it has soteriological properties. This reference for living water is confirmed by Barnabas, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, Justin Martyr, as well as the Gnostic writings of *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, *The Trimorphic Protennoia* and *Zostrianos*.

Bovon's reading that P.Oxy. 840 is to be understood as a Gnostic writing is not supported by evidence. There are no positive indicators of Gnosis. Bovon's reading is to remain a speculative theory. The form of chria is not readily utilized by Gnostic writings. Gnostic writings tend to have a more supra-temporal and mythological quality than P.Oxy. 840.

Kruger's specific reading that P.Oxy. 840 is to be understood as a Nazarene document is not supported by evidence. Luomanen's research has shown that Epiphanius' information on the Nazarenes is dubious to say the least. Jerome's Nazarenes appear to be a local group of Christians in Syria that do not differ from the Orthodox Christianity of Jerome's day.

Kruger's less specific reading of P.Oxy. 840 as a Jewish-Christian document is not supported by the evidence. There are no indicators of a Jewish-Christian identity for P.Oxy. 840. It does not argue like one would expect Jewish-Christian authors would. P.Oxy. 840

³¹ Miller, *At the Intersection*, shows that P.Oxy. 840 need not reflect familiarity with a *miqweh*, as it cannot be expected to have known the later Rabbinic prescriptions for a *miqweh*. Immersion is more significant as institution than the space in which one is immersed.

misunderstands the law to the effect that impure living animals can defile water. One would rather expect a Jewish-Christian author to use arguments that reflect knowledge of the law and Pharisaic *ḥalākā*. Kruger's Jewish-Christian reading of P.Oxy. 840 is to remain a speculative theory.

Of the trajectories looked at in this study P.Oxy. 840 shows some indicators of Proto-Orthodoxy and no indicators of Gnosis or Jewish-Christianity. The indicators of Proto-Orthodox identity may not be entirely compelling. Because of the early date of P.Oxy. 840 around 150 C.E. Proto-Orthodoxy was as yet not very developed, so that this might account for some of the ambivalence in the final results. Justin's brand of Christian philosophy seems to have given an important impetus to the development of Proto-Orthodoxy. In the final analysis the evidence shows that with regards to anti-Judaism, supersession and baptism, P.Oxy. 840 is to be placed on a trajectory from Q to Justin Martyr.

8.4 Future Research

Like with Papyrus Egerton one could study P.Oxy. 840 as an oral text to see if this might explain some of its features like its similarity to familiar Gospels, but also the difference between them.

This dissertation has been concerned with showing that it is possible that P.Oxy. 840 can fit into second century due to similar theological developments elsewhere. Perhaps there is room for a study on why P.Oxy. 840 might fit better into the third century as Bovon has proposed.

If one could connect P.Oxy. 840 with other Gospel fragments it will contribute a great deal in understanding P.Oxy. 840 better. Avenues to explore: *The Gospel of the Saviour* (Berliner Evangelienfragment) that takes place between the Last Supper and the betrayal of Jesus. It shares P.Oxy. 840's habit of calling Jesus "Saviour." Although it is very fragmentary it presents Jesus as saying "I am the fountain of water (83),"³² and shows Jesus presenting the (heavenly?) city of Jerusalem to his disciples and reflecting on it.³³ Another fragment thereof speaks of milk and honey and the spring of [the water] of life. Unfortunately *The Gospel of the Saviour* is very fragmentary, so that conjectures are required to give meaning to the text.

³² ΑΝΟΚ Π[ε] [τπηγ]Η ΕΑΜΟ[ογ.][]..]CO..[2Α][ΜΗ]Η

³³ Emmel, "The Recently Published Gospel of the Saviour," 60 proposes the textual conjecture of Jesus calling the city "the Father's tabernacle."

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10 SUMMARY

P.Oxy. 840 is a fragment of a lost Gospel that was published by Grenfell & Hunt in 1908. Prima facie P.Oxy. 840 contains a controversy dialogue between Jesus and a high priest regarding purity set within the temple of Jerusalem. The research history shows that the most controversial aspects of P.Oxy. 840 are its historical plausibility, what inter-texts relate to it, how the text is to be reconstructed, and what kind of Christianity lies behind P.Oxy. 840. This dissertation attempts to classify the Christianity of P.Oxy. 840. In the past three trajectories have been proposed in answer to this problem: orthodoxy, Gnosis and Jewish Christianity.

