THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers

Edited by

ANDREW GREGORY AND CHRISTOPHER TUCKETT

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Preface

The essays and studies included in these two volumes are intended to update, to develop, and to widen the scope of the issues considered by members of 'A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology' in their landmark and still valuable reference book, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*. That volume was published by the Clarendon Press in 1905, and it is to acknowledge the importance of that famous book that these companion volumes are published in its centenary year. The 1905 volume was very much a product of Oxford, albeit by a number of scholars who may have been on the fringes of university life (as John Muddiman explains, in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 107); Kirsopp Lake is listed among the contributors as Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Leiden, but he was curate of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin in Oxford until his appointment to that chair in 1904.

Oxford connections remain important in these centenary volumes. Both editors are members of the Oxford Theology Faculty, and these papers represent the first-fruits of an ongoing research project on the New Testament and the second century that is supported by the Theology Faculty. Yet there is also a strong international dimension to the research presented in these volumes, for the contributors are drawn from Belgium, Germany, Canada, the USA, and South Africa, as well as from Oxford and elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Many of the papers were presented and discussed at a conference held at Lincoln College, Oxford, in April 2004; others were written solely for publication. But this collection is by no means just another Conference Proceedings; all the contributions printed here have been through the process of peer review that is customary in academic publishing.

The chapters that appear in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* offer a comprehensive and rigorous discussion of the extent to which the writings later included in the New Testament were known, and cited (or alluded to), by the Apostolic Fathers, and they do so in the light of contemporary research on the textual traditions of both corpora. The chapters in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* are also sensitive to these issues, but offer a representative sample of a range of issues that arise in the comparative study of these texts. They cannot be comprehensive, because they address wider questions than those addressed in the companion volume, but they advance contemporary discussion and understanding of each of the Apostolic Fathers and much of the New

Testament in the wider context of Christian origins and development in the first and second centuries.

Both editors are glad to thank various people for their help in producing these volumes. We are grateful to Hilary O'Shea, who brought the proposal before the Delegates of Oxford University Press, and to Lucy Qureshi, who saw the volumes through from their acceptance by the Press until their publication. Dorothy McCarthy, Enid Barker, Amanda Greenley, Samantha Griffiths and Jean van Altena each helped us to keep to a tight production schedule and gave valuable advice on many points of detail. Particular thanks are due to the anonymous reader who read a large typescript with great speed and equal care, and offered a number of helpful and incisive suggestions.

OUP provided financial support for our conference, as did the British Academy, the Zilkha Fund of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the Theology Faculty of Oxford University. We are glad to acknowledge the assistance of each. Adam Francisco provided indispensable help in running the conference website, which allowed delegates to read papers in advance, and was of great assistance throughout the planning and administration of the conference, as were Mel Parrott and her colleagues at Lincoln College.

Most importantly, both editors were overwhelmed by the support and interest shown by such a range of international experts in the study of the New Testament and early Christianity, and we are grateful to all who have allowed us to include their work in this publication. We hope that that these volumes will become a standard reference work for many years to come, and that they will provide a useful resource for future researchers in New Testament and Patristics.

AFG
CMT

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDAG	W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd edn. (Chicago, 1999)
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961)
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BR	*Biblical Research*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
EB	Études bibliques
ECM	*Editio Critica Maior*
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GH	Griesbach hypothesis
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten

HNT	*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*
HTB	Histoire du texte biblique
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
IQP	International Q Project
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern
KT	Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LkR	Lucan redaction
MattR	Matthean redactional material
NA	B. Aland *et al.*, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th edn. (Stuttgart, 1993)
New Docs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. Horsley and S. Llewelyn (North Ryde, NSW, 1981–)
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTAF	*The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford, 1905)
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed T. Kluser *et al.* (Stuttgart, 1950–)
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SD	Studies and Documents
SHAW.P-H	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse

2ST	Two source theory
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SQE	*Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*
SUC	Schriften des Urchristentums
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1964–76)
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UBS	United Bible Society
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VCSup	Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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Introduction and Overview

Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett

The first modern editor to refer to a collection of early Christian writings as the Apostolic Fathers appears to have been J. Cotelier, whose edition was published in 1672. The most recent is Bart D. Ehrman, a contributor to this collection, whose Greek–English edition in the Loeb Classical Library replaces the original and much-used Loeb volumes produced by Kirsopp Lake. Lists of those who are included in the conventional but largely arbitrary collection known as the 'Apostolic Fathers' do vary slightly (Ehrman takes a more inclusive approach than both Lake and the Oxford Committee),[1] but included in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* and in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* are treatments of the central texts in this category, as found also in the 1905 volume, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*: the *Didache*, *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, the letters of Ignatius, Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, the *Letter of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Also included in the second of these 2005 volumes is the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, which the Oxford Committee did not consider.

The 1905 volume treated a relatively narrow set of issues: namely, the extent to which the documents of the New Testament were known, and cited (or alluded to), by the Apostolic Fathers. Such issues remain important, so they are the central concern of *The Reception of the New Testament and the*

[1] Lake included the *Letter to Diognetus*, in addition to those named above and discussed in the present volumes; Ehrman includes all these texts, as well as the fragments of Papias and Quadratus. This collection, he notes, is comparable to other similarly arbitrary collections of second- and third-century Christian writings: e.g., the apologists, the heresiologists, and the Nag Hammadi Library. Understood as a collection of writings based only on convention, the Apostolic Fathers, he continues, 'is not an authoritative collection of books, but a convenient one, which, in conjunction with these other collections, can enlighten us concerning the character of early Christianity, its external appeal and inner dynamics, its rich and significant diversity, and its developing understandings of its own self-identity, social distinctiveness, theology, ethical norms, and liturgical practices'. See, further, B. D. Ehrman, 'General Introduction', in *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, LCL 24 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1–14, quotation on pp. 13–14.

Apostolic Fathers. Each Apostolic Father is treated in turn, as in the 1905 volume, but these studies are now prefaced by a careful discussion of methodological issues that must be addressed in seeking to determine what might constitute a reference in the Apostolic Fathers to one of the writings that later became the New Testament, and also a number of investigations of the text and transmission of both the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. Thus contemporary scholars continue to ask questions that have remained important and relevant since the publication of the 1905 volume, but they do so in light of manuscript evidence that was not available a century ago (newly discovered papyri of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers, as well as of other early Christian writings), and on the basis of a century's continuing work on these texts. Questions of canon and authority are rarely far from the surface, but difficulties in assessing the relative likelihood that individual Apostolic Fathers were drawing on proverbial expressions and free traditions or on contemporary versions or copies of texts that would emerge in the surviving manuscripts of the late second or early third century papyri such as $P^{4\text{-}64\text{-}67}$, P^{75}, and P^{45} make these questions difficult to answer. Some of these studies reach conclusions not dissimilar to those of the Oxford Committee (see, for example, Gregory on *1 Clement*), whereas others find more (for example, Verheyden on *Hermas*) or less (for example, Foster on Ignatius) evidence for the use of the New Testament in the Apostolic Father whom they discuss than did the authors of the corresponding discussion in 1905. Questions of method are of great consequence, and readers will note how individual contributors, most notably William Petersen, in his essay on the Apostolic Fathers as witnesses to the text of the New Testament in the second century, have chosen to assess the evidence in a way different from that proposed by the editors. Such questions remain controversial and controverted, and we hope to have provided both useful discussion of these methodological issues and also a major reference tool for those who wish to take further the discussion of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.

The contributions contained in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* are also sensitive to these difficulties. Many of its papers contribute to and advance the discussion of similar questions to those addressed in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (most obviously Andreas Lindemann's discussion of Pauline influences in *1 Clement* and Ignatius, the discussions of Helmut Koester and Arthur Bellinzoni of gospel traditions in the Apostolic Fathers and other second-century texts, and Boudewijn Dehandschutter's discussion of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*), but they also range more widely.

One significant development since 1905 has been the renewed recognition that the interpretation of any text can be significantly enriched by considering its 'effect' and its usage in subsequent history, i.e., its *Wirkungsgeschichte*, as well as its antecedents. Thus some papers note how distinctive emphases or ideas that are present in certain writings of the New Testament are taken up and developed by certain Apostolic Fathers, and the continuities or discontinuities in the trajectories that are traced cast new light on both the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. It is not, of course, that all authors understand development to have taken place in the same way. Frances Young's treatment of the relative absence of terms relating to Wisdom in the Christology of the Apostolic Fathers raises questions about the way in which such language is understood by interpreters who confine themselves largely to the New Testament and the earlier Jewish tradition on which it draws, whereas Thomas Weinandy argues strongly for clearly discernible continuity from Pauline Christology through that of Ignatius and ultimately to that of the Chalcedonian definition.

Attention is also given to literary as well as theological issues: for example, in Michael Holmes's discussion of how the genre of a 'passion narrative' is developed as one moves away from accounts of the death of Jesus to accounts of the death of later martyrs such as Polycarp. Nor are issues of sociology neglected: Clayton Jefford offers an illuminating account of how an examination of two apparently related texts—the *Didache* and Matthew—may provide some sort of insight into the development of Christianity in one place, as does Peter Oakes in his discussion of the situations that may be reflected in the letters of Paul and of Polycarp to the Philippians. Also significant in this respect is Paul Hartog's discussion of similar concerns found in Polycarp's letter (written from Smyrna) and 1 John (probably associated with nearby Ephesus), not least in the light of what Hartog considers to be the almost certain literary dependence of the former on the latter.

The arrangement of chapters in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* is self-evident and straightforward, but something of the rich interplay between many of the texts considered can be seen in the range of ways in which *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* might have been ordered. Were we to have given greater prominence to the place of the New Testament (or at least some of it) than to that of the Apostolic Fathers, we might have arranged chapters with more emphasis on how they fell (at least primarily) into what might be considered synoptic, Johannine, Pauline, or other trajectories defined by their apparent relationship to New Testament books. Were we to have given greater prominence to the place of the Apostolic Fathers (or at least some of them) than to that of the New Testament, we might have arranged chapters with more emphasis on how they relate (at least primarily) to the study of individual Apostolic Fathers.

Equally, decisions might have been made to arrange these essays primarily on thematic grounds, rather than on the basis of the ancient text or texts with which each is primarily concerned. Jonathan Draper's treatment of prophets and teachers in the *Didache* and the New Testament might have been presented alongside Alistair Stewart-Sykes's discussion of charismatic functionaries and household officers; and the discussions of Paul and Ignatius by David Reis, by Harry Maier, and by Allen Brent might stand alongside the essay by Andreas Lindemann, thus accentuating the interplay between the influence of the apostle and that of the Graeco-Roman world—and in particular the impact of the Second Sophistic—on how early Christians such as 'Clement' and Ignatius presented themselves in their writings.

Similarly, the discussions of Boudewijn Dehandschutter and Michael Holmes of gospel and other New Testament traditions in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* might have been juxtaposed with the discussions of Arthur Bellinzoni and Helmut Koester, not to mention those of John Kloppenborg and Charles Hill; but, as it is, these different essays emphasize the central place of early Christian reflection on the person of Jesus. Thus discussions of the development and reception of gospel tradition not only book-end the volume, but also appear prominently in the middle.

So fluid and unclear are many of the boundaries between these closely related texts and issues that no neat or definitive boundaries may be drawn. Thus the approach that we have chosen is intended both to reflect the complexity and diversity of these writings and also to be of practical assistance to other researchers who can see at a glance which contributions may be of most use to them.

Some of the Apostolic Fathers receive more attention than others (most notably Ignatius and the *Didache*), but none is neglected. Neither *1 Clement* (strictly speaking) nor *Barnabas* appears in the table of contents for *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, but the former features prominently in the discussions of Andreas Lindemann and Alistair Stewart-Sykes, and the latter is considered by David Wright. John Muddiman and Alistair Stewart-Sykes each discuss a range of texts (the former, *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; the latter, the *Didache*, Ignatius, *1 Clement*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*), and their essays on ecclesiology and church order, together with those of Carsten Claussen and David Wright on the sacraments, help to make valuable connections between individual Apostolic Fathers as well as between the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament. Their contributions, together with the rest of the papers collected in this volume, serve as important reminders of the benefits to be gained from reading the New Testament in the wider context of other early Christian writings, and show why even later texts are an essential component of what is sometimes referred to as 'New Testament background'. It was only thanks to later Christians, perhaps some of the Apostolic Fathers among them, that the writings that became the New Testament were preserved and transmitted, so—as both these volumes demonstrate—knowledge of their concerns is a useful tool in interpreting both the New Testament and the development of Christianity from the late first to the mid- or late second century. Most, if not all, of the Apostolic Fathers may well have written later than most of the authors whose writings were later included in the New Testament, but almost certainly all of them wrote before even an early form of the canon of the New Testament, such as that witnessed to by Irenaeus, had yet emerged. The extent to which they witness to the existence of earlier collections such as the fourfold Gospel or (perhaps more likely) a Pauline corpus are among the questions that these studies address.

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Part I

The Text of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers

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1

Textual Traditions Compared: The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers

Bart D. Ehrman

In this paper, rather than investigate the transmission of the New Testament *in* the Apostolic Fathers—the subject of the Oxford volume we are honouring in this centenary celebration—I would like to explore the transmission of the New Testament *and* the Apostolic Fathers. That is to say, I would like to engage in a kind of comparative analysis of the textual traditions of both corpora.

It might fairly be objected that this is an unfair comparison, since the Apostolic Fathers did not, in fact, constitute a corpus until modern times, starting in 1672, the year J. Cotelier produced his first edition of the collection of the writings of Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp.[1] Even so, the transmission histories of these two bodies of writings are not completely incommensurate. For one thing, even though the canon we call the Apostolic Fathers is an *ad hoc* construction of relatively modern times, we must never forget that the New Testament canon is also a construction, not a self-vindicating or original collection; the New Testament too consists of different authors and different genres of books written at different times for different occasions, only later compiled into a recognized canon of writings. Moreover, it is not correct to think that the writings of the New Testament were always circulated together, as a corpus, whereas those of the Apostolic Fathers were circulated separately, as discrete documents of the early church.

[1] J. Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt: Barnabae, Clementis, Hermae, Ignatii, Polycarpi. Opera edita et inedita, vera et supposititia. Una cum Clementis, Ignatii, Polycarpi Actis atque Martyriis* (Antwerp, 1672). An earlier collection of several Apostolic Fathers, in an English translation, was made by Thomas Elborowe: *The Famous Epistles of Saint Polycarp and Saint Ignatius, Disciples to the Holy Evangelist and Apostle Saint John: With the Epistle of St Barnabas and Some Remarks upon their Lives and Deaths*... (London: William Grantham, 1668). The first to use the term 'Apostolic Father' (or a close approximation) in the title of a collection was William Wake, in his 1693 English edition *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, S. Barnabas, S. Clement, S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Martyrdoms of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp* (London).

Few manuscripts of the New Testament contain the *entire* New Testament (Codex Sinaiticus is the only majuscule manuscript to do so), and some of the New Testament writings were preserved in manuscripts that contained non-canonical texts (e.g., P^{72}, which contains 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, the *Nativity of Mary*, *3 Corinthians*, Melito's *Paschal Homily*, an Ode of Solomon, etc.). Moreover, some of the Apostolic Fathers *were* circulated as a group: one need think only of Codex Hierosolymitanus, written in 1056 and discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in 1873, which includes the texts of *1* and *2 Clement*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Didache*, and the long recension of Ignatius. Moreover, even some of our biblical manuscripts contain small collections of Apostolic Fathers: *1* and *2 Clement*, for example, are found in Codex Alexandrinus, and the *Shepherd of Hermas* and *Barnabas* in Codex Sinaiticus.

These manuscripts should alert us to another problem in assuming that the textual traditions of these two corpora of writings should be handled differently; for there were writings of the Apostolic Fathers that at one time or another in one place or another were in fact considered to be texts of Scripture. The scribes of Codices Alexandrinus and Sinaiticus are cases in point; but reference can also be made to the early patristic discussions of some of these texts, where the issue at stake was sometimes precisely their canonical status.[2]

And so, given the constructed nature of both corpora, their permeable boundaries, and their not incomparable textual histories, it is perhaps an interesting exercise to compare their histories of transmission. These will differ, of course, for the different books within each corpus, as they were all copied in different ways and with different levels of frequency. One may contrast, for example, the 1,950 Greek manuscripts of the Fourth Gospel with the 304 manuscripts of Revelation. Within the Apostolic Fathers the overall numbers are far lower, as would be expected, but the contrasts between the most and the least frequently copied are at least as striking. The *Shepherd of Hermas*, for example, is relatively well attested in the early centuries. Its only nearly complete witness, it is true, is Codex Athous of the fifteenth century. But up to the sixth century, it is better attested even than some of the books of the New Testament, being partially found in the Codex Sinaiticus (the first quarter of the book), the Michigan papyrus of the third century (most of the Parables), the Bodmer papyrus 38 (the first three visions), and nearly twenty other fragmentary papyri, most of them from the third to the fifth centuries. One could argue on strictly material grounds that the *Shepherd* was more widely read than the Gospel of Mark in the early centuries of

[2] As, e.g., already in the Muratorian Canon, which I continue to take as a second-century text.

Christendom.[3] But a striking comparison comes with other writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the most extreme case being the *Epistle to Diognetus*, attested in a solitary manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which was discovered in 1436—evidently in a fishmonger's shop—and, much to our regret, destroyed by fire in 1870 during the Franco–German war.

Despite the wide-ranging contrasts in levels of attestation, it is possible to compare the transmission of the books later collected together as the Apostolic Fathers with the transmission of the books collectively called the New Testament. The claim of my paper is not, perhaps, startling, but it is worth making none the less: there appears to be no noticeable difference in the kinds of alteration one finds made by scribes in New Testament writings, on the one hand, and writings of the Apostolic Fathers, on the other. In this brief account I will make no attempt to be exhaustive, in either the kinds of variation I consider or in the numbers of examples I cite. I will attempt, instead, to provide a representative sampling. My assumption throughout is that my reader will be more familiar with the textual problems of the New Testament, and so I will use these simply as a kind of backdrop for the similar kinds of problems one sees in the texts of the Apostolic Fathers. For the purposes of our consideration I will follow the traditional, if problematic, division between types of variation that appear to be 'accidental' and those that appear to have been made 'intentionally'.