This study attempts to answer this research problem by means of a comparative analysis of P.Oxy. 840's inter-texts. A comparative key for analysing texts is designed in accordance with Smith's comparative approach to religions. 22 Representative texts from the three trajectories are compared with P.Oxy. 840 that show comparable theological positions regarding purity and anti-Judaism, and that utilize the same form (*chria*). The three trajectories, Gnosis, Jewish Christianity and Proto-Orthodoxy are then described as proper taxonomies that can help us classify texts according to their trajectory. The dissertation's classificatory approach understands the various trajectories descriptively in terms of each other, instead of right or wrong (orthodox or heterodox). At the same time the study is informed by a historical conscience, sensitive to the development of theology within the second century.

Chapter 4 is the articulation of the author's reading of P.Oxy. 840. Two theological positions emerge: Firstly, P.Oxy. 840 contains strong anti-Jewish polemic, accusing its opponents of lust. Secondly, P.Oxy. 840 motivates the supersession of immersion by baptism ("living water").

Chapter 5 looks at Gnostic inter-texts comparable to P.Oxy. 840. It emerges that Gnostics had the same symbolic understanding of purity as the Proto-Orthodox had. Bovon's idea of a typical Gnostic anti-baptism is undermined. Bovon underestimates the metaphorical reference of "baptism." The similarities between P.Oxy. 840 and the *CMC* is judged to be circumstantial. Similar logical methodology and a shared literary canon can account for this. Anti-Jewish polemic is not that common in Gnostic literature.

Chapter 6 analyses Jewish-Christian inter-texts comparable to P.Oxy. 840. Problems in Kruger's identification of P.Oxy. 840 with the Nazarene community are shown. By looking at Jewish Christian literature it becomes evident that P.Oxy. 840's argumentation is

entirely different. P.Oxy. 840 undermines the whole law, while this literature is at pains to uphold it. P.Oxy. 840 appears ignorant of Jewish theology.

Chapter 7 examines Proto-Orthodox inter-texts (or at least inter-texts later absorbed by Proto-Orthodoxy) comparable to P.Oxy. 840. Of all the trajectories anti-Judaism plays the biggest role with the Proto-Orthodox. The accusation of Jewish lust becomes characteristic of the emerging Orthodox movement. In the literature of the Proto-Orthodox (both that written by them and that appropriated by them later on) it becomes ever more important to distance oneself from Jewish institutions. Supersessionism becomes an important tool to do this. One of these institutions that is superseded is purificatory immersion by baptism. This idea develops on a trajectory that can be expressed as Q-Mark-John-Hebrews-Barnabas-Justin/P.Oxy. 840. While Justin makes his point through the invention of abstract Christian philosophy, P.Oxy. 840 is an institutional dinosaur that utilizes the chria (attached to the genre of Gospel) to make its point.

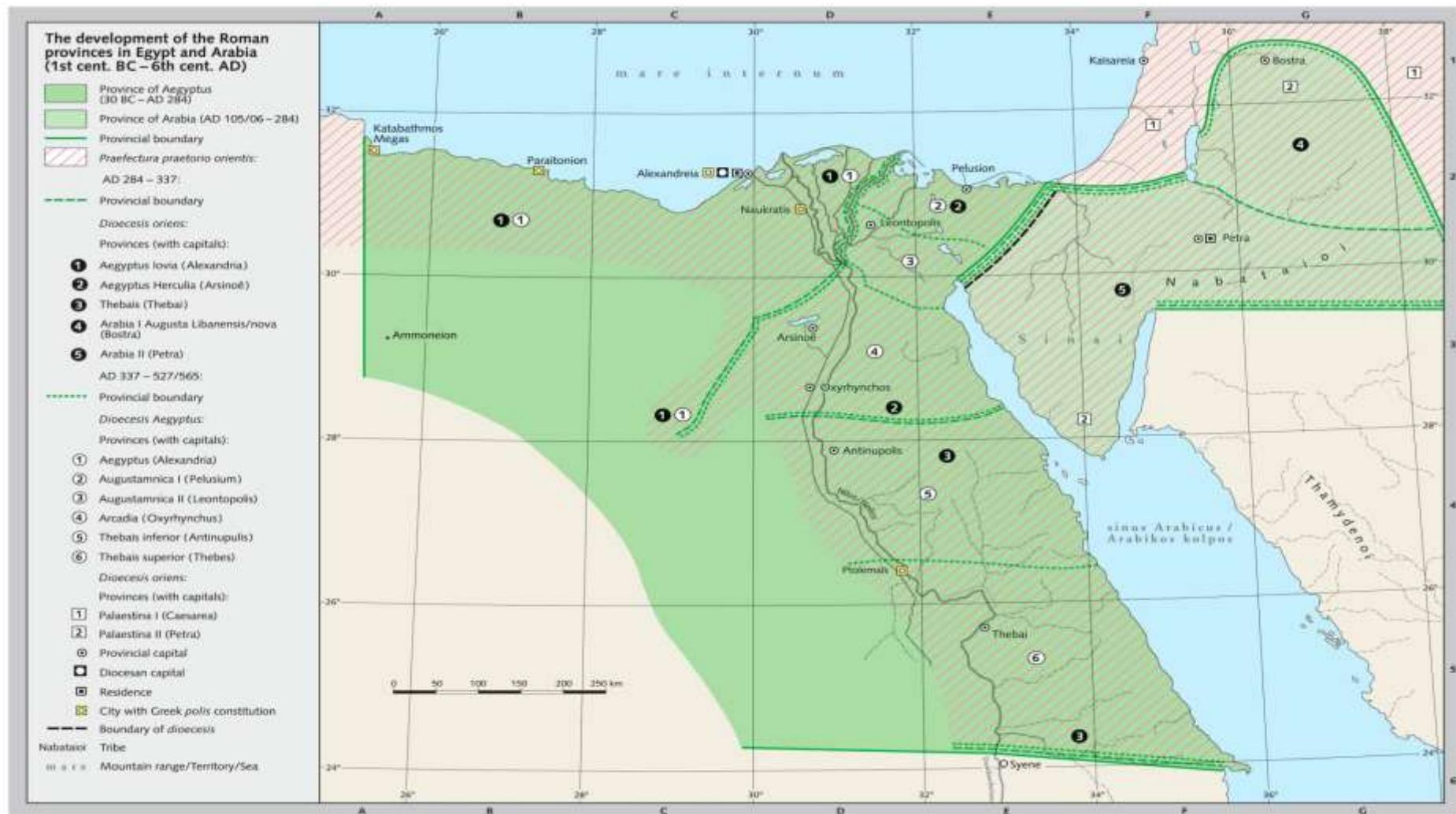
11 KEY WORDS

trajectory	chria
Proto-Orthodox	Gnosis
Jewish-Christian	supersessionism
carnal exegesis	Jewish lust
sexual deviance	anti-Judaism
purity	immersion
polemic on baptism and immersion	<i>deductio ad absurdum</i>
Fourfold Gospel	charter myth
hendyades	Semitism
second century Christianity	orthodox