ACCIDENTAL VARIATION IN THE TWO CORPORA

The scribes who transmitted the Apostolic Fathers were prone to the same kinds of mistakes as those who transmitted the texts that were eventually to become part of the New Testament. One can see this easily throughout both corpora: for example, in the frequent problems of spelling and misspelling, and the exchanges of *ΥΜΙΝ* and *ΗΜΙΝ* or *ΥΜΩΝ* and *ΗΜΩΝ* throughout. Other problems of scribal mistake are equally in evidence. In the New Testament manuscripts, of course, one not infrequently has to contend with omissions that have occurred because of parablepsis occasioned by homoioteleuton. One thinks of Luke 14. 26, 27, both verses that end with the statement *ου δυναται ειναι μου μαθητης*. After copying the first occurrence of the phrase, scribes of several manuscripts inadvertently thought they had

[3] For a similar comparison of the early remains of the *Gospel of Peter* (attested even less than the *Shepherd*) with those of the Gospel of Mark, see Bart D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 22–4.

copied the second occurrence, and continued by copying v. 28—leaving out v. 27 altogether. The same phenomenon occurs with somewhat more disastrous results in John 17. 15 in Codex Vaticanus, where, due to the same problem of parablepsis, rather than saying 'I do not pray that you keep them from the world, but that you keep them from the evil one', the text reads the more pithy but also more troubling 'I do not pray that you keep them from the evil one'!

The same phenomenon occurs throughout the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. To take just a few instances, in *1 Clem.* 15. 5, the majority of all witnesses (all, in fact, except the Syriac) shorten the citation of Psalm 77: *δια τουτο αλαλα γενηθητω τα χειλη τα δολια τα λαλουντα κατα του δικαιου ανομιαν. Και παλιν εξολεθρευσαι κυριος παντα τα χειλη τα δολια*, by leaving out the entire clause, *τα λαλουντα . . . τα δολια*. Sometimes the error occurs in only one witness, as in Codex Hierosolymitanus in *1 Clem.* 32. 4, where the clause *και ημεις ουν, δια θεληματος αυτου* is omitted, because the previous clause also ended with *δια θεληματος αυτου*. The error sometimes plays a significant role in the interpretation of a key passage. An example from *1 Clement* comes in one of the most important early expressions of the notion of apostolic succession, in chapter 42: 'The apostles were given the gospel for us by the Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. Thus Christ came from God and the apostles from Christ.' In our later manuscript of the passage, however, the passage is truncated: 'The apostles were given the gospel for us by the Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ came from God and the apostles from Christ.'

As might be expected, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an omission has occurred because of homoioteleuton or if an addition was made to a text for another reason. An example comes in *1 Clem.* 49. 4, in a prayer to the Lord, which is recorded in most of our witnesses as: *τους εν θλιψει ημων σωσον, τους πεπτωκοτας εγειρον*. But in Codex Hierosolymitanus there is an additional clause, added between the other two: *τους ταπεινους ελεησον*. It is possible that this represents a pious addition to the prayer, as it is found in most of our witnesses; but Gebhardt, Lightfoot, Funk, and others may be correct to see it as an accidental omission, occasioned by the similar terminations of the imperatives *σωσον* and *ελεησον*.[4]

Throughout the manuscript tradition of the New Testament, it is often difficult to determine whether a change was made accidentally or intentionally—this is true even of significant changes that affect the meaning of a passage. I take the original text of Mark 1. 41 to read *οργισθεις* rather than *σπλαγνισθεις*—that when Jesus was asked by the leper for healing, he became

[4] See the Bihlmeyer apparatus *ad loc.*: K. Bihlmeyer (ed.), *Die apostolischen Väter: Neubearbeitung der Funkschen Ausgabe*, 3rd edn. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1956).

angry, rather than compassionate. Not only is it the more difficult reading, but it is the reading that makes sense of the decision by both Matthew and Luke to eliminate the participle altogether in their retelling of the account, a decision hard to explain otherwise, given both evangelists' propensity for describing Jesus as compassionate (whenever Mark mentions Jesus' anger, both remove it from their accounts). But even as the less difficult reading, was σπλαγνισθεις created *intentionally*? It is hard to say. It could just as easily have been the case that when a scribe imagined Jesus before this poor leper, he, the scribe, naturally saw Jesus' compassion and recorded his emotion as such, without giving a second's thought to the matter.[5]

Similar phenomena occur in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, changes that may well have been intentional but could have involved an element of accident as well. As an example of a textual alteration that probably had elements of both, we might consider the complicated opening of Ignatius's letter to the Ephesians. Did Ignatius write: Αποδεξαμενος εν θεω το πολυαγαπητον σου ονομα, or did he write: Αποδεξαμενος υμων εν θεω το πολυαγαπητον ονομα? Both are problematic in a way, but the second reading coincides well with how Ignatius places the personal pronoun in his other letters,[6] and the singular pronoun of the other reading, while arguably original as the more difficult reading, is possibly *too* difficult (given the collective audience being addressed) and out of character with Ignatius's introductions otherwise. It may be, then, that the best way to solve the conundrum is to assume that a careless scribe inadvertently left the υμων out of the clause, realized while writing the sentence that it lacked a personal pronoun, and added one at what seemed like the right place (even though it wasn't where Ignatius normally placed his pronouns), and even more sloppily supplied the wrong word.

There are variants with far greater significance for interpretation, of course, and some of them may have been created by careless or thoughtless scribes—as happens time and again with the New Testament texts as well. Take a particularly notorious and thorny instance, the text of *1 Clem.* 2. 4. In recalling the former glory of the Corinthians, which in his opinion had now become tarnished, the author reminds them that 'Day and night you struggled on behalf of the entire brotherhood, that the total number of his chosen ones might be saved, with mortal fear and self-awareness' (μετα δεους και συνειδησεως). Or *is* that what he wrote? In fact, the majority of our witnesses, including our earliest manuscript, Alexandrinus, along with the Latin, Syriac,

[5] For a full study, see B. D. Ehrman, 'A Sinner in the Hands of an Angry Jesus', in Amy Donaldson and Tim Sailor (eds.), *Essays in the Text and Exegesis of the New Testament: In Honor of Gerald W. Hawthorne* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004).

[6] e.g., see *Magn.* 1. 1; *Trall.* 1. 1; *Rom.* 1. 1.

and Coptic, indicate instead that the Corinthians were saved 'with mercy and self-awareness' (*μετ' ελεους και συνειδησεως*). Good arguments can be made for this latter reading, and these arguments have convinced a number of modern editors. 'Mercy' is a relatively common word in *1 Clement* (it occurs on nine occasions), whereas 'mortal fear', *δεος* (as opposed to 'awe/reverence/fear', *φοβος*) is otherwise unattested in the letter. Moreover, the fact that salvation is a matter of mercy seems more palatable than the notion that it involves mortal dread.

These arguments notwithstanding, an even better case can be made that Clement spoke of fear, rather than mercy, as the emotion accompanying the Corinthians' salvation. For one thing, even though 'mercy' is a common term for Clement, in every other instance it is an attribute of *God*, not of humans. The problem with considering it a divine attribute in the present context is the second term, 'self-awareness' (or 'conscience'), which can hardly be assigned to God. For this reason, some scholars have been quick to urge an emendation of the text. Zahn, for example, has proposed that it originally read *ελεους και συναθλησεως*; Lake, *ελεους και συναισθησεως*; and Drijepondt, *ελεους και συναιδεσεως*. This final suggestion makes for an interesting case in point. Drijepondt maintains that the text could not originally have read 'mortal fear', because *δεους* is otherwise a hapax legomenon within *1 Clement;* but his proposed emendation of the second term, as he readily admits, is also a hapax legomenon—not just for *1 Clement* but for all of Greek literature![7]

It is easy to see how the change of the text could have been made accidentally, given the similar appearances of the variant terms *ΜΕΤΑΔΕΟΥΣ/ΜΕΤΕΛΕΟΥΣ*. Once that is recognized, it is a relatively simple matter to reconstruct the direction of the change, away from the infrequently attested 'fear' to the rather common 'mercy.' And since the issue involved is salvation, the change would have been all the easier to have made. But in the context the change does not work, in view of the second term, which can only make sense in reference to the self-conscious act of humans being saved. And so, as Lightfoot recognized, the most economic solution to the problem is to accept the text of our latest witness and to conclude that the author spoke of the number of the elect being 'saved with mortal fear and self-awareness'.[8]

Among 'accidental' errors there remains the kind of scribal slip that leads to a nonsense or near-nonsense reading. Cases of these abound in the New Testament manuscript tradition, of course, and need not occupy us here. Of

[7] H. F. L. Drijepondt, '1 Clement 2, 4 and 59, 3: Two Emendations,' *Acta Classica*, 8 (1965), 102–5.

[8] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers,* 5 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1889), 1. 2. 18.

greater interest is the question of whether *all* manuscripts of a given passage may have been subjected to corruption of this kind, leading to the need for conjectural emendation. It has long been debated among critics whether emendation should ever be allowed in the text of the New Testament. It has always struck me as peculiar that among those who deny its necessity have been those who are otherwise labelled as 'radical eclecticists'—that is, those like George Kilpatrick and Keith Elliott who think that external evidence should have little or no bearing on textual decisions, which should be reached instead on the grounds purely of intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities.[9] For critics like this, the manuscripts provide us with a repertoire of readings, but not with evidence of which readings are superior. Given this perspective, one might suspect that radical eclectics would freely acknowledge that the original reading may in some instances have been lost (if it can sometimes be found in only one late medieval manuscript, why would it be absurd to assume that lacking that one manuscript we would be missing the original reading?). But instead, rightly or wrongly, such critics tend to agree with the majority of scholars, that since we have such an abundance of New Testament manuscripts, it appears manifestly evident that even in difficult cases the original text can be found *somewhere* in the surviving witnesses.

It is quite different with the texts of the Apostolic Fathers, where there are numerous occasions on which our sparse witnesses clearly embody an error that requires emendation. Nowhere is this more true than in our poorest attested text, the *Epistle to Diognetus*. Here I will cite just three instances. The sole surviving manuscript of the *Epistle to Diognetus* created a strange anacolouthon in 3. 2, which states Ιουδαιοι τοινυν, ει μεν απεχονται ταυτης της προειρημενης λατρειας, και εις θεον ενα των παντων . . . αξιουσι φρονειν. Ει δε τοις προειρημενοις . . . There is obviously no apodosis for the opening protasis, as the sentence then leads into another protasis. Hilgenfeld resolved the matter easily enough, emending και εις to καλως, as the text is more commonly printed today.

A somewhat more interesting instance occurs in 5. 7, where the author lauds the Christians because they τραπεζαν κοινην παρατιθενται, αλλ' ου κοινην. But this scarcely makes sense. The emendation proposed by the eighteenth-century Prudentius of St Maur resolves the problem, however. Under the influence of a word just written, the scribe inadvertently changed an original κοιτην to κοινην. Once emended, the text makes perfect sense:

[9] See, e.g., the essays of Kilpatrick, edited by Elliott: J. K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick*, BETL 96 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), esp. 'Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament', pp. 98–109.

Christians share a common table, but not a common bed; they eat communal meals, but they don't share sexual partners.

As a final instance from the *Epistle to Diognetus*, after demonstrating the Christians' superiority to others, especially as seen in their response to persecution and their growth (despite attempts at their suppression), the author notes that this is not due to the work of humans: *ταυτα δυναμις εστι θεου, ταυτα της παρουσιας αυτου δογματα*. But in what sense is the boldness of Christians in the face of persecution the 'teachings/dogmas' of Christ's parousia? A simple emendation, made already in the editio princeps of Stephanus, resolves the problem neatly. The author originally called these 'proofs' of Christ's parousia *δειγματα* rather than *δογματα*.

Even in our better-attested texts among the Apostolic Fathers there are places that appear to require emendation. Scholars have disputed the text of *1 Clem.* 59. 3, where the author begins his long prayer to 'the Creator of all' (v. 2). As the text stands, the shift into the prayer is altogether abrupt, as in one breath the author moves from speaking *about* God (in the third person) to speaking *to* God (second person): *απο αγνωσιας εις επιγνωσιν δοξης ονοματος αυτου, ελπιζειν επι το αρχεγονον πασης κτισεως ονομα σου*... Some editors (e.g., Bihlmeyer) have let the text stand; others, however, including Lightfoot, appear to be right in considering the transition too harsh, and so have emended the text by adding words of supplication, *Δος ημιν, Κυριε*, to the beginning of v. 3.

An intriguing case that may require emendation occurs in *2 Clem.* 9. 5, where all the surviving witnesses except a Syriac fragment attest *εις Χριστος, ο κυριος ο σωσας ημας*, 'the one Christ, the Lord who saved us'. This reading makes almost no sense in the broader context, as the clause is evidently meant to serve as the protasis of the sentence; so most scholars have accepted the reading *ει Χριστος, ο κυριος ο σωσας ημας*, 'if Christ, the one who saved us'. The difficulty with this reading, however, is that it does not readily explain the widely attested variant. So it may be better to follow a suggestion buried away in Lightfoot's discussion, which he does not himself adopt for reasons he never states, that the text be emended to read *ει ις χς, ο κυριος ο σωσας ημας*: 'If Jesus Christ (both words abbreviated as nomina sacra), the Lord who saved us....' The emendation can explain the existence of all other readings, it makes sense in the context, and it preserves the double name Jesus Christ used throughout *2 Clement*'s text.[10]

One of the most difficult passages to establish in the Apostolic Fathers also happens to be one of the most central. As I've already intimated, *1 Clement* is significant for being the first text to proffer a form of the notion of apostolic

[10] *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 230.

succession in its opposition to the Corinthian upstarts who have usurped the position of the elders of the community. *1 Clem.* 44 begins by noting that the apostles 'knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that strife would arise over the office of the bishop' (44. 1). Since they anticipated this strife, they 'appointed' leaders of the churches, and then made provision for what would happen once these leaders died. But what was this provision? Did they give the office an *επινομην*, as indicated in Codex Alexandrinus (and the Latin)? If so, what could that mean? (The term usually refers to the spreading out of something, like a fire; could it mean the spreading out of a law, an injunction?) Did they give it an *επιδομην*, as in Codex Hierosolymitanus, a word attested in neither Liddell and Scott nor Lampe? As you might imagine, attempts to make sense of the passage by emending it have been rife. Lightfoot made a good case that it should read *επιμονην*, by which he meant something like 'permanent character'—which makes good sense in the passage.[11] But possibly better is the emendation recommended to Lightfoot, but not taken, by F. J. A. Hort, who suggested as the entire phrase *επινομιδα εδωκαν*, which would be translated 'they gave a codicil'.[12] The understanding, then, is that once they established the leaders of the various apostolic churches, the apostles added a legally binding requirement—namely, that if these should die, other approved men should take their place.

There are other interesting emendations that have been proposed that perhaps ought not to be accepted. A rather clever one occurs in the letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians, where the readers are called the 'stones of the father's temple, prepared for the building of God the Father' (*λιθοι ναου πατρος, ητοιμασμενοι εις οικοδομην θεου πατρος*; 9. 1). Lightfoot, however, noted that 'temple of the Father' is a bit awkward, coming immediately before 'God the Father'; he suggested instead that the passage was carrying an allusion to Paul's letter to the Ephesians 2. 10. Noting that *πατρος* would have been abbreviated as a nomen sacrum, he then emended the text to read 'stones of the temple that have been prepared in advance...' (*λιθοι ναου προητοιμασμενοι εις οικοδομην θεου πατρος*).[13] The difference is between *ΠΡΟΗΤΟΙΜΑΣΜΕΝΟΙ* and *ΠΡΣΗΤΟΙΜΑΣΜΕΝΟΙ*, easily confused. But, given the circumstance that the text makes good sense as it stands, perhaps the emendation is not necessary.

So too with one of the most famous emendations in the texts of the Apostolic Fathers, this one in *1 Clement*'s reference to women who were martyred as *Δαναιδες και Διρκαι* (*1 Clem.* 6. 2). The author's meaning is unclear. Some scholars have suggested that he is referring to Christian women martyred under Nero, who was known for his creatively brutal excesses.[14] If so, women executed

[11] Ibid. 132. [12] Ibid. 133. [13] Ibid. 2. 2. 53. [14] See Suetonius, *Nero* 11. 11.

as Dircae may have been dragged to death in the arena, bound to the horns of a bull, like Dirce of Greek myth. The reference to the Danaids is more puzzling. Some scholars have seen it as an allusion to the legend that the daughters of Danaus were taken by men against their will—i.e., that the Christian women were publicly raped before being put to death. Others have thought that it refers to the punishment of Danaus's daughters in the afterlife, where they were compelled perpetually to fill leaking vessels—i.e., that the Christian women were subject to pointless and seemingly endless torments prior to their deaths. In either event, the text is so difficult that several emendations have been suggested to eliminate the reference to 'Danaids and Dircae' altogether, the most popular of which has been to indicate that these people were διωχθεισαι γυναικες νεανιδες παιδισκαι, that is, 'persecuted as women, maidens, and slave-girls'.[15] With this change, the text certainly makes better sense to modern readers; but one cannot help but suspect that the difficulty in the passage results from our lack of knowledge of its historical context, rather than a scribal corruption.

INTENTIONAL CHANGES OF THE TEXTS

For both the corpora we are looking at, the writings of the New Testament and those of the Apostolic Fathers, it is perhaps more interesting to consider changes that appear to have been made intentionally in the text by thinking and, probably, well-meaning scribes. This is not to say that it is easy to differentiate accidental from intentional changes; but keeping these categories serves a useful heuristic purpose, and on the psychological level—quite apart from our inability to psychoanalyse any particular scribe—it continues to make sense: whoever appended the last twelve verses of Mark to the Gospel did not do so by a slip of the pen.

Some kinds of intentional changes appear to represent either the scribe's inability to choose between two attractive readings or a scribe's decision to print as full a text as possible. This may be what happened, for example, in the case of conflations. A familiar instance occurs in the final verse of Luke's Gospel, where the disciples of Jesus are said to have remained in Jerusalem 'blessing God' (24. 53). Or were they, as some witnesses indicate, 'praising God'? Later scribes opted to include both readings, so that the disciples were in the temple 'praising and blessing God'.

[15] Emendation of Woodsworth; see Bihlmeyer's apparatus *ad loc.* Discussion in Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 32–4.

We find the same kind of scribal corruption in the texts of the Apostolic Fathers. To choose just one example, in the *Epistle of Barnabas* 4. 9 we are told that 'the entire time of our faith will be of no use to us if we do not stand in resistance' (so Sinaiticus). Or is it 'the entire time of our *life*' (as in Hierosolymitanus)? The Latin version resolves the problem by conflating the two options: 'the entire time of our life and of our faith will be of no use to us ....'

One of the more common intentional changes in the manuscript tradition of the New Testament involves harmonizations among passages. These sometimes occur in slight alterations of a passage, as in the addition of *εγω* to the quotation of Exod. 23. 20 in some manuscripts of Mark 1. 2; other times the changes carry real weight, as happens in the next verse of Mark, where some scribes change the clause 'make straight his paths' to conform to the text of Isa. 40. 3, 'make straight the paths of our God'—a significant change in light of the circumstance that the words are being spoken of Jesus. Similar harmonizations to the text of the Septuagint occur throughout the Apostolic Fathers exactly where one would expect them, in books like *1 Clement* and *Barnabas*, where texts of the Old Testament are cited at length, and sometimes in ways dissimilar to the Greek texts of Scripture themselves. Thus, for example, in *Barn.* 4. 4 appeal is made to the vision of Daniel: 'For also the prophet says, "Ten kingdoms will rule the earth" ' (thus the Syriac and the Latin). Our sole Greek witness, however, conforms the citation to the Septuagint, to say that 'Ten *kings* will rule the earth'. In this case, as in most instances with such readings, it is the least harmonized text that is easiest to explain as original, and the more harmonized as the corruption.

Or consider a more substantial change in *Barn.* 5. 13, 'an assembly of evildoers has risen up against me' (*επανεστησαν μοι*). Not unexpectedly, the most recent Greek witness conforms the text to its parallel in Scripture, Ps. 21. 17, LXX: *περιεσχον με*. Or the change of *Barn.* 11. 2, where the people of God are accused of doing 'two wicked things: they have deserted me, the fountain of life, and dug for themselves a pit of death'. The final phrase *βοθρον θανατου*, while graphic, is not what is found in the Septuagint; and so it came to be changed to read *λακκους συντετριμμενους* ('broken cisterns') in the majority of our Greek witnesses.

The more common kind of harmonization among the earliest Christian writings, however, is not toward the Old Testament but toward other texts that also came to be considered part of Scripture. Examples are abundant, on virtually every page, for example, of the synoptic gospels. With the Apostolic Fathers we are in a different situation, since we do not have 'synoptic texts' being produced and copied—that is, texts covering, for instance, the same words and deeds of Jesus. What we have are occasional quotations of, and allusions to, earlier Christian writings. In some such instances of intertextuality, the later scribes of the works that came to be called the Apostolic Fathers modified their texts in order to make these quotations and allusions more precise. This appears to be what has happened, for example, in *1 Clem.* 34. 8, in the quotation of the passage, complex on its own terms, of 1 Cor. 2. 9: 'For he says, No eye has seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the human heart, what the Lord has prepared for those who await him', λεγει γαρ οφθαλμος ουκ ειδεν . . . οσα ητοιμασεν κυριος . . . . Not even the 1 Corinthians text is invariant here; but all of our known witnesses begin the quotation with the relative pronoun: α οφθαλμος ουκ ειδεν . . . . So it is no surprise to see some scribes of *1 Clement*—in fact, the scribes of most of our surviving witnesses—changing the text accordingly.

So too in *1 Clem.* 47. 3, the author reminds the Corinthians that Paul had sent them a letter concerning 'himself, Cephas, and Apollos'. In our later Greek manuscript of the letter, however, the sequence is changed to coincide with that found in 1 Cor. 1. 12 and 3. 22, 'himself, Apollos, and Cephas'.

Other kinds of intentional changes in our early Christian texts have more to do with the historical, theological, and social contexts of the scribes who were reproducing them. And here too, the same motivations behind changes in the New Testament texts are evidenced in the textual tradition of the Apostolic Fathers. We can consider three kinds of changes: those resulting from liturgical concerns, those involving understandings of women, and those influenced by ongoing theological disputes.

It is probably fair to say that liturgical concerns were not a major factor in the transmission of the texts of the New Testament. But there are some passages that have been considered as susceptible to corruption in light of scribes' liturgical practices. Perhaps the best known is Mark 9. 29, where Jesus explains to his disciples that their attempts at exorcism had failed because 'this kind [of demon] can come out only by prayer'. Some scribes appended the appropriate addendum 'and fasting'.

Some scholars have argued that the text of Luke 22. 19–20 should be resolved on liturgical grounds, arguing that the shorter version of the institution of the Lord's Supper conforms more closely with established liturgical practice, because now, with the shorter text, there is only one cup of wine distributed with the bread, instead of two. What that view overlooks is that even with the shorter text there is a significant incongruity with the emerging Christian liturgy, in that the cup is given *prior* to the giving of the bread. If a scribe wanted to make the text reflect more adequately contemporary practice, surely he would have excised a reference to the *first* cup, rather than the second.[16] Still, this is an instance in which liturgical concerns have played a part in the discussion of the textual problem.

The Apostolic Fathers are affected by such concerns little more than are the texts that became the New Testament; that is to say, these concerns played *some* role, but not a major one. Probably the most striking instance occurs in the *Didache*, in the passage where this author too is discussing the celebration of the Eucharist, in this case reproducing the prayers that are to be said over the elements (notably in the same order as in the Lucan shorter text: cup, then bread!). After the prayer over the bread, and the injunction to allow the prophets to give thanks 'as often as they wish', comes an addition, with variations, in two of our witnesses to the text (Coptic and the *Apostolic Constitutions*): 'But concerning the matter of the ointment (μυρος—sometimes understood as incense instead of ointment[17]), give thanks, saying "We give you thanks, O Father, for the ointment you have made known to us through Jesus your child. To you be the glory forever. Amen." ' Even though the style of the prayer is similar to that found over the other two elements, it is widely conceded that this is a later addition to the text—added, naturally enough, to reflect current liturgical practice or to promote a liturgical practice thought to be important by the scribe who originally produced the addition to the text.

More significant for the textual history of the New Testament are changes that function to lower the status and role of women in the church. The best-known instance of this is, of course, the text of 1 Cor. 14. 34–5, which continues to generate debate between those who see the passage as Pauline and those who consider it to be an interpolation. Gordon Fee has made an argument on *textual* grounds for the interpolation theory, so that the issue falls squarely within the provenance of the surviving textual tradition of the book.[18] Other textual alterations occur in the book of Acts, where the statement that Paul's Thessalonian converts included 'women of prominence' came to be changed to 'wives of prominent men' (17. 4), where the high profile of women is occasionally compromised by the insertion of references to their children (1. 14) or to men of high profile (17. 12), and where the

[16] For a full discussion of the problem, see B. D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 197–209.

[17] See S. Gero, 'So-called Ointment Prayer in the Coptic Version of the Didache: A Re-evaluation', *HTR* 70 (1977), 67–84.

[18] G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1987), 699–708.

names Priscilla and Aquila are sometimes reversed in the textual tradition to give the man his due priority.[19]

The same motivations appear to have been at work in some passages of the Apostolic Fathers. In one of the most memorable scenes of the *Shepherd*, for example, Hermas seems taken aback that the woman he longed for (his former owner) should be in heaven accusing him before God for lusting after her. In his exasperation he asks, 'Have I sinned against you? In what way? When did I speak an inappropriate word to you? Have I not always thought of you as a goddess?' (*Ου παντοτε σε ως θεαν ηγησαμην*; 1. 7). The idea that this woman could be so far superior to the man—a goddess in contrast to a mere mortal—is evidently what led some scribes to change the text, so that in one fifteenth-century manuscript Hermas objects that he has always thought of her as a 'daughter' (*θυγατερα*). He has, in other words, treated her with the respect due to a child, not with the awe and reverence due to a divine being.

A change of an entirely different sort, yet still involving the status of women, occurs in an important passage of *1 Clement*. The reading in question is found at 21. 7, where, among his injunctions, the anonymous author urges women to manifest habits of purity, to reveal their innocent desire for meekness, and 'to show forth the gentle character of their tongue through silence (*σιγης*)'. This is a somewhat odd comment, since the only way to show *anything* about the character of one's tongue is by using it to say something. What's striking is that the textual authority that most editors have almost invariably preferred throughout *1 Clement*, Codex Alexandrinus, words the passage differently. Here women are urged to show forth the gentleness of their tongue through their voice (*φωνης*)—that is, by how they speak.

Lightfoot thinks that the reading of Alexandrinus represents a corruption, and there may be a good case to be made for his position.[20] I should point out that he himself doesn't make a case; he finds *φωνης* ('voice') to be nonsensical here, and on the strength of the citation of the verse by Clement of Alexandria prefers the reading ('silence') that makes perfect sense to him. He notes that Hilgenfeld also prefers this reading and points to 1 Cor. 14. 34–5 and 1 Tim. 2. 11 as relevant parallels.

These are indeed relevant parallels, but possibly not for the reason that Lightfoot suspects. Both are passages that require women to be silent: one that, as already intimated, was *interpolated* into a Pauline letter and another that was *forged* in Paul's name. The author of *1 Clement*, of course, knows full

[19] For such examples, see B. Witherington, 'The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the "Western" Text in Acts', *JBL* 103 (1984), 82–4.

[20] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 77.

well that Paul did not enjoin silence upon women—whether within the church or outside. He was intimately familiar with 1 Corinthians, in which women pray and prophesy publicly; and Paul wrote the letter to the Romans to Clement's own church, where it was known and used—a letter in which Paul speaks about women missionaries, a woman deacon, and even a woman apostle (ch. 16). Later in the second century, of course, when Paul's own teachings were corrupted by other-minded scribes, women were no longer allowed to exercise roles of authority and were silenced. It was not enough for them to speak with a gentle voice; they were not to speak at all.

It is completely plausible that not only Paul's letter to Corinth but also Clement's letter to Corinth was corrupted in order to require complete silence of the women there. As I have pointed out, it was the other reading that struck the Victorian Lightfoot as more sensible: women should show what *gentle* tongues they have by never using them. Even modern scholars who accept this reading, though, including the most recent commentator in German, Lona, find it oxymoronic at best.[21] And we should remember that our only reasonably early Greek manuscript has the other reading. I would assume that this is an instance in which modern ecclesiastical sensibility has got in the way of textual sense.

The final area of intentional alterations that I would like to consider involves doctrinal disputes in early Christianity and their effects on early Christian texts. This is an area that has assumed sustained attention among New Testament critics over the past decade, and I need not repeat all their findings here. Suffice it to say that it appears that scribes of the second and third centuries were cognizant of the theological controversies raging in their days, and occasionally modified their texts in order both to make them more useful in the proto-orthodox quest to establish its views as dominant and to circumvent the use of these texts by those who took alternative points of view.[22] Did these debates affect the writings of the Apostolic Fathers as well? One would be surprised if it were otherwise, since in this early period, some of these texts were often considered scriptural.

Probably the best-known instance of an 'orthodox corruption' of the text is one that Lightfoot took some pride in discovering, Ignatius's *Letter to the Magnesians* 8. 2. Interestingly enough, the corruption appears in the Greek and Latin tradition that Lightfoot otherwise preferred. In these witnesses, Ignatius says: 'There is one God who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his eternal word, which did not come forth out of silence (απο σιγης).' Lightfoot notes, though, that the Armenian version of Ignatius

21 H. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 283.

22 See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, and the bibliography given there.

reads differently: there Jesus Christ is said to be God's 'word which *did* come forth out of silence'.

Lightfoot argues that the Armenian text is original.[23] He probably presses his case for the external support too far when he says that it is the 'oldest extant form of the text'; elsewhere, when the Armenian does *not* support the reading that he happens to like, he slights it. Even so, in this case Lightfoot *can* plausibly argue that the Armenian reading makes good sense in its context, and that that it accords particularly well with how Ignatius speaks of the Incarnation elsewhere.

Most persuasive, though, is his argument that the text as given in the Armenian, that Christ was the 'Word which comes forth from Silence (*σιγη*)', would have been changed by scribes concerned about its Gnostic overtones. For there were Gnostics who maintained that Silence, *σιγη*, was one of the two primordial divine beings (along with Depth (*βυθος*)) and that the divine redeemer came forth from the pleroma to earth for salvation. For these Gnostics, Christ really was the word that came forth from 'Silence'. Ignatius himself, of course, is sometimes thought to have had something like Gnostic leanings; at least by the standards of later orthodoxy, some of his language was incautious at best. In any event, it would make good sense that his text was changed to avoid its misuse by Gnostics in support of their own doctrines.

One other place that appears to have been altered for theological reasons is Ignatius's famous credal statement in *Eph.* 7. 2. In the new Loeb edition[24] it is translated as follows: 'For there is one physician, both fleshly and spiritual, born and unborn, God come in the flesh, true life in death, from both Mary and God, first subject to suffering and then beyond suffering, Jesus Christ our Lord.' The textual problems are intriguing, but difficult to resolve. Taking them in the order of their occurrence in the passage, did Ignatius speak of 'God come in the flesh', *εν σαρκι γενομενος*, or of 'God in man', *εν ανθρωπῳ*? The latter phrase is found in only one Syriac fragment, so seems unlikely to be original, although it also occurs in Patristic sources from Athanasius onwards. Was it inspired by a need to insist that Jesus was the 'God-man'? It is worth noting that Lightfoot took the opposite line, arguing that this was in fact the original text, and that the alternative was created by scribes fearing the possible Apollinarian doctrine 'that the Logos took the place of the human *νους* in Christ'.[25]

[23] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 126.

[24] B. D. Ehrman (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2 vols., LCL 24 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[25] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 49.

Equally interesting is the final phrase of the confession, 'Jesus Christ our Lord', missing from the Greek text of the middle recension, but preserved in the Aramaic (Latin) and a fragment of the Syriac. On the one hand, the phrase seems needed to round out the confession; on the other hand, that may well have been the reason for a scribe wanting to add it. Moreover, this kind of piling on of titles of Jesus is common in the manuscript tradition of the writings of the New Testament. Was it added here, as in many cases in the canonical scriptures, in order to clarify the unity of the one Lord Jesus Christ?[26]

As a final instance of a textual alteration possibly changed for theological reasons, we might turn to the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. Here we're told that when Polycarp refuses to renounce his faith, he is ordered to be burned at the stake. But through a divine miracle, the flames never touch the saint; they instead form a kind of envelope around him, as if he is bread baking in the oven; and the air is filled not with the reek of burning flesh but with the smell of sweet perfume. The pagan authorities are themselves incensed, and order the executioner to put an end to it all. He stabs Polycarp in the side, and there emerges a dove and such a quantity of blood that it extinguishes the fire.

Some scholars, including Lightfoot, doubt whether there was any dove. The bird does appear in all of the manuscripts of the *Martyrdom*. But the passage is quoted more or less accurately by Eusebius, who does not mention the dove—only the blood. Lightfoot maintains that Eusebius would not have been averse to mentioning such a supernatural occurrence had he known it, and that it is precisely the restraint of the account otherwise with respect to the supernatural that makes it look like an authentic report. With some reservations, then, he concludes that the dove was added by a later scribe, who wanted to magnify this great man of God by showing that his departing spirit was in the untainted form of the dove, like the Holy Spirit in the Gospel accounts of Jesus.[27]

But one wonders why the author of the account himself could not have held some such view. The appeal to the supernatural in the account otherwise may seem restrained to a Victorian like Lightfoot—but why is the emergence of a dove any more supernatural than the voice of God coming from the clouds, or the flames that refuse to touch the saint's body, or the effusion of his blood that douses the entire conflagration? Given the circumstance that the dove is attested in the surviving manuscripts, is there a reason why it may have been removed, not just from Polycarp's side, but from the account?

[26] See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 161–3.
[27] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 390–3.

One option is to look at the possible theological implications of the account. The author of the *Martyrdom* is quite explicit that the death of Polycarp was in conformity with the Gospel (1. 1)—that is, that the account is modelled on Jesus' passion in the gospels. The parallels are numerous, striking, and frequently noted: Polycarp predicts his own death, he prays before his arrest, the officer in charge is called Herod, Polycarp rides into town on a donkey, he is opposed by the crowds who call for his death, etc. Could it be that a scribe removed the dove from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* because it opened itself up to a heretical construal of the death of Jesus?

We know of Gnostic groups who believed that Jesus and the Christ were separate beings, that Jesus was a man and the Christ was a divine aeon, who came into Jesus at the moment of his baptism in the form of a dove. One group, the Marcosians, had a special interpretation of the dove; according to Irenaeus, they noted that the numerical value of the letters of p-e-r-i-s-t-e-r-a were 801, the same as the letters alpha and omega. For them, the alpha and omega—the divine being—came into Jesus at his baptism.[28] Moreover, these Gnostics typically argued that the divine being left Jesus prior to his death—hence his cry of dereliction on the cross, 'My God, my God, why have you left me behind?'[29]

The death of Polycarp was portrayed to stand in conformity with the gospel accounts of the death of Jesus. Possibly its text was changed because it was thought to be too close to a Gnostic separationist understanding of Jesus' yielding up of his divine element. This strikes me as at least possible, given the fact that the account is found in all of our surviving manuscripts, Lightfoot's uneasiness over such an unbelievable detail notwithstanding.

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, I will simply summarize my findings and restate my thesis. Over the entire course of their transmission, the texts of the Apostolic Fathers were not copied with anything like the frequency of the books that made it into the New Testament—even though in the early centuries of the church some of them (such as the *Shepherd*) were at least as popular and widely copied as several books that became canonical (such as Mark). When these books *were* copied, however, they were subject to the same kinds of textual corruption that one finds attested among the manuscripts of the New Testament. They were accidentally altered on occasion, by careless, tired, or

[28] See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 142.

[29] Cf. *Gospel of Philip*, 68.

inept scribes, to probably about the same degree as were the writings of Scripture. And they were intentionally changed by scribes in light of their own historical, theological, and social contexts: on rare occasions they were changed because of regnant liturgical practices; they were changed to lower the status and role of women in the churches; and they were changed in light of theological controversies that raged in the worlds of the scribes who were copying their texts. In short, the factors that affected the transmission of the texts of the New Testament played a similar role in the transmission of the early proto-orthodox writings that came to be excluded from the canon of sacred Scripture.

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Textual Traditions Examined: What the Text of the Apostolic Fathers tells us about the Text of the New Testament in the Second Century

William L. Petersen

A century ago 'a small committee' of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology published a slender, 144-page volume entitled *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*.[1] The charge given the committee was 'to prepare a volume exhibiting those passages of early Christian writers which indicate, or have been thought to indicate, acquaintance with any of the books of the New Testament'.[2]

The committee limited itself to the so-called Apostolic Fathers, examining eight authors (and/or texts).[3] The results were presented in exemplary fashion. Each passage in an Apostolic Father thought to have a possible parallel in the canonical New Testament was excised and printed in Greek, accompanied by the putative parallel(s).[4] A brief analysis accompanied each passage; often, a concluding summary gave an overview of that author's (or text's) presumed knowledge of the New Testament. Let us begin by reviewing the results achieved a century ago.

[1] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), hereafter *NTAF*.

[2] *NTAF*, p. iii.

[3] The authors/texts are: *The Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Didache* (divided into two subsections: the 'Two Ways' section and the 'Ecclesiastical' section), Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and *2 Clement*.

[4] The problems of dealing with patristic or apocryphal 'parallels' to the present text of the New Testament are well known; they need not be rehearsed here.

I. THE RESULTS OF THE 1905 INVESTIGATION

The 1905 researchers ranked the likelihood that a specific Father demonstrated knowledge of a given book in the New Testament by assigning each possible intersection a letter grade from 'A' to 'D'. 'A' designated 'books about which there can be no reasonable doubt' that the Father knew it; 'B' referred to books where there was 'a high degree of probability'. 'C' referred to a 'lower degree of probability'. And 'D' meant that the evidence was 'too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it'.[5] A table on page 137 summarized the results. Out of a total of 216 possible intersections between a Father and a specific book,[6] conclusions were possible in only eighty-five of the intersections, 39 per cent. Out of those eighty-five places where it was possible to assign a letter rank, we find forty-three Ds and twenty-two Cs. There are fourteen Bs (eight of them, however, come from a single source: Polycarp), and six As. Converted to percentages, Ds make up 51 per cent of the total, and Cs constitute 26 per cent; combined, they comprise 77 per cent of the total. Bs are 16 per cent (or, if one eliminates Polycarp, 7 per cent), while As comprise a slender 7 per cent of the total.[7]

The most remarkable aspect of the 1905 volume is the fact that now, a century later, the significance of the 'formal' results achieved by the committee (i.e., the letter rankings and determination of what Father appears to have known which New Testament books) pale into insignificance when compared with the notes the researchers offered on the passages they examined. It is puzzling why researchers in the last century have paid so little attention to this 'commentary' on the readings, for the observations made by the 1905 researchers were not only far ahead of their time, they have also been independently confirmed by later researchers. In order to understand why the remarks of the 1905 researchers have been ignored, we must first sample them. What follows is a *mélange* of quotations from the Oxford Committee's 1905 volume.

[5] *NTAF*, p. iii.

[6] These '216 possible intersections' exclude the committee's category of 'synoptic tradition', where possible knowledge was signified by a plus sign (+). I ignore this because (1) the category fails to stipulate a specific document, and (2) the plus sign begs the question of the quality of the knowledge by failing to assign a letter rank. For the other books, where letter rankings have been given, I have ignored the committee's use of square brackets and question marks, which merely qualify a given letter rank.

[7] Recall that these percentages are calculated on the basis of the eighty-five intersections where a letter rank was assigned; if one were to base the percentages on all 216 possible intersections, then there would be 20 per cent Ds, 10 per cent Cs, 7 per cent Bs, and 3 per cent As, and 61 per cent with no evidence (rounding means these numbers total 101 per cent).

Concerning the *Epistle of Barnabas* (studied by J. V. Bartlet), we read: 'On the whole, then, we have reason to expect that, if Barnabas alludes to any N. T. writings, it will be in a free and glossing way. . . .'[8] A bit later we find this remark: 'Though the passages [*Barn.* 13. 2–3 and Rom. 9. 7–13] both turn on the phrase common to them, they use it differently . . . Barnabas often twists what he borrows, and his knowledge of Romans is otherwise probable.'[9]

On the *Didache* (examined by K. Lake), we find:

The resemblance of this passage [*Did.* 1. 4–6] to Matthew [5. 39–42] and Luke [6. 29–30] is obvious. It should however be observed that, if we take the five cases as arranged and numbered above in the *Didache*, Matthew has 1, 3, 2, 5, omitting 4, while Luke has 1, 3, 5, 4, omitting 2. Going outside the Canonical Gospels, Tatian's *Diatessaron* (according to the reconstruction made by Zahn in his *Forschungen*, i. 17) had 1, 2, 3, 4, omitting 5, and Justin's *Apology*, i. 16, cites only 1, 3, and 2 a line later. It is hard to draw any more definite conclusion from these facts, than that the resemblance to our Gospels may be explained in any one of the four ways mentioned in the preceding note. . . . in a passage in which so many possibilities are open, only the closest verbal resemblances would be sufficient to prove literary dependence.[10]

Remarking on his findings concerning *1 Clement*, the author (A. J. Carlyle) writes:

The quotations from the Old Testament seem for the most part to be made with great exactness, especially in the case of the citation of longer passages. . . . The quotations from the N. T. are clearly made in a different way. Even in the case of N. T. works which as it appears to us were certainly known and used by Clement, such as Romans and I Corinthians, the citations are loose and inexact.[11]

Of Ignatius of Antioch, the scholar responsible (W. R. Inge) makes the remarkable[12] observation that 'Ignatius *always* quotes from memory; that he is inexact even as compared with his contemporaries; and that he appears sometimes to have a vague recollection of a phrase when he is not thinking of, or wishing to remind his readers of, the original context'.[13]

[8] *NTAF*, 3.

[9] *NTAF*, 4 (reading 2).

[10] *NTAF*, 35–6 (reading 26).

[11] *NTAF*, 37.

[12] Inge's claim is remarkable for three reasons: (1) it is an assertion that cannot be made with any degree of certainty—yet Inge is dogmatic ('Ignatius *always* . . .'); (2) Inge's claim is completely unverifiable; and (3) it completely eliminates—without any evidence!—*all* other possible explanations (e.g., verbatim citation from an apocryphal source, accurate citation from catenae, citation from oral tradition, citation from a *deviating* gospel text, etc.).

Inge's presumptuous—but pious—claim is out of step with the very cautious, nuanced, and critical approach of the other contributors; cf., e.g., the careful, analytical work of J. V. Bartlet, A. J. Carlyle, and P. V. M. Benecke on *2 Clement*.

[13] *NTAF*, 64 (reading 'g'); italics added.

Concerning Polycarp of Smyrna, the researcher (P. V. M. Benecke) notes: 'Here again [at 12. 3] the language of Polycarp seems to be influenced by teaching like that of the Sermon on the Mount [Matt. 5. 44; Luke 6. 27], but the passage affords no evidence for the use of either of our Gospels in its present form.'[14]

As for *Shepherd*, J. Drummond writes: 'The author of the Shepherd of Hermas nowhere supplies us with a direct quotation from the Old or New Testament, and we are therefore obliged to fall back upon allusions which always admit of some degree of doubt.'[15]

And finally, of *2 Clement* (examined by J. V. Bartlet, A. J. Carlyle, and P. V. M. Benecke), we read: 'Clement's wording [at *2 Clem.* 3. 2] is sufficiently different [from Matt. 10. 32 or Luke 12. 8] to suggest the direct use of another source altogether, whether oral or written.'[16] On another passage they note: '[The passage in *2 Clem.* 4. 2] may simply echo [Matt. 7. 21]. . . . Or the quotation may have stood in this form in the same source from which iv. 5, v. 2–4 seem to come, the subject being akin. Or, again, it may come from oral tradition.'[17]

As this sampling makes clear, the 1905 researchers (with the exception of Inge, who stood on the threshold of a fabled ecclesiastical career) were well aware of the multiplicity of possible explanations for the evidence they found in the Apostolic Fathers; they were also acutely aware of their inability to reach definitive judgements on the basis of the evidence. All they could do was follow the *via negativa*: the source(s) used in about three-quarters of the passages in the Apostolic Fathers with a parallel in the New Testament (to quote Benecke, on Polycarp) 'affords no evidence for the use of either of our Gospels in its present form';[18] that being the case, one had to consider (to quote Bartlet, Carlyle, and Benecke, on *2 Clement*) 'the direct use of another [viz. non-canonical] source altogether, whether oral or written'.[19]

These conclusions—based on the first systematic cataloguing and examination of the potential parallels between the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament—are what make the 1905 volume such a milestone in learning. Although the Committee's stated task had *not* been to render a judgement on the *text* of the New Testament parallels in the Apostolic Fathers, nevertheless, they had done so. Whether they realized from the outset that such judgements were a necessary, intermediate step on the way to their final goal, or whether the realization dawned on them only as the project progressed, is unknown. But, as the small sampling of quotations presented above makes clear, their

[14] *NTAF*, 103 (reading 78).
[15] *NTAF*, 105.
[16] *NTAF*, 130 (reading 23).
[17] *NTAF*, 131 (reading 24).
[18] *NTAF*, 103 (reading 78).
[19] *NTAF*, 130 (reading 23).

empirical, textual observations were devastating for the idea of a 'standard' or 'established' text of the New Testament in the first half of the second century. The disjunction between piety (both lay and academic) and these findings goes a long way towards explaining why the 1905 volume has received so little attention—even, one regrets to say, among textual critics.

If one searches for patterns in the readings catalogued and examined by the Oxford Committee, three broad conclusions emerge. First, it is clear that the vast majority of passages in the Apostolic Fathers for which one can find likely parallels in the New Testament have *deviations* from our present, critically reconstructed New Testament text. It must be emphasized that the vast majority of these deviations are *not* minor (e.g., differences in spelling or verb tense), but major (a completely new context, a substantial interpolation or omission, a conflation of two entirely separate ideas and/or passages). Second, harmonization is a surprisingly common phenomenon. Sometimes the harmonizations are (almost) entirely composed of material found in our modern editions of the New Testament; more often, however, they contain material which we today classify as extra-canonical. Third, the Apostolic Fathers often reproduce, without remark, material that we, today, call extra-canonical. Sometimes this extra-canonical material is introduced with a quotation formula—such as, 'the Lord says', or 'the Gospel says'. The obvious inference is that the Father considered this extra-canonical source as authoritative as any other.

Much has happened in the century since the publication of the 1905 volume. Two World Wars have come and gone, the atom has been harnessed, flight has become a reality, and polio and smallpox have all but vanished. Yet, a century later, one finds modern scholars—operating independently—coming to the same conclusions, expressed in virtually the same terminology. One may open Helmut Köster's *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, and read (concerning *Did.* 16. 3–8 and Matt. 24. 10–12): 'doch wegen zu großer Verschiedenheiten in Wortlaut und Inhalt kaum direct literarisch etwas miteinander zu tun haben werden'.[20]

If one turns from Köster's Olympian survey to studies which focus on a single document, the results remain the same. For example, of *2 Clem.* 13. 4 (parr. Luke 6. 32; 6. 27; and Matt. 5. 46, 44), Karl Donfried writes: 'Most likely 2 Clement had access to a non-canonical source and is quoting from this.'[21]

[20] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* TU 65 (V Reihe, Band 10) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 179.

[21] K. P. Donfried, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity*, NovTSup 38 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 78.

While modern researchers may quibble over precisely *how* one should account for a given reading in a given Apostolic Father,[22] one fact—already noted by the 1905 committee—remains constant: *in the overwhelming majority of cases, those passages in the Apostolic Fathers which offer recognizable parallels with our present-day New Testament display a text that is very different from what we now find in our modern critical editions of the New Testament.* Some might wonder if the disagreements would disappear if the basis for comparison were changed from our modern critically reconstructed text to the texts of the 'great uncials' of the mid-fourth century (Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus). They do not. Even if the basis for comparison is changed to the text of our oldest continuous-text manuscripts of New Testament documents (P^{64+67} and P^{66} (both of which date from '*ca.* 200'[23])), the differences remain. One simply must admit that the passages found in the Apostolic Fathers are different from the texts found in our oldest New Testament papyri, from the texts of the 'great uncials', and from the text of our modern editions.

II. THEN AND NOW: THE DIFFERENCES OF A CENTURY

Despite the similarities between the results of the 1905 volume and those of more recent research (Köster, Donfried, Niederwimmer, etc.), there are also differences. These differences are significant, for they show *how* our discipline has changed, and *what* caused it to change. The *what* has been the discovery of new sources, and the *how* has been the creation of new models of the development of early Christian texts (including those that would later become canonical) based on the evidence found in these new sources. Let us consider each in turn.

The New Sources

Merely naming three sources discovered since 1905 will be sufficient to demonstrate their importance. First, in 1911, Alfred Schmidtke collected

[22] Is it due to the Father's faulty memory, or reliance on 'oral tradition', or the use of a proto-version of one of our canonical gospels, or reliance upon a pre-Justin harmony, or use of an apocryphal gospel, or the proclivity of the Father to freely adapt the text to his audience and the moment?

[23] So K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 2nd rev. edn. (trans. from the 2nd German edn. (1981); Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 100.

and published the glosses now known as the 'Zion Gospel Edition'.[24] Second, Egerton Papyrus 2 was discovered in 1934, and published in 1935.[25] Third, the Coptic version of the entire *Gospel of Thomas* was found in 1945.[26]

New Models Developed from the New Sources

The discovery of these new sources was revolutionary, for in many cases one now had *multiple* second-century examples of the *same* logion or episode. This allowed comparisons to be made, and for the first time one could plot a *trajectory* of development for a given logion or pericope: one point on a map is a static location, but a series of linked points on a map is a plot, a trajectory, which shows change. The existence of multiple versions of the same pericope also meant that the 'patterns and practices' of authors and scribes of the period could be identified and described. This multiplication of reference points profoundly *changed how we view the transmission history of the books that later became part of the canon.* How much of a change? Consider two examples.

Exhibit 1

When the authors of the 1905 volume pondered the source of *2 Clem.* 12. 2, the only known parallel was a fragment of Julius Cassianus (*fl.* 190?) quoted by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* 3. 13. 92. Clement explicitly noted that the text quoted by Cassianus was *not* found in 'our four gospels', but was (according to Clement) from the '*[Gospel] according to the Egyptians*'. Today, however, it can be paralleled with logion 22 of the *Gospel of Thomas.*[27]

[24] A. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*, TU 37.1, 3 Reihe, Band 7 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911). Bousset's first notice in 1894 (in his *Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament*, TU 11.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs), 132–5) of ten of the manuscripts attracted little attention, and did not list all thirty-nine of the MSS of the group. See W. L. Petersen, 'Zion Gospel Edition', in D. N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), vi. 1097–8.

[25] H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat (eds.), *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other early Christian papyri* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1935), 1–41.

[26] A. Guillaumont, H.-C. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, and Y. 'Abd al Masih (eds.), *The Gospel of Thomas* (Leiden: Brill; New York: Harper & Row, 1959). The oldest of the Oxyrhynchus fragments of *Thomas* (*P Oxy.* 1) was known to the Oxford researchers, having been published in 1897; the other two fragments (*P Oxy.* 654 and 655) were published only in 1904, and were therefore presumably unknown to the Oxford Committee (all three Oxyrhynchus fragments were edited by Grenfell and Hunt).

[27] The texts are available in their original languages in either T. Baarda, '2 Clement 12 and the Sayings of Jesus', in H. Helderman and S. J. Noorda (eds.), *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus* (Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel/Uitgeverij, 1983), 261–88; or Donfried, *Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity*, 73–7. The English translations given in the table (with minor modifications) are those, respectively, of Baarda, Lightfoot/Harmer/Holmes, and Baarda.

Clem. Al. *Strom.* 3. 13. 92		*2 Clem.* 12. 2		*Gospel of Thomas*, 22
	a	For the Lord himself, when he was asked by someone	*a*	
	b		*b*	They said to him: ‘If we are little ones,
	c	when his kingdom was going to come,	*c*	will we enter into the kingdom?’
When Salome inquired, when she would know the things about which she had asked,	*d*		*d*	
the Lord said,	*e*	said,	*e*	Jesus said to them:
‘When you tread upon the garment of shame	*f*		*f*	
and when the two become one,	*g*	‘When the two shall be one,	*g*	‘When you will make the two one,
	h		*h*	and make the inside as the outside
	i	And the outside like the inside,	*i*	and the outside as the inside,
	j		*j*	and the upper side like the underside
	k		*k*	and [so,] that you will make the male with the female into a single one,
and when the male with the female	*l*	and the male with the female,	*l*	so that the male is not male
is neither male nor female.’	*m*	neither male nor female.’	*m*	and the female is not female . . .’

Without the evidence of the *Gospel of Thomas*, the Oxford Committee remarked that ‘it looks as if 2 Clement quotes from the same passage [in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, also quoted by Cassian]’. Indeed, J. V. Bartlet, one of the Oxford Committee responsible for *2 Clement*, suggested that *all* of *2 Clement*’s extra-canonical citations ‘may be’ from the *Gospel* *according to the Egyptians*, which might even be 'the one [extra-canonical source] cited by 2 Clem. throughout'.[28]

An analysis conducted today would come to a different conclusion. The three texts above show that, by the middle of the second century, the transmission history of a single logion ('the two become one, male with female' (elements *g*, *l*, and *m*)) was already bifurcated into two families.

'Family 1' consists of the Clement of Alexandria/Cassianus/*Gospel according to the Egyptians* version of the saying. In this family, the core of the logion (elements *g*, *l*, and *m*) survives in what appears to be an uninterpolated form. However, it has been conflated with another logion (elements *d*, *e*, and *f*), which elsewhere circulates separately.[29]

'Family 2' consists of the version found in *2 Clement* and *Thomas* (logion 22). The textual filiation of these two sources is evidenced by four similarities. (1) Both texts introduce the logion as a question about the 'kingdom' (element *c*). (2) Both texts fail to interpolate the second logion ('tread upon the garment of shame'; elements *d*, *e*, and *f*), found in 'family 1'. (3) In both texts, Jesus' first words are the same (element *g*). (4) Both texts contain the same interpolation concerning the 'outside as the inside' (element *i*).

Note also that 'family 2' shows development *within* the family. First, we note that only 'family 2' displays the interpolation of element *i* ('outside like the inside'). Once this interpolation has been introduced (by *2 Clement* or his source), and it reaches *Thomas*, either *Thomas* or his source has amplified the interpolation by the addition of elements *h*, *j*, and *k*.

A century ago, Bartlet presumed *2 Clement's* use of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*—the same source used by Cassianus. Today, however, our conclusions would be very different. We would observe that we are in

[28] *NTAF*, 136. Despite these statements, Bartlet also offers a very prescient observation about the sources of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*: '[The character of the source quoted in *2 Clem.* 5. 2–4] corresponds more nearly to what we know of the Oxyrhynchus *Sayings of Jesus*, than to [the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*] as usually conceived. But it is quite likely that the Egyptian Gospel embodied much matter from earlier Gospels, including the Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings Gospel.' Today we can say that Bartlet was very close to the mark—although we would probably contend that none of the three versions available to us today represents the original form of the logion; it is generally agreed that *2 Clement*'s version of the saying is the oldest *preserved* (so Köster, Donfried, Lindemann, etc.), but it is clear that all three descend from a still older tradition.

[29] These first three elements (*d*, *e*, and *f*) are obviously related to *Thomas* logion 37: 'His disciples said, "*When will* you appear to us, and when will *we* see you?" Jesus *said*, "*When you strip without being ashamed, and you take your clothes and put them under your feet like little children and trample them*, then [you] will see the son of the living one and you will not be afraid." '

possession of three versions of the same logion (elements *g*, *l*, and *m*), all dated to the first half of the second century. However, none appears to give us the most ancient version of the saying. Each source has tampered with the words of Jesus in its own distinctive way. In 'family 1', the original logion (elements *g*, *l*, and *m*) has been conflated with a separate logion (elements *d*, *e*, and *f*). In 'family 2' we note that *2 Clement* has interpolated element *i* into the logion; once element *i* is in place, it provides *Thomas* with a point of departure for further, related interpolations (elements *h*, *j*, and *k*).

In 1905, the researchers had only two versions of this saying at their disposal. Today, thanks to the discovery of *Thomas*, we have three points of reference, and a more accurate insight into how texts were handled in the early second century. Our analysis is, therefore, more profound and analytical.

Exhibit 2

In *2 Clem.* 4. 5a, there is a saying of Jesus which the Oxford Committee categorized as coming from the 'apocryphal gospels', without stipulating a specific gospel.[30] Schmidtke's 1911 publication of the glosses of the 'Zion Gospel Edition'[31] provided the first parallel for this logion. In Greek gospel MS 1424 (ninth or tenth century), a marginal gloss at Matt. 7. 5 attributes the logion to 'the Jewish [gospel]' (*τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν*).

2 Clem. 4. 5a		'Zion Gospel' gloss in MS 1424, at Matt. 7. 5
	a	The Jewish gospel here reads the following:
If you were	*b*	If you were
with me assembled	*c*	
in my bosom and	*d*	in my bosom and
would not do my commandments,	*e*	would not do the will of my Father in heaven,
I would expel you.	*f*	I will cast you
	g	out of my bosom.

[30] The speculation of J. V. Bartlet *et al.* (see *supra*, at n. 28) would, if accepted, apply here in addition to *2 Clem.* 12. 2.

[31] See *supra*, n. 24.

Not only does the gloss identify the source of the logion (Schmidtke concluded that the 'Jewish Gospel' was one of the Judaic-Christian gospels; Vielhauer and Strecker have suggested that it was the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans*, which is dated to 'the first half of the second century'[32]); it also appears to preserve a more ancient and 'Semitic' form of the logion than does *2 Clement*. In support of that claim, note the following: (1) the interpolation of 'with me assembled' in *2 Clement* (element *c*) seems a later addition to the text, for it presupposes a congregational setting; (2) the repetition and inversion of 'in/out of my bosom' in the gloss ('*in* my *bosom*' (element *d*) and '*out* of my *bosom*' (element *g*)) appear to be a Semitism; (3) *2 Clement*'s 'my commandments' (element *e*) reflects a higher, Jesus-centred Christology, while 'the will of my Father in heaven' reflects a more modest (and, therefore, presumably more ancient) Judaic-Christian Christology.

In 1905, the logion found at *2 Clem.* 4. 5a was a singularity, and the Oxford Committee could only say that it appeared to come from an apocryphal gospel. Although they did not say so, one could infer that, since the oldest manuscript of *2 Clement* is Codex Alexandrinus (MS A, fifth century), the logion could have originated no earlier than the fourth century. Now, however, a century later, we have a second version of the logion, in a source that attributes it to a second-century document (*τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν*); it is of the utmost significance that this 'Jewish gospel' is a direct chronological contemporary of *2 Clement*. This proves that the logion is very ancient. The new parallel also permits us to observe that *2 Clement*'s version of the logion seems to be a more developed version of the saying found in *τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν*.

III. THE STATE OF THE QUESTION IN 2005

As the foregoing has made clear, the discoveries of the last century permit us greater insight into how Christian texts were handled in the second century. It is to the eternal credit of the 1905 Oxford Committee that—although the new discoveries and the new models of the development of early Christian texts permit us to refine our analyses beyond what was possible in 1905—the core of the committee's remarks and commentary remain valid a century later.[33]

[32] P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, 'IV. Jewish Christian Gospels, 1: The Gospel of the Nazoraeans', in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2nd English edn. (Cambridge/Louisville, Ky.: James Clarke/Westminster Press, 1991), i. 159.

[33] The reason for their timelessness is the fact that they are based on empirical observation, not ideological, theological cant (e.g., Dean Inge's bold—but baseless—claim (*supra*, n. 12)).

Whether one works with the findings of the 1905 volume (presented in section I above), or whether one relies on more recent analyses (Köster *et al.*), the empirical evidence confronts one with two models for describing the texts of this period (100–150 CE) which eventually became the New Testament.[34] We consider each in turn.

Model 1

In the first half of the second century—that is, in the age of the Apostolic Fathers—and even later, into the time of Tatian and Clement of Alexandria (near the end of the second century), there was neither a fixed canon nor a fixed text for any of the New Testament documents. Rather, 'clusters' of sayings/episodes/parts of (what later became our canonical) gospels and epistles circulated, initially (for the gospels, at least) probably without a title, and then, later, with a title. But the *contents* of the 'cluster' bearing the title 'Mark' or 'Romans' was still very much in flux and subject to change. Additions were still being made,[35] as were deletions; the sequence of the text was still being modified.[36] In short, what the Alands have written is true:

> Denn im 2. Jahrhundert ist der Text des Neuen Testament noch nicht endgültig festgelegt. Noch bis 150, wo wir bei Justin zum ersten Mal Zitate aus den Evangelien einigermassen fassen können (vorher herrscht völlige Willkür in der Zitation), warden diese 'freischwebend' zitiert, erst um 180 (bei Irenäus) setzt eine Verfestigung ein.[37]

All attempts to establish use of this or that 'canonical' book by the Apostolic Fathers (as the 1905 Oxford volume sought to do) are, therefore—if one

[34] The subsequent remarks are subject to the following limitations: (1) I am addressing only the period 100–150 CE; (2) I am relying on the best critical editions of the Fathers available to us today (if new discoveries change the text of the Fathers, my conclusions may change); (3) I recognize and am aware of all of the problems in the field of patristic and apocryphal studies, including what constitutes a citation, an allusion, or an echo, and the vagaries of the transmission history of each Father's own text; and, finally, (4) our still circumscribed (although better than in 1905) knowledge of the range of sources available to a writer in the first half of the second century.

[35] Two of the most obvious and generally accepted examples are the various 'endings' of the Gospel of Mark (what follows Mark 16. 8), and the *pericope adulterae* in John (7. 53–8. 11).

[36] It is important to realize that the liberties that the 'evangelists' took with each others' 'gospels' is decisive evidence for this endless 'tinkering' and cavalier attitude towards the text: consider the liberties which each evangelist takes with the 'Anointing at Bethany' (Matt. 26. 6–13; Mark 14. 3–9; Luke 7. 36–50; John 12. 1–8), including where each gospel places the episode within the life of Jesus. Other examples abound: the crucifixion accounts and their date, the discovery of the empty tomb, the episode of the rich young man, the parable of the lost sheep, etc., etc.

[37] K. and B. Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 1st edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982), 64. The same sentence stands in the 2nd German edn. (1989), and in the English translation thereof (pp. 54–5).

accepts the Alands' analysis—doomed from the outset; for how, in any meaningful way, can one speak of an Apostolic Father's use of (e.g.) 'Matthew', if the text of Matthew were *freischwebend*, and not yet 'fixed'? While one might be able to speak of the use of 'traditions' which later coalesced, and eventually became part of the fixed text that *today* bears the title 'The Gospel according to Matthew' (that is, *our* Matthew, of the 'great uncials' and of our modern, critically reconstructed text[38]), one cannot speak with any degree of certainty about the form of *our* 'Matthew' in the first half of the second century.[39]

Subscribing to this model has certain consequences. It means that scholars must be very circumspect about attributing *anything* to the first-century church, for there is a *complete* lack of *any* empirical evidence from the first century. And what evidence we have from the second century—in the Apostolic Fathers, for example—hardly inspires confidence. The problems are not confined to the liberties taken with the texts (as evidenced in our exhibits, or as evident in any synopsis), but also extend to the matter of the boundary between what would later be called canonical and extra-canonical texts,[40] and the citation of extra-canonical material as 'gospel' or *logia Iesou* during the age of the Apostolic Fathers.[41] The issue, then, is not just one of the *texts* being unsettled, but also one of which *documents* (or, more properly, clusters of material) and which *traditions* were authoritative, and which were not.

[38] Elsewhere, I have argued—as have many others, both past and present—that our modern, critically reconstructed editions of the New Testament do not give us the text of the early (or even late) second-century gospels and epistles; rather, what our modern editions reconstruct is the text of the great uncials (*c.* 350) and the text of the third century (i.e., from 185 (the time of Irenaeus) and later): see W. L. Petersen, 'The Genesis of the Gospels', in A. Denaux (ed.), *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, BETL 161 (Leuven: Peeters and University of Leuven Press, 2002), 33–65; also *idem*, 'What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?', in B. Aland and J. Delobel (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History: A Discussion of Methods*, CBET 7 (Kampen: Kok-Pharos, 1994), 136–51, esp. 151.

[39] It is the awareness of this problem that led Niederwimmer to caution that even though 'the . . . quotation [at *Did.* 9. 5] . . . is found word for word in Matt 7. 6 . . . it is not certain that the Didachist is quoting Matthew's Gospel'. (K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1998), 53). Already in 1905, the Oxford Committee had identified this problem, and had already discerned the implications: 'The verbal resemblance [between *Did.* 9. 5 and Matt. 7. 6] is exact, but the passage in Matthew contains no reference to the Eucharist, and the proverbial character of the saying reduces the weight which must be attached to verbal similarity' (*NTAF*, 27 (reading 10)).

[40] There are numerous examples of what we today consider extra-canonical material penetrating the manuscript tradition of the canonical gospels, e.g.: (1) the 'light' in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism in Vetus Latina MSS *a* and g^1; (2) the interpolation of the actual words spoken by the Jews at Luke 23. 48 in Vetus Latina MS g^1; (3) the variant reading 'bodiless demon' at Luke 24. 37.

[41] An example of a 'gospel' citation that is unknown to us today is found at Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5. 10 (this is, of course, not a new problem when dealing with Holy Writ: the 'prophets' whose words—as quoted in Matt. 2. 23—were 'fulfilled' remain unknown to us even today).

Clearly, the standards of the Apostolic age were not those of the Quinisextine Council.[42]

If one does not like the consequences of this first model, then there is always the alternative: model 2.

Model 2

In the age of the Apostolic Fathers, the text of the New Testament was fixed in the form known to us today. 'Mark' in 110 or 130 CE would be immediately recognizable as the critically reconstructed Gospel of Mark found in our modern editions, save for some minor, largely irrelevant, textual 'noise' (and (presumably) the lack of the 'Long Ending' (Mark 16. 9–20)). All of the 'deviations' from this established text in the Apostolic Fathers would be—as suggested by many Victorian (and even contemporary) scholars[43]—due to citation from memory or adapting the text to the purposes of the moment (e.g., preaching, evangelizing, teaching, disputing).

The present author finds this model profoundly flawed, for four reasons.

First, we know that many of the 'deviating' readings found in the Apostolic Fathers *have parallels in other Fathers or documents*, where the same reading

[42] But even when the Quinisextine Council in 692 promulgated the twenty-seven-book canon for the whole church, it still did not specify the *textual form* of those books. Hence, the *contents* of Matthew or John might (and did) vary considerably from area to area (examples would include the inclusion or omission of the 'Sailor's Signs' at Matt. 18. 2–3 and the inclusion or omission of the *pericope adulterae* from the Gospel of John). See also *infra*, n. 50.

[43] Cf. the remarks on the biblical quotations in the *Epistle of Barnabas* in M. Staniforth (ed.), *Early Christian Writings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968): 'The ordinary reader may find himself puzzled by the seeming inaccuracy of many of Barnabas's profuse quotations from Scripture. There are three factors, any of which—either by itself or in combination with others—may account for this. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that Barnabas is using the only Bible that was familiar to the Greek-speaking world, the Greek (LXX, or Septuagint) translation of the original Hebrew books. Secondly, his standards of exactitude are not high; he often quotes from a not very reliable memory, and is content to give the general sense of a text instead of its exact words. And finally, it must be confessed that he has regrettably few scruples about altering or adding to a Scriptural text to strengthen his argument' (p. 191). Apparently, it never occurred to Staniforth—or was an idea beyond the pale—that the author of *Barnabas* simply had a *different* text from ours, one which he quoted accurately!

Consider also the remarks about Justin's biblical quotations in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, American edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1985), i: 'Justin quotes from memory, so that there are some slight discrepancies between the words of Jesus as here cited, and the same sayings as recorded in our Gospels' (167 n. 3); 'This and the following quotation taken promiscuously from Matt. xxiii. and Luke xi' (203 n. 6).

M. Mees's study of Clement of Alexandria makes use of the 'adaptation to the moment' theory; more recently, J. Verheyden ('Assessing Gospel Quotations in Justin Martyr', in A. Denaux (ed.), *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*, BETL 161 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 361–77) has argued that Justin had literary and/or stylistic reasons for some of his modifications.

turns up in almost—and, in many instances, *precisely*—the same 'deviating' form. This is incontrovertible proof that faulty memories are *not* the source of these 'deviating' readings; nor can 'spontaneous' adaptations to the moment explain them. Rather, we are dealing with *a tradition*—almost certainly *written* (because of the verbatim similarity)—that was known to multiple authors in close chronological proximity to each other.[44]

Second, while the claim that all of the Fathers had gone potty may appeal to some—and the present author must admit that he is certainly sympathetic to the charge—it is an untenable claim, for it requires that one maintain as 'true' two mutually exclusive, contradictory beliefs. To hold this position, one must, on the one hand, maintain that the value of the text was recognized by the Fathers; it was, therefore, carefully established, preserved, and transmitted with scrupulous accuracy. But this option also forces one to maintain at the same time (and on the other hand) that *all* of the early Church Fathers treated this 'carefully established, preserved, and [scrupulously] transmitted' text with a cavalier attitude, tinkering with it to suit the purposes of the moment, and that—although they might have memorized the whole of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in their pagan youth—they were now incapable of citing from memory the simplest 'words of God'—a God for whom they were willing to die—without messing things up.

If the absurd logic of this—both at an abstract level, as well as a practical level—does not render the 'faulty memory' argument untenable, then consider the facts. This position simply does not comport with what we know of memories and texts in antiquity. Recall that in Xenophon's *Symposium* (3. 5), Niceratus becomes the butt of the joke when he states: 'My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man, and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart.'[45] The humour comes not from contemplating such an onerous task, but rather from the vulgarity of it: Antisthenes deflates Niceratus' boast by observing, 'Has it escaped you that every rhapsodist knows these poems, as well?' It is Socrates who then intervenes, and rescues Niceratus: the rhapsodists, he notes, 'obviously don't understand the hidden meanings in them', which Niceratus does, thanks to his extensive study with well-paid professors.

[44] E.g., in our second exhibit above, MS 1424 dates from ninth/tenth century, but the gloss cannot be dismissed as medieval, for (1) it is ascribed to 'the Jewish gospel', commonly understood to be one of the Judaic-Christian gospels (most likely the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans* (so Vielhauer and Strecker)), which would (2) place it in the first half of the second century, which is (3) precisely the time when *2 Clement* was composed—and *2 Clement* is the only other known source to offer what is essentially the same logion!

[45] E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd (eds.), *Xenophon*, iv, LCL (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1923), 558–9.

It is certainly true that our Apostolic Fathers were not handsome, athletic young Athenian aristocrats, blessed with the best education the world could offer. But two things remain true: in antiquity, if you had a text as short as the Epistle of James or even the Gospel of Matthew, memorizing it would not have been a problem. Second, if you held that text in any esteem, and learned the text's 'hidden meanings',[46] then it follows that your memorization of the text had to be quite accurate, or the point you sought to interpret would 'disappear' into the cobwebs of your faulty memory. Text and interpretation went hand in hand.[47] Just as an acrostic helped maintain textual integrity, so a hermeneutic system dependent upon extracting 'hidden meanings' from a text helped to maintain textual integrity.

But this is *not* what we are told by advocates of the 'memory lapse' theory. In their eyes, the text is there, somewhere, in all its immaculate glory, *but it is almost never cited accurately by any of these Apostolic Fathers.* And this in an age when memorization was common, and hermeneutics derived not from the latest post-modernist fad, but from the 'hidden' meanings found within a text.

Third, adherents of this model argue that the Fathers' deviating citations are the result, if not of faulty memory, of their adapting the text to the moment: when teaching, or preaching, or disputing, or evangelizing, they would alter this meticulously preserved text to suit their purposes. Again, just on the face of it, this can be dismissed for the same reasons as the 'memory lapse' explanation. It is impossible to imagine that ecclesiastical leaders—who are aware of the importance of the text, are conscious of the necessity of its correct preservation and transmission, and who are ever-vigilant against textual corruptions—would (themselves!) at the same time take such liberties with this same text. As we all know, habits of accuracy permeate one's life. One does not work tirelessly, preserving a text with the utmost accuracy, only to cite it carelessly when writing theological treatises which are held in such high esteem that they are the *only* works from the earliest Christians to have come down to us.

Fourth, and finally, this option requires one to violate common sense and ignore parallels in other religions. We know that texts evolve, and when the issue is theology, the need to adapt and change the text to prevent 'misuse' or 'misinterpretation' is overwhelming.[48] So is the need to keep in step with

[46] Cf. esp. Mark 4. 10–12, 33–4; also Gal. 4. 23–31.

[47] See J. Delobel, 'Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Siamese Twins?', in B. Aland and J. Delobel (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History: A Discussion of Methods*, CBET 7 (Kampen: Kok-Pharos, 1994), 98–117.

[48] The examples are infinite, and extend from the antique (in a synopsis, cf. Mark 10. 17–18 with Matt. 19. 16–17, or Mark 11. 13 with Matt. 21. 19; in each case, the theological reasons for the differences are obvious) to the modern (the Roman Catholic *New Jerusalem Bible* (1990) translates *τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου* as 'wine' at Mark 14. 25 (parr.); unlike Baptists or Methodists, Catholics use wine in the Eucharist).

changing times and the latest theological fashions.[49] Yet we are asked to presume that in the period when the text was the *least* established, the *least* protected by canonical status, and the *most* subject to pressures from various constituencies (e.g., Gnostics, Montanists, Judaic Christians, Pauline Christians, Petrine Christians, etc.) vying for dominance within Christianity, the text was preserved in virginal purity, magically insulated from all of these tawdry motives. To assent to this thesis not only defies common sense, but mocks logic and our experience with the texts of other religious traditions.[50] It also defies the empirical textual evidence of the Apostolic Fathers and the manuscript tradition of the New Testament.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

One hundred years after the Oxford Committee produced its report, we are right to marvel at its perspicacity, its thoroughness, and its brevity. However, the question it asked—for which books of the New Testament is there evidence in the Apostolic Fathers?—is not the way we would now pose the question. Today we would ask a much more fundamental and 'preliminary' question: namely, what textual parallels are there for the recognizable passages[51] in the Apostolic Fathers, and what do these parallels tell us about the *textual complexion* of the documents—whatever they may have been—that were known to the Apostolic Fathers?

The answers to this question were first set out in the 1905 volume, but have been largely ignored because of their devastating effect on dearly held myths about the genesis of the New Testament. Nevertheless, the last century of research has only confirmed the Oxford Committee's findings, as reproduced in the first section of this paper. The text of the documents which would later

[49] The examples are legion: the pacifist early church (cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), or C. J. Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War: A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics* (London: Headley Brothers, 1919)) versus the militant post-Constantinian church, which in 380 became the state religion of the Roman Empire; the 'divinely ordained' inferiority of blacks (cf. S. R. Haynes, *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)) versus their new-found equality with whites in the post-World War II period; etc.

[50] Cf., e.g., the problem concerning the relationship of the text of the Septuagint to the 'Old Greek', to the Masoretic text, to the text of Aquila, to the text of Symmachus, to the text of Theodotion, to the text of Qumran, etc. (cf. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), or S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 233–4, 312–13, *et passim*).

[51] And 'unrecognizable' quotations from unknown 'gospels' or 'words of Jesus'.

be included in the New Testament was neither stable nor established. Indeed, the texts were still evolving, both in terms of scope and variants. Additionally, no canon is evident, as is shown both by the citation of what are today considered extra-canonical *logia Iesou* as 'gospel', and by the status accorded documents (such as the unknown 'gospel' expressly cited at *2 Clem.* 8. 5 ('For the Lord says in the gospel')) which are unknown to us today. Most important, however, is the recognition—implicit in the findings of the 1905 volume—that the fixing of the canon actually meant little, for simply placing a name, such as 'Matthew', on a list fixes neither the content of that document, nor its text.[52]

[52] An example is Athanasius' canonical list of 367 CE (in his *39th Festal Epistle*): it lists the Gospel of John, but the text of John known to Athanasius probably lacked the *pericope adulterae* (John 7. 53–8. 11), for the oldest Greek MS with this passage is Codex Bezae (D), which dates from *c.* 400 CE (so D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 280–1). Such tinkering with the text was not always by interpolation, for *c.* 430 Augustine (*De adulterinis coniugiis* 7. 6 (ed. Zycha, CSEL 41, 387–8)) reports that pious men in his diocese *excised* this same passage from their copies of John, lest their wives use it to justify their adulteries and escape punishment.

3

Absent Witnesses? The Critical Apparatus to the Greek New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers

J. Keith Elliott

Table II of *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*[1] shows that outside the synoptic gospels there are Aa-rated citations in the Apostolic Fathers from 1 Corinthians, Hebrews, and 1 Peter, and Ab-rated citations from Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and 1 Peter. An 'A' rating employed there indicates that there is 'no reasonable doubt' that the Father knew the particular New Testament book; an 'a' or 'b' refers to the relative closeness of a quotation in the Apostolic Fathers to the biblical text. We might expect our modern critical editions to show the evidence of some of these Apostolic Fathers for variants at these points. This is not the case, however. Souter's *Text and Canon*[2] may have been influential, especially in its conclusion that the results of the Oxford Committee's findings in their *New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* have 'hardly any bearing on the choice between variants in a passage of the New Testament'.

Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (= NA^{27}), our best hand edition, has in its list of patristic sources used in the apparatus (pp. 33–5*, 74*–6*) the following Apostolic Fathers: *2 Clement*, Polycarp of Smyrna, and the *Didache*. The United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (= UBS), the most widely distributed Greek Testament, says that *2 Clement*, Polycarp, and the *Didache* are mentioned in the critical apparatus of this edition (pp. 30* ff.), but states on p. 35* that other Apostolic Fathers 'offer no witness of significance for the critical apparatus of this edition'.

Therefore in both hand editions, the writings of Ignatius, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, *1 Clement*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, and

[1] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 138.

[2] A. Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 4th edn. (London: Duckworth, 1935), 76.

Papias (all of which are normally to be found in modern collected editions of the Apostolic Fathers) are ignored.

But where are the references to the Fathers that are allegedly included? I can find only the *Didache* in NA in the critical apparatus to Matt. 6. 9–13 (the Paternoster). Others more eagle-eyed than I may find other references. But where are Polycarp and *2 Clement* in NA and UBS? Where is the *Didache* in UBS?

In the *Oxford Bible Commentary*[3] I discussed the likelihood that, among other references, *Did.* 9. 5 seems to know Matt. 7. 5, and that *Did.* 1. 3b–2. 1 refers to sayings known elsewhere in Matt. 5. 39–47, although I concluded by writing that in many such cases it may well be that parallels are not due to direct literary dependence but to oral tradition or even to a harmonized version of the canonical gospels.

I would certainly expect to see *Did.* 8. 2 quoted in the apparatus to Matthew's version of the Paternoster, as it indeed is in NA^{27}, especially as the *Didache* introduces the prayer with the words *ως εκελευσεν ο Κυριος εν τω ευαγγελιω αυτου*[4] (compared with *διδαχη* at *Did.* 1. 3; 2. 1), perhaps implying at least here that the author is consciously quoting from a source. NA shows in its apparatus for Matt. 6. 9 the unique reading by the *Didache*, *τω ουρανω* (as against *τοις ουρανοις cett.* of the text); for Matt. 6. 12 the unique reading *την οφειλην*, as against *τα οφειληματα*, and *αφιεμεν* with $\aleph^1$ f^{13} Maj against *αφιομεν* or *αφηκαμεν*; and for Matt. 6. 13 the longer ending, again with its sub-singular features: om. *η βασιλεια και* with k sa, and om. *αμην* with g^1 k sy^p.[5]

The present discussion concerns our expectations about what is needed from, and what is reasonably practicable to find within, the pages of a critical hand edition of the Greek New Testament.

In many ways a minimalist approach is inevitable: here a restricted amount of evidence is presented with a selection of (usually early) continuous text Greek manuscript witnesses consistently cited, together with a few random extra Greek manuscripts at certain key text-critical variants; a selection of early versions—predominantly Latin, Syriac, and Coptic—plus a few other

[3] J. K. Elliott, 'Extra-Canonical Early Christian Literature', in John Barton and John Muddiman (eds.), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1306–30, esp. 1308–9.

[4] All citations from the Apostolic Fathers are taken from the Loeb text in B. D. Ehrman (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[5] See also J. Delobel, 'The Lord's Prayer in the Textual Tradition: A Critique of Recent Theories and their View on Marcion's Role', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1989), 293–309. Also see J. Jeremias, 'The Lord's Prayer', most recently repr. in *idem*, *Jesus and the Message of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 39–62.

versions; as well as patristic evidence in Greek and, normally, in Latin too, up to a given cut-off date, often the end of the fifth century.

Even the *Editio Critica Maior* (= *ECM*),[6] with its commendably clear and full apparatus, has shown in the fascicules already published that only a certain, controlled number of witnesses appears in its apparatus. No Latin Fathers are cited. Only the earliest Greek Fathers are included (in this case up to the seventh–eighth century), but these are helpfully listed (in fascicule IV, 2 pp. B14–B20 (section 3.1) and with addenda on pp. B50, B98), with the reference to the context of the quotation in a printed edition. (That is a feature found in IGNTP Luke[7] and in the Vetus Latina volumes.) However, in the Catholic Epistles no citations from the Apostolic Fathers appear, despite 1 Peter being in table II of the 1905 Oxford Committee's book as Aa because Polycarp's *Philippians* seems to have known this letter. We note that in at least one place (no. 21 below) Polycarp could properly and usefully appear in an apparatus to 1 Pet. 2. 12.

But even if we say that a minimalist approach is all one may reasonably expect of a hand edition, there could still be scope within NA and UBS for a different range of witnesses in their respective apparatuses. What we now suggest is that certain anomalies are weeded out from those editions. That would create space for added and arguably more relevant evidence—including some more evidence from second-century Fathers. For instance, NA^{26}, surprisingly, allows a reading from the apocryphal Fayyum fragment at Mark 14. 48. Admittedly, this has disappeared from the following edition, but NA^{27} does have Papyrus Egerton 2 (a fragment of an apocryphal gospel) in its apparatus to John 5. 39! There may be a case for including the evidence of second-century apocryphal witnesses in an apparatus—and that case is made below—but the inclusion of such evidence in NA needs justifying in its editorial introduction.

Also, NA, following the papyri listed in the official register,[8] allows into its apparatus certain papyri whose very character raises the question of whether they ought ever to have been allocated a Gregory(–Aland) number in the first place. I am thinking here of P^{31}, a single sheet, blank on the reverse, that contains only Rom. 12. 3–8. This was probably a text used as an amulet. Again, a place for such evidence may well be justified (see below), but in a limited apparatus, where space is at a premium, the inclusion of a manuscript

[6] B. Aland *et al.* (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997–).

[7] The American and British Committees of the IGNTP, *The New Testament in Greek*, iii: *The Gospel of Luke*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, 1987).

[8] K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 1, 2nd edn. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994).

that was probably never part of a copy of the continuous text of a New Testament book is questionable. P^{12}, P^{13}, and P^{18} are opisthographs (their reverse sides contain other matter). Whether they were ever from a continuous text is debatable. In any case, P^{12} now contains only *one* verse of Hebrews. P^{2} and P^{7} also contain fewer than five verses, and even what they contain is so fragmentary that the original contexts are unknown: they may well be extracts from a homiletic work, and need never have been written as continuous texts. P^{50} and P^{78} were talismans. The status of these and other papyri that are in the *Liste* is dubious. They have been used by the editors of NA and UBS, because the editors give undue significance to New Testament writings on papyrus, as if the very writing material was itself so important. And what is the status of those papyri that carry *hermeneiai*[9] (e.g., P^{44}, a lectionary, P^{76}, and P^{93}, which seems to have been written, rather unprofessionally, for private use)? P^{99} is merely a haphazard collection of unconnected verses from the Pauline letters and could have been a school exercise, as, apparently, was P^{10}. Should P^{99} be classified with a Gregory number alongside its fellow Chester Beatty manuscripts like P^{45}, P^{46}, P^{47}? P^{11} contains only occasional notes. The following seem to have been intended as commentaries: P^{55}, P^{59}, P^{60}, P^{63}, P^{80}. P^{43} and P^{63} are mere selections of text. P^{42} is said by the Alands[10] to have been a collection of songs. P^{7} is merely a patristic fragment. P^{25} is probably a fragment of a harmony. More important in the present context is the question of why such witnesses should clutter the apparatus of our printed editions when the space saved by omitting such dubious sources could have been used to increase the exposure of v.ll. in the Apostolic Fathers. Our criticisms are not restricted only to papyri. Some of the same points may be made about other majuscules. For example, 0212 is a portion of a harmony, possibly the *Diatessaron*,[11] and 0250 is not a continuous-text manuscript.

There may be a case (made below) for allowing such recherché witnesses a place in an especially constructed apparatus, but in the minimal apparatus inevitably expected in a hand edition, we ought to view the inclusion of such evidence as on a different level from witnesses in 'proper' continuous-text manuscripts.

[9] See B. M. Metzger, 'Greek Manuscripts of John's Gospel with "Hermeneiai" ', in T. Baarda *et al.* (eds.), *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (Kampen: Kok, 1988), 162–9.

[10] K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 2nd edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 85.

[11] See D. C. Parker, D. G. K. Taylor, and M. S. Goodacre, 'The Dura Europos Gospel Harmony', in D. G. K. Taylor (ed.), *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts*, Texts and Studies, iii. 1 (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999), 109–28; repr. in *SBL Text Critical Studies*, 1 (Atlanta: SBL, 1999).

An even more serious point about unnecessary overcrowding may be made with reference to the bizarre conjectures to be found frequently in the apparatus of NA. These are for the most part references to conjectural emendations to the New Testament text by nineteenth-century European scholars (such as Baljon, Schmiedel, Westcott, Hort, and Lachmann), although some older names appear (Beza,[12] Erasmus, Grotius), as well as the long-forgotten Von Wyss (2 Thess. 3. 10), Wendt (John 3. 5), Pearce (Jude 18), and Piscator (3 John 2). I have a list of some 243 conjectures culled from ninety-four authors in the apparatus of NA^{25}. That number was reduced to 136 in NA^{27}, although nine others were added.[13] This evidence should be eliminated entirely. It has no place in the critical edition of a Greek New Testament. (We of course leave to one side the question as to whether *all* deliberate changes made by scribes to a manuscript they were copying were in effect also conjectures, whatever the origin of these.[14]) The conjectures are of historical interest, but the place to refer to such guesses (for that is often what these conjectures are) with reference to the attempted resolution of an often problematic text is in a learned commentary.[15] At Phil. 1. 25 NA^{25} a conjecture by Ewald has been altered to the now less helpful 'comm' (= commentaries). (Cf. also the addition of evidence from unnamed commentaries at Luke 1. 46; Col. 2. 15, 4. 13; and see Rev. 7. 16 ('*et al.*'). Who can benefit from such information?) The whole seems to be a random and arbitrary collection. Even the accuracy of some information seems questionable.[16]

Enough has perhaps been said to show the inconsistencies of the hand editions. This is not the place to launch a full-scale critique of these editions.[17]

[12] For a recent discussion of Beza's emendations, see J. Krans, 'Theodorus Beza and New Testament Textual Emendation', in W. Weren and D.-A. Koch (eds.), *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism: New Testament, Other Early Christian and Jewish Literature*, Studies in Theology and Religion, 8 (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2003), 109–28.

[13] NA^{27} Introduction p. 54* is less than helpful in referring as an example to a conjecture to Eph. 4. 21 which did not survive from NA^{26}. NA^{27} has no such conjecture!

[14] v.l. 'Gergesenes' at Matt. 8. 28, Mark 5. 1, Luke 8. 26, seems to have had its origin with Origen. See T. Baarda, 'Gadarenes, Gerasenes and Gergesenes and the "Diatessaron" Tradition', in E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox (eds.), *Neotestamentica et Semitica* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), 181–97, esp. 185 ff.

[15] For advocacy against conjectural emendation, see G. D. Kilpatrick, 'Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament', in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 349–60; and in favour of paying due attention to such matters, J. Strugnell, 'A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament: With a Coda on 1 Cor. 4:6', *CBQ* 36 (1974), 543–58.

[16] T. Baarda, '1 Thess 2: 14–16: Rodrigues in "Nestle-Aland" ', *NTT* 39 (1984–5), 186–93, relates how he spent a great deal of time trying to make sense of the reference to a conjecture by a Rodrigues given at 1 Thess. 2. 14–16, locating its author and original context, only to conclude that the apparatus in NA is wrong!

[17] See my contribution to the Greeven Festschrift: 'The Purpose and Construction of a Critical Apparatus to a Greek New Testament', in W. Schrage (ed.), *Studien zur Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments*, BZNW 47 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986), 125–43.

We referred earlier to the minimalist approach to apparatus building—that is, when one concentrates mainly on recording the readings of a number of continuous-text manuscripts, consistently cited, backed up by relevant versional and patristic witnesses. There is an opposite point of view: namely, that absolutely everything potentially relevant for establishing the New Testament text should be exhibited, so as to assist the plotting of its influence on subsequent writings. Scribes of a New Testament book may themselves have been influenced by such writings. S. R. Pickering has proposed collecting as broad a conspectus of evidence as possible, including New Testament citations found in amulets, magical texts, talismans, private letters, and even school exercises—in other words, using some of those materials discussed above in relation to the selection of papyri in the official *Liste* of New Testament manuscripts. In a paper delivered at the Birmingham Conference on Textual Criticism in 1997 and since published,[18] he set out his proposals. In this paper he lists some twenty-one of these neglected witnesses whose apparent knowledge and use of the Fourth Gospel could qualify for inclusion in the apparatus to John's Gospel.

Stanley Porter[19] is also in favour of broadening the number of witnesses displayed in an apparatus. He takes a 'maximalist' view of what could be contained in an apparatus. For instance, he shows that P Vind G 29831, which is an amulet taken perhaps from a rejected page of a miniature codex, contains John 1. 5–6, and argues that this should be known to New Testament textual critics. He suggests that such witnesses should be printed, albeit in a second, separated apparatus, because such evidence may be of significance in reaching text-critical decisions.

It is not only the breadth of the materials cited in the apparatus but the depth of their presentation that is important. In his desire for an ideal apparatus, Tjitze Baarda laid out in an extensive article[20] his proposals for presenting a broad range of evidence that should be displayed exhaustively and *in extenso*. Basing his article on a friendly but none the less highly critical review of the apparatus at Luke 23. 48 as given in the IGNTP apparatus to Luke, Baarda advocates that an apparatus comprise four parts: the continuous Greek manuscripts, including evidence already collected and made available in earlier printed critical editions; patristic evidence, with full references to

[18] S. R. Pickering, 'The Significance of Non-continuous New Testament Materials in Papyri', in Taylor (ed.), *Studies*, 121–41.

[19] S. E. Porter, 'Why So Many Holes in the Papyrological Evidence for the Greek New Testament?', in S. McKendrick and O. O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London: The British Library; New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), 167–86.

[20] T. Baarda, 'What Kind of Apparatus for the New Testament do we Need? The Case of Luke 23:48', in B. Aland and J. Delobel (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History: A Discussion of Methods*, CBET 7 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994), 37–97.

modern editions which allow the context for the citation to be located; emendations (!); and early versions, to be quoted verbatim. Among the versions he would wish to have included is evidence from the varying forms of the *Diatessaron.* In the patristic evidence he suggests including *inter alia* the apocryphal texts of the *Acta Pilati*, the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* and the *Gospel of Peter.*

The suggestions by Pickering, Porter, and Baarda all encourage the widest possible inclusion of second-century patristic evidence, as well as apocryphal texts. Among the latter would figure the *Gospel of Thomas*, many of whose logia parallel canonical gospel sayings. Such evidence could then be included in a printed edition of a Greek New Testament—not in the belief that these were copied from the manuscripts of books that were to be included in the canonical New Testament, but in the recognition that the form of a saying known to and recorded in, say, the *Gospel of Thomas may* or *could* have later influenced a copyist of the canonical gospel text.

As far as the patristic evidence is concerned, we already have some scholarly work on Justin's citations[21] to hand. Evidence from Irenaeus and others is to be found in our hand editions. The inclusion of such evidence always needs to be read with the usual cautions about utilizing patristic evidence, eloquently summarized by Gordon Fee in more than one place.[22] Graham Stanton, in a recent article on Irenaeus and Justin,[23] hesitates about Justin's awareness of the written gospels ('A close reading of all the evidence confirms the high regard in which Justin held both the sayings of Jesus and the "memoirs of the apostles" '), but is of the opinion that Irenaeus' forceful defence of the fourfold gospel tradition would have made him hesitant to encourage the continuing of a vigorous oral tradition, so that in this case his quotations are likely to have come from the written gospels. As far as the Apostolic Fathers are concerned, we may well agree that they, like Justin and most other early writers, are unlikely to have had access to the 'published' documents. That was a reason why Justin in particular was not quoted extensively in the IGNTP Luke.[24] The same hesitations can apply to the Apostolic Fathers.

[21] A. J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

[22] Most recently in the second Metzger Festschrift: G. D. Fee, 'The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism', in B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Questionis*, SD 46 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 191–207.

[23] G. N. Stanton, 'Jesus Traditions and Gospels in Justin Martyr and Irenaeus', in J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge (eds.), *The Biblical Canons*, BETL 163 (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003), 353–70, on p. 366.

[24] W. L. Peterson's review (*JBL* 107 (1988), 758–62) criticized our decision not to quote Justin fully.

The 1905 book seems to reinforce that conclusion. The situation has of course moved on from there. Recently Jonathan Draper and Christopher Tuckett have addressed the issue in relation to the *Didache*, although they reach differing conclusions. Draper, in his reprinted article in the collection he edited, 'The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*',[25] stresses the independence of Jesus' sayings found in the *Didache* from their biblical counterparts. Elsewhere Köster had reached similar conclusions, stating that parallels between the *Didache* and the gospels that were to become canonical were not due to any direct influence of the synoptic gospels on the Didachist.[26] Tuckett's article takes a different stance.[27] After a careful analysis of the parallels, Tuckett concludes that, however the gospels were available to the Didachist, 'the result has been that these parallels can be best explained if the *Didache* presupposes the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke', and that 'the evidence of the Didache seems to show that the text is primarily a witness to the post-redactional history of the synoptic tradition'.[28]

There are many allusions in the Apostolic Fathers to New Testament passages, and some of the Aa and Ab references selected by the Oxford Committee in 1905 show that the Apostolic Fathers were familiar with a written New Testament book, the strongest examples of course being *1 Clement*'s knowledge of 1 Corinthians. But those are of no use to textual criticism or to the assembling of an apparatus, as they are not precise citations. Such loose (or different) versions of a passage paralleled in the New Testament also include *Barn.* 12. 11 (cf. Mark 12. 37 and synoptic parallels); *Did.* 16. 5 (cf. Matt. 24. 13; Mark 13. 13); *Did.* 16. 3–5 echoes Matt. 24. 10–12; *1 Clem.* 35. 5–6 (cf. Rom. 1. 29–32); *1 Clem.* 33. 1 (cf. Rom. 6. 1); *1 Clem.* 47. 3 (cf. 1 Cor. 1. 11–13); Polycarp, *Phil.* 1. 3 (cf. 1 Pet. 1. 8); etc. These may do no more than indicate an awareness of, and even familiarity with, some of the texts that were later included in the New Testament canon.

I now list the places where the evidence of the Apostolic Fathers in the apparatus could be considered. I suggest that a 'maximalist' apparatus should include the support of the Apostolic Fathers for the following variant readings:

[25] In J. A. Draper (ed.), *The Didache in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 72–91.

[26] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

[27] C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the Didache', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1989), 197–230; repr. in Draper (ed.), *Didache in Modern Research*, 92–128.

[28] Cf. B. Dehandschutter, 'The Text of the Didache: Some Comments on the Edition of Klaus Wengst', in C. N. Jefford (ed.), *The Didache in Context*, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 37–46. On p. 46 he concludes that there is nothing in the *Didache* that excludes the knowledge of a written gospel by the community in which the *Didache* was composed.

1. Ign. *Polycarp* 2. 1–2 could support v.l. οφις read by ℵ* at Matt. 10. 16 against οι οφεις.
2. *Barn.*[29] 4. 14, where anarthrous κλητοι and εκκλητοι may support *v.* ll. at Matt. 22. 14 om. οι *bis.*
3. *Barn.* 5. 12 where there is a division in the manuscript tradition between απολειται and σκορπισθησεται. The latter could appear in the apparatus to Matt. 26. 31 in support of v.l. διασκορπισθησεται.
4. *Barn.* 12. 10 ο Κυριος, and thus could be used in support of v.l. +ο (Κυριος) at Mark 12. 36; Matt. 22. 44; Luke 20. 42. Also in this verse υποποδιον is found in *Barn.* following the LXX and in agreement with the Matthean and Lucan parallels, but at Mark there is a v.l. υποκατω, so *Barnabas* could appear in an apparatus to Mark 12. 36 supporting υποποδιον. Likewise, a 'maximalist' apparatus could add *Barn.* in favour of καθου (v.l. καθισον) in Mark 12. 36.
5. *Did.* 1. 2 θεον supports v.l. $σου^1$ at Luke 10. 27 (om. σου B* H).
6. *Did.* 1. 3 supports v.l. υμιν at Luke 6. 28 (after καταρωμενους).
7. Possibly *Did.* 7.1 βαπτισατε could be added to support the aorist participle βαπτισαντες of B D at Matt. 28. 19 v.l. βαπτιζοντες (= *txt*). Even if, with Draper[30] we argue that the trinitarian baptismal formula came with a later redaction of Matthew, that is irrelevant to our purposes in constructing an apparatus to show places where scribes may have been influenced to alter the Biblical text they were copying.
8. *Did.* 8. 2; cf. Matt. 6. 7. Could the *Didache* be cited in support of v.l. by B (ωσπερ οι υποκριται)?
9. Add *Did.* 8. 1–2a in support of προσευχεσθε at Matt. 6. 5 (v.l. -χη).
10. An important difference between the *Didache*'s description of the Eucharist and the New Testament account is that the *Didache* expressly has the cup first in ch. 9. As such, it could be brought in as support for the Western non-interpolation at Luke 22. 19b–20.
11. *Did.* 11. 7 seems to be close to Matt. 12. 31 rather than to the parallels in Mark 3. 28–9 and Luke 12. 10. If so, we may consider adding the *Didache* to support v.l. τοις ανθρωποις and v.l. υμιν in Matthew.
12. *Did.* 13. 1 supports της τροφης in Matt. 10. 10 against v.l. του μισθου (from Luke 10. 7).

[29] And we remember that this writing was included alongside NT 'canonical' books in Codex Sinaiticus.

[30] Draper, 'Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*', 78.

13. At *Did.* 16. 8 the quotation parallel to Matt. 24. 30 carries the unique v.ll. επανω (for επι) and Κυριον (for υιον του ανθρωπου). Again, a 'maximalist' apparatus could carry these singular readings by the *Didache* (as indeed NA^{27} is prepared to do in the v.ll. to Matthew's version of the Paternoster; see above).
14. If one could be sure that *1 Clem.* 1. 3 was a citation from Titus 2. 5, the use of οικουργειν in the former would support the manuscripts that read ουκουργους in Titus (against v.l. οικουρους).[31]
15. *1 Clem.* 35. 6 could support v.l. δε at Rom. 1. 32.[32]
16. *1 Clem.* 36. 2–5 may support v.l. om. των by P^{46} *inter alia* at Heb. 1. 4,[33] despite other differences between the two versions of the quotation (e.g., μειζων εστιν in *1 Clement* and κρειττων εστιν in Hebrews). Also *1 Clem.* 36. 3 could be considered to support v.l. πνευματα at Heb. 1. 7 (against v.l. πνευμα). (*1 Clement* is closer to Hebrews in citing Ps. 103 (104) with πυρος φλογα than to the LXX, which reads πυρ φλεγος or v.l. πυρος φλεγα.)
17. A more sure candidate for inclusion is *1 Clem.* 13; cf. Matt. 5. 7; Luke 6. 31, 36–8. *1 Clem.* 13. 2 could be shown to support the reading ω at Luke 6. 38 against v.l. τω, and, at a stretch, to support μετρηθησεται of Matt. 7. 2 (against v.l. αντιμετρηθησεται).
18. *2 Clement* is said to be in NA. As stated above, I have as yet failed to find references to this Apostolic Father in the apparatus. Where it could and should appear is at *2 Clem.* 2. 4, which could be added to agree with (a) the shorter version of Matt. 9. 13: i.e., without εις μετανοιαν, and (b) Luke 5. 32, αμαρτωλους against v.l. ασεβεις (cf. *Barn.* 9. 5).
19. Pol. *Phil.* 10. 2 reads *irreprehensibilem*, which may not support καλην at 1 Pet. 2. 12.
20. Pol., *Phil.* 11. 2 *iudicabunt* supports v.l. κρινουσιν (accented as a future tense) at 1 Cor. 6. 2.

Quotations which do not betray any variant, either in the Apostolic Fathers or in the New Testament, would not figure in an apparatus to the Greek text of a

[31] A. J. Carlyle, in a (rare) signed dissentient note in *NTAF*, states that the correspondence between the two passages here is due to the fact that the authors of Clement and of Titus are both using 'some manual of directions for the moral life'.

[32] *Re 1 Clem.* 35. 5–6, even the 1905 Oxford Committee concluded that *1 Clement* may have been dependent on Paul's writing here.

[33] The unique combination of quotations in Heb. 1 and *1 Clem.* 36 makes this parallel rank as Aa in the conclusions of the Oxford Committee: see *NTAF*, 44–5.

critical edition of the New Testament: e.g., Ign. *Eph.* 18. 1 = 1 Cor. 1. 20, 23; *Barn.* 6. 6 = John's citation of Ps. 22. 19 (John 19. 24); *Did.* 9. 5 = Matt. 7. 6 (where the *Didache* is clearly quoting something ειρηκεν ο Κυριος; cf. 16. 7, ως ερρεθη, and 1. 6, ειρηται); *2 Clem.* 16. 4 = 1 Pet. 4. 8 = Prov. 10. 12, LXX; *2 Clem.* 11. 7 = 1 Cor. 2. 9; *2 Clem.* 6. 1 = Luke 16. 13; *1 Clem.* 24. 1 = 1 Cor. 15. 20, 23; *Did.* 3. 7 = Matt. 5. 5. Such passages are obviously of value, however, in discussing sources, the influence of shared traditions and the like, but these cannot be used for our present purposes.

For those citations from the New Testament where the evidence of the Apostolic Fathers supports a variant found in New Testament manuscripts, we urge that even a hand edition of a Greek New Testament make space in its apparatus to reveal the most significant and convincing testimony from the Apostolic Fathers. Patristic witnesses have conventionally figured in such apparatuses in the past. Revived interest in the Apostolic Fathers, stimulated by the commemoration of the 1905 Oxford publication, should encourage the expectation that the second-century Fathers be better represented in critical editions of the New Testament text.

APPENDIX: THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS IN RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Apostolic Fathers appear in three significant publications.

Aland's *Synopsis*[34] includes many additional patristic and other witnesses in its edition. These are not added to the apparatus, but are listed after a pericope to show parallels (printed in full) that appear in patristic texts (including the Apostolic Fathers and apocryphal sources). As far as the Apostolic Fathers are concerned, we note that *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, the *Didache*, the *Shepherd*, Ignatius, Polycarp, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, Papias, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* figure extensively. Many of the references to the Apostolic Fathers discussed or listed above are found here.

Greeven's *Synopsis*[35] adopts a similar practice, although it includes quotations from only *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, and the *Didache*.

[34] K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 15th rev. edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001).

[35] A. Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, rev. H. Greeven (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1981).

Crossan[36] likewise includes sayings parallels in English between the canonical gospels and *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, Ignatius, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Polycarp, and the *Didache*.

The three clearly show links and parallels to the biblical text, and these enable the astute reader to amplify the apparatus to the gospel texts in the ways suggested above. Obviously that can be done only for the gospels in these publications, but it does allow us to have a visual display of places where the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament texts are paralleled.

[36] J. D. Crossan, *Sayings Parallels: A Workshop for the Jesus Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

Part II

The Textual Transmission and Reception of the Writings that later formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers

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4

Reflections on Method: What constitutes the Use of the Writings that later formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers?

Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett

INTRODUCTION

When the members of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology published their account of the use of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, they expressed the hope that 'their labours will not be wholly without fruit in this important field of Biblical study'. In this respect, their hopes have been met, and the work has served as a useful tool for 100 years. Readers may not always agree with the judgements that its authors have made, but the volume has given subsequent generations of scholars and students convenient and easy access to the primary texts in order that they may assess them for themselves.[1]

Yet scholarship moves on, and one very significant difference between the content of the 1905 volume *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* and that of at least some subsequent discussions of the same topic has been apparent for some time. This striking difference concerns the amount of space that is devoted to the explicit discussion of methodological questions. The authors of the 1905 volume accept that 'their judgements may not command universal assent', but their readers are assured 'at least that these judgements have been carefully formed, sometimes after considerable hesitation, by men who are not without practice in this kind of investigation'.[2] Readers are further assured that these men have discussed their judgements with each other; but we are given no account of what criteria were employed

[1] Primary responsibility for this essay rests with Andrew Gregory, who wrote the first and final drafts. Readers not averse to source-critical investigations may wish to identify instances of redactional seams or of changes in vocabulary and style that may suggest the presence of some of the particular contributions of Christopher Tuckett.

[2] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), p. iii.

in the course of their deliberations. In one way, this reticence of the authors to provide their readers with any account of the criteria that they employed may seem rather quaint, indicative perhaps of the optimism and confidence of a bygone age. They are not so bold as to claim unassailability or objectivity[3] in their conclusions; but their very awareness of the potential provisionality of their conclusions leaves exposed their decision not to devote more space in print to the methodological discussions that took place at committee meetings behind closed doors. This omission begs the fundamental question: how best are we to judge whether or not the author of one text quotes or alludes to another?

This question, we should note, is not the same as the question of whether one author knows the work of another. Not only is it impossible to demonstrate knowledge of a text unless it is used, but also the inability of subsequent scholarship to demonstrate the use of one text in another does not mean that non-use, let alone ignorance, has been proved. Therefore, the following surveys are focused clearly and explicitly on the question of whether it is possible to demonstrate or to render probable the use of any of the writings subsequently canonized in the New Testament in the collection of writings subsequently labelled the 'Apostolic Fathers'. No inferences should be drawn from any failure to demonstrate such use, not least because of the difficulties often involved in assessing whether or not such dependence is to be considered likely.

One particular difficulty requires some comment at the outset. Any discussion of the possible dependence of one writing on another implies some degree of confidence that we have at least sufficient access to the form in which those texts were originally written to make meaningful judgements about possible literary relationships between them. This means confidence that we have access to the early forms in which texts such as those that we refer to as Matthew, Luke, or Romans may have been known to the Apostolic Fathers, and also confidence that the texts of the Apostolic Fathers themselves have not been corrupted during their transmission in such a way as to bring possible references to the New Testament into conformity with the forms in which those now canonical texts were known to the copyists of the Apostolic Fathers.[4] These are matters on which different scholars will reach different judgements. Few if any

[3] Cf. the bold claim of E. R. Goodenough, 'Foreword' in A. E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. vii: 'No method in literary study is more objective or more fruitful than the comparison of one work with another to determine the question of literary indebtedness—which one shows acquaintance with the other, use of it, and dependence upon it.'

[4] For a comparison of the textual transmission of texts contained in both collections, see Ch. 1 above.

would claim that the forms in which writings later considered canonical were available at the beginning of the second century were identical to the forms in which those texts begin to emerge in papyri from the end of the second century or the beginning of the third; but opinions vary as to the degree of continuity that may be posited between the earliest versions of these texts and the earliest surviving manuscripts.[5] Scholars who emphasize (or at least tacitly assume) continuity may be more ready to speak of the literary dependence of the Apostolic Fathers on early versions of texts that may be referred to, albeit with suitable caution and caveats, as Matthew, Luke, or Romans. Scholars who emphasize discontinuity and argue that we must take specific account of significant development in the textual traditions of the writings later included in the New Testament, especially the gospels, in the course of the second century may be less ready to speak of dependence on a text known to us today as Matthew, Luke, or Romans.[6] Thus they may prefer instead to speak of 'recognizable potential parallels', but to leave open the question of whether such parallels imply dependence on a text later included in the New Testament.

This is a controverted area, in which new manuscript discoveries may yet shed new light, for it is often difficult to see how best to adjudicate between these positions on the basis of the evidence that is available at present. In the meantime, as Arthur Bellinzoni observes, 'we can . . . never be confident that we are comparing the texts that demand comparison. . . . We must resign ourselves instead to comparing later witnesses to such texts with all of the hazards that such comparisons involve.'[7]

IDENTIFYING THE USE OF ONE TEXT IN ANOTHER: QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

Studies of quotations from, and allusions to, earlier authorities abound in the study of the New Testament, whether discussions of the use of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament or of Jesus tradition in the letters of Paul and

[5] For a variety of views, see the essays collected in C.-B. Amphoux and J. K. Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity*, HTB 6 (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2003); W. L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 3 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989). For further discussion of these issues, with particular reference to their application to *2 Clement*, see the comments of William L. Petersen, in Ch. 2 above, esp. pp. 40–5; also *idem*, 'The Genesis of the Gospels', in A. Denaux (ed.), *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, BETL 161 (Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2002), 33–65.

[6] See Petersen, above, p. 45.

[7] A. J. Bellinzoni, Ch. 3 in companion volume.

elsewhere. Yet there has been, perhaps surprisingly, little rigorous attention paid to the methodological issues that are raised in the attempt to determine what constitutes the use of one text in another, or to give precise definitions of what is taken to constitute either a 'quotation' or an 'allusion', or indeed an 'echo', 'reminiscence', or 'citation'.[8] Stanley Porter in particular has drawn attention to the lack of terminological clarity in such debates, so we shall follow his suggestion that contributors to this debate define their own terminology precisely, even if it may not match completely the ways in which others might use the same terms.[9] In the discussion that follows, we use 'reference' as an umbrella term to refer to any apparent use of one text in another, and the terms 'quotation' and 'allusion' as more specific terms that relate more to the manner in which, and the degree of certainty with which, the presence of such a reference may be established. Thus we suggest that 'quotation' be used to refer to instances in one text showing a significant degree of verbal identity with the source cited; allusion will be used to refer to instances containing less verbal identity. 'Quotations' will often (but not always) be accompanied by some kind of formal marker, whereas this is less likely to be the case (but not altogether to be excluded) in the case of 'allusions'. Of course, even these 'definitions' are loose and imprecise, not least because the boundary between either a 'quotation' or an 'allusion' and a 'paraphrase' (by which we mean a freer rendering or amplification of a passage) may be porous and blurred. But such imprecision and lack of firm distinctions may be the necessary consequences of problems in discussing and identifying apparent references that admit of no easy or precise delineation of their nature. Quotation may slide into allusion, and vice versa, and either into paraphrase, and this flexibility in the way in which an author may refer to an earlier source makes it impossible to offer precise definitions if they are to

[8] For discussion and bibliography, see C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 31–61; S. E. Porter, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology', in C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders (eds.), *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel*, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79–96; R. J. Bauckham, 'The Study of Gospel Traditions outside the Canonical Gospels: Problems and Prospects', in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels*, Gospel Perspectives, 5 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 383–98 (Bauckham offers both a general methodological discussion and also a discussion of the relationship between Ignatius and Matthew as a specific case-study); M. J. Gilmour, *The Significance of Parallels between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature* (Atlanta: SBL, 2002), 47–80. For another catalogue of criteria for literary dependence, intended to demonstrate the dependence of the *Acts of Andrew* on Homer, see D. R. MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 302–16. Bellinzoni offers a slightly different approach to these issues from the one that is presented here: see Ch. 3 in companion volume.

[9] Porter, 'Use of the Old Testament', 80–8, 94–5.

reflect the actual practice of ancient authors in so far as that practice is accessible to modern readers. We shall seek to further define these terms in the course of the discussion, but the nature of the ancient evidence and our access to that evidence are such that absolute precision is not possible. Fortunately, the precise distinction between a quotation and an allusion is not in itself of primary importance for the current discussion. This is because either quotations or allusions, if established, may each be sufficient to indicate the use of the New Testament, directly or indirectly, in the Apostolic Fathers.

Porter also asks that those who engage in such debates should make clear the goal of their investigations.[10] His comments are directed specifically to those engaged in the study of the Old Testament in the New Testament, but they are broadly applicable to this investigation of the use of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers. There is one significant difference, however. Whereas most investigations of Paul's use of the Jewish Scriptures may assume that most or all of those books were known to him, we may make no such assumption about whether each of the Apostolic Fathers was familiar with any of the writings later canonized as part of the New Testament.[11] Rather, it is precisely the question of which books can be shown to have been used in the Apostolic Fathers that the following essays seek to address. Therefore, few if any prior assumptions should be made as to whether any Apostolic Father is or is not likely to have known and used any given writing.

[10] Ibid. 94.

[11] Cf. the different approach of M. B. Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, JSNTSup 59 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991). Thompson considers the question of possible allusions to the Jesus tradition in the Apostolic Fathers as a control with which to compare Paul's possible use of dominical tradition. With the exception of *2 Clement*, which he dates late, Thompson argues that the Apostolic Fathers show less evidence of the use of Jesus tradition than might be expected from authors who (he argues) were clearly much more familiar with such traditions than their letters allow us to demonstrate (ibid. 44–8 (*1 Clem.*); 50 (*Barn.*); 52 (*Did.*); 55 (Ign.); 57 (Pol. *Phil.*); 59–60 (*2 Clem.*)). The analogy is an interesting one, but the use to which it is put appears problematic on methodological grounds, especially in the light of the current discussion. To argue that certain authors were familiar with the Jesus tradition (or indeed with the writings of the New Testament and/or their sources) even if they do not make much use of such tradition and/or texts is to introduce a hypothesis, not to offer criteria by which to evaluate the extent to which the Apostolic Fathers may have drawn on either the Jesus tradition or on the New Testament. Thompson's purpose in introducing this hypothesis is to provide an example of texts which are bound to have been written by authors who were familiar with the Jesus tradition in order to argue that Paul was also likely to have been familiar with Jesus tradition, even if he too used it in such a way that it is not obvious to many of his readers today. Of course, both hypotheses may be correct. But to assume the knowledge either of Jesus tradition or of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers is to prejudge precisely the question that the following studies set out to address. Should these studies find evidence for the use of Jesus tradition in the Apostolic Fathers that is not directly dependent on the finished gospels, this might well strengthen Thompson's reading of Paul. But it may not simply be assumed that such knowledge, if thought to be evident in or to lie behind the Apostolic Fathers, was also available to Paul some 50 or more years previously.

Circularity of argument will be avoided only if the answer to this question is reached primarily or exclusively on the internal evidence of their texts, rather than on the basis of hypotheses about which other texts may or must have been available to these authors.[12]

Finding References in the Absence of Formal Markers

On a stricter and perhaps simpler definition of a quotation than that which we have offered above, only one criterion might be considered sufficient to establish with certainty that the author of one text at least purports to quote from elsewhere: when the former includes some form of introductory formula, followed by an exact or an approximate quotation of a form of words belonging to the source so introduced.

The strength of such a definition is that it admits only clear examples of explicit quotation, thereby allowing the reader who applies the criterion to establish a secure, albeit small, sample of assured results. The presence of an introductory formula as well as the form of words that it precedes excludes the possibility that an author happens to use a form of words simply by coincidence, even if a modern scholar can identify an earlier text to which the ancient author might have had access and which contains the same (or a very similar) form of words. Modern readers familiar with *Hamlet* know that it is a play that is 'full of quotations'. But we also know that not everyone who advises a friend that she or he should 'to thine own self be true', or 'should neither a borrower nor lender be', can be said in any meaningful sense to quote Shakespeare. The speaker may use words that we can attribute to Shakespeare, but they are such common currency that we can consider them at best to be quotations of no more than a proverbial expression.

But there are also weaknesses to such an approach. An introductory formula, when present, leaves no doubt that an author wants the reader to be aware of his or her source, often because that source is considered in some sense authoritative. But introductory formulae may be used to introduce different kinds of material, only some of which may be sufficiently close to the authority to whom the author using the formula refers to qualify as an exact or approximate 'quotation', rather than as, say, an allusion or a paraphrase. Thus, although the presence of an introductory formula may indicate the author's intention, the material which follows may not be sufficient to be considered clear evidence of quotation to the audience were it not for the presence of the introductory formula. Nor need the absence of such a formula

[12] Cf. Bellinzoni, Ch. 3 in companion volume, p. 50, where he proposes what he describes as 'the criterion of *accessibility*'.

exclude the possibility that an earlier text is being cited. A writer may employ expressions in the precise form in which they were first written or spoken by others and do so deliberately, hoping that others will pick up on the reference, yet not draw attention to them by means of an introductory formula. Indeed, she or he may do so in the expectation that the hearer will know that the advice 'to thine own self be true' or 'neither a borrower nor a lender be' is in fact a 'quotation' from, or reference to, Shakespeare. Therefore caution must be exercised in making too much of introductory formulae. Their presence may alert the reader to give attention to the source of the words that follow, but their absence need not preclude the presence of a reference to an earlier text.

Further, at least three additional problems indicate other weaknesses in any approach that relies too heavily or exclusively on the presence of an introductory formula. First, an author may consciously set out to quote an earlier written authority and yet do so in such a loose or tendentious manner that it is difficult for a reader or hearer to ascertain whether or not the 'quotation' is intentional, quite apart from whether a potential source is extant. Modern academics are trained to quote and acknowledge their sources with scrupulous accuracy, but this was not the practice of the ancient world. Ancient writers appear to have used even authoritative sources with a great deal of freedom, and often to have referred to them from memory, so it would be unrealistic to demand too high a degree of identity between a potential quotation or allusion and its source before allowing that appropriation of that source had taken place.[13] Second, the fact that so much early Christian literature is no longer extant means that an early Christian text may contain

[13] So C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the Didache', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1989), 197–230, on pp. 198–9; W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 535–6; Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, 61–3. See also Stanley, *Paul*, 350–60, for a substantial discussion of the freedom with which ancient writers made quotations or 'interpretive renderings', even of their archetypal texts. J. Whittaker, 'The Value of Indirect Tradition in the Establishment of Greek Philosophical Texts, or the Act of Misquotation' in John N. Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 95, makes the same point, with particular reference to the transmission of Platonic texts. He argues that variations in indirectly transmitted portions of texts—i.e., 'small fragments of texts transmitted indirectly in the form of quotations'—are more likely to represent a parallel tradition of commentary on ancient authoritative texts than the corruption of those texts before the close of antiquity. He is also reluctant to assign what modern scholars consider loose quotation to inattention or lapses of memory on the part of their ancient counterparts: 'Instead we must acknowledge that there is about the ancient manner of quotation something of the technique of theme and variation, as though one thought it constricting and impersonal, as well as boring, to repeat potentially the same familiar words.' For further discussion of Whittaker's arguments, see C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 68–9.

quotations, even very accurate quotations, the presence of which may not be discernible to the modern reader if no introductory formula is present. For example, we know that Hermas is told to repeat quotations to Maximus that are drawn from the *Book of Eldad and Modad*.[14] Yet the text of this book is no longer extant, so we do not know if it is also quoted elsewhere in the *Shepherd*, or indeed in other early Christian writings.[15] Third, even when texts are extant, we can never be sure that the form (or forms) in which any text is known to modern scholarship is the same form as that in which it was known to ancient writers. Thus, for example, Matthew or Luke may quote Mark exactly according to the text that was known to them, but that text might differ from any of the manuscripts of Mark which are available to us today. Taken together, these difficulties leave no doubt of the need for criteria by which to assess possible references that may be quotations even in instances where no introductory formula is present.

IDENTIFYING THE PRESENCE OF NEW TESTAMENT REFERENCES IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

If the presence of an introductory formula is to be considered determinative in identifying either quotations or allusions to the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, then the results will be meagre. Some texts appear to include frequent references to the Old Testament, sometimes with the introductory formula 'it is written', but there are few examples of such explicitly acknowledged quotation from the writings of the New Testament to be found in the Apostolic Fathers. Ignatius, Polycarp, and the author of *1 Clement* each appeals explicitly to Paul (not, we should note, to a named letter), but no other individuals whose names are associated with the New Testament are appealed to as authorities whose teaching and/or writings may be used to resolve contemporary issues or debates.[16] The author of *1 Clement* appeals to words that he ascribes to Jesus, but it seems more likely that he draws on oral tradition than on a written source. Similarly, the Didachist and the author of *2 Clement* each appeal to 'the gospel', but it is unclear if either refers to a written

[14] *Vis.* II. 3.

[15] K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1912), 51, notes that some have suggested that the saying quoted at *1 Clem.* 23. 4 and at *2 Clem.* 11. 2 may be a quotation from this text.

[16] A. Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 25–45, on p. 28.

source.[17] There is ongoing debate as to whether the *Didache* refers to Matthew or perhaps to his source, and the interpretation of this text is made difficult by continuing uncertainty both as to its own date and the date when the term 'gospel' was used of a written narrative text concerning Jesus in addition to, or instead of, the oral proclamation of salvation.[18] Similar factors affect the interpretation of the reference to 'gospel' in *2 Clement*, although that discussion is further complicated because the source referred to as 'gospel' appears to have contained at least some material with no parallel in the synoptic tradition.

Since the presence of introductory formulae is so limited in the Apostolic Fathers (and by no means unproblematic even where it is present), other criteria must be used to assess not only whether a writer is referring to an earlier text or other source, but also whether and how that text or other source may be identified. These criteria may differ both according to the nature of the text from which quotations or allusions may have been drawn and according to the nature of the text in which quotations or allusions may be present. Each individual scholar whose survey of the possible use of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers is included in this volume offers his own assessment of the particular features which affect the manner in which and the extent to which the text that he considers quotes or alludes to the New Testament. But all face similar underlying issues in attempting to determine whether or not material parallel to parts of the New Testament may reflect either direct literary dependence on, or indirect knowledge of, those texts. Therefore what follows is an attempt to consider some of the issues that must be addressed in investigating possible quotations from and allusions to the different types of writings found in the New Testament. Perhaps the greatest difficulties are present in seeking to identify what may be quotations from the synoptic gospels. Not only are there issues arising from the likelihood that these texts drew on sources which may have circulated independently both before and after the composition of the gospels, but also the simple fact of there being three similar versions of the impact of Jesus' life and teaching complicates the question of determining which, if any, may be the source of a quotation or allusion in the Apostolic Fathers. These particular difficulties throw up a number of issues; so this is where we shall begin our survey of the different types of literature contained in the New Testament and any specific issues raised by each.

17 *Did.* 8. 2; 11. 3; 15. 3; 4; *2 Clem.* 8. 5.

18 For a recent discussion of these issues, see J. A. Kelhoffer, ' "How Soon a Book" Revisited: *ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* as a Reference to "Gospel" Materials in the First Half of the Second Century', *ZNW* 95 (2004), 1–34.

Identifying the Use of the Synoptic Tradition

Two very different approaches to the question of the possible use of the synoptic tradition[19] in the Apostolic Fathers may be seen in the contrasting studies of Édouard Massaux[20] and Helmut Köster.[21] Whereas Massaux found the use of Matthew in all of the Apostolic Fathers whom he studied (and the use of Luke in *2 Clement*, the *Didache*, and perhaps in Ignatius), Köster found in favour of the preponderance of oral tradition independent of and often earlier than the written gospels. He concluded that Ignatius drew on Matthew once, and that Polycarp, in his postulated second letter, drew on both Matthew and Luke. Each of the *Didache* and *2 Clement* includes sayings of Jesus taken from a sayings-harmony that depends on the synoptic gospels, argued Köster, so neither used Matthew or Luke directly or treated them as authoritative. Not surprisingly, such different results were obtained from the adoption of different methodological approaches. Neirynck describes Massaux as having been guided by a 'principle of simplicity', for 'a source which is "unknown" does not attract him'.[22] Massaux's own initial account of his methodology is quite brief. He notes that he will speak often of 'literary contact', and states that he will use the term

> in a rather strict sense of the word, requiring, when speaking of contact, sufficiently striking verbal concurrence that puts the discussion in a context that already points towards the gospel of