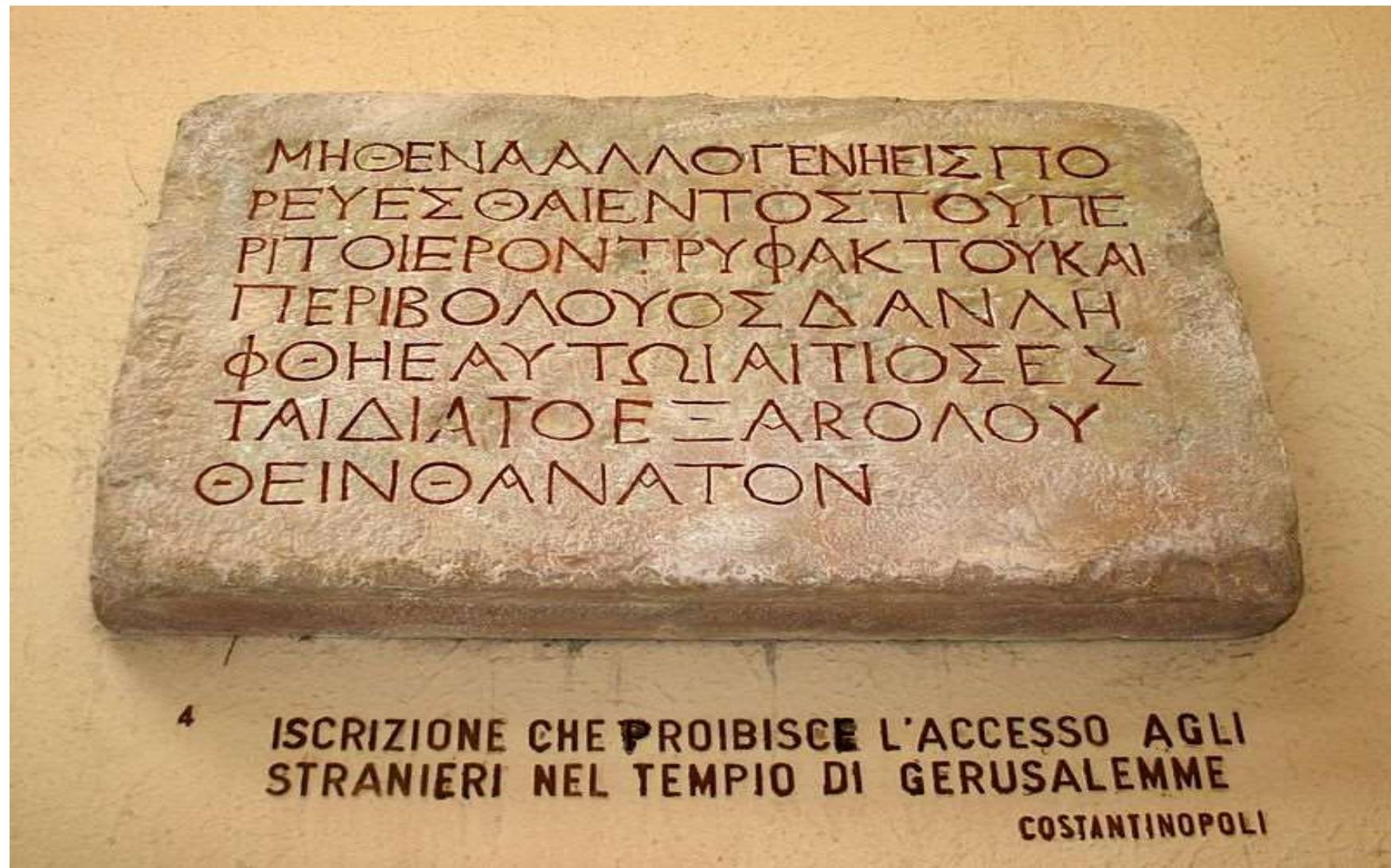
12 APPENDIX

Credits

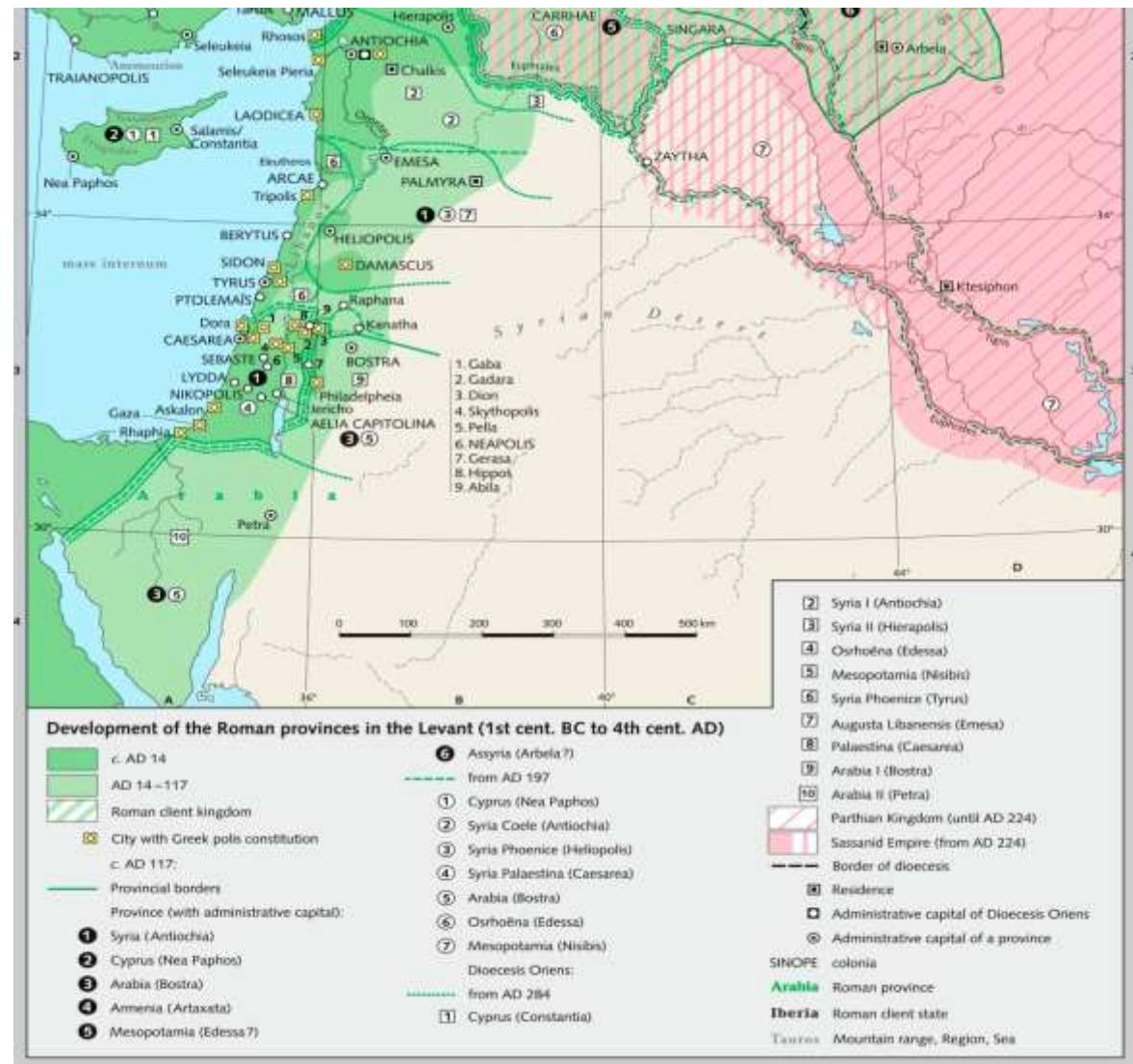
1. Eckhart Olshausen, “The development of the Roman provinces in Egypt and Arabia (1st cent. BC – 6th cent. AD),” in *Brill’s New Pauly Supplements I Vol. 3: Historical Atlas of the World* (ed. A. Wittke, E. Olshausen & R. Szydlak). Online Edition.
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4. British Museum. Mithras Slaying the Bull ($\tau\alpha\wp\kappa\tau\omega\varsigma$). Cited 6 October 2016. Online: <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/originals/eb/3d/74/eb3d74dc6bdafbf09c9e789fab7e12a4.jpg>
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1.



2. Copy of the balustrade inscription of the temple in Jerusalem



3.



4. Mithras slays the bull (note the scorpion attacking the bull's testicles)



4. Close-up of the scorpion attacking the testicles



5. At a symposium a *ētaípa* (with the characteristic short hair) is playing a pair of oboes, while one of the guests reaches for her



6. The ancient oboe goes back to New Kingdom Egypt. The richly dressed guests are entertained by dancers and musicians who sit on the ground playing. The girl in the front and middle is playing a pair of oboes (*weddeny*). The erotic dimensions are obvious even here.



7. Tyrian *shekel* (series issued from 125/6 B.C.E.–65/6 C.E.)

On the left is the head of a laureate Melqart-Heracles and on the right is an eagle on the beak of a ship, flanked by dates and a club. Although the legend is not entirely visible on the above specimen, it said TYPOY IEPAΣ KAI ASΥΛΟΥ, that is, “of Tyre the holy [city] and [city] of refuge”

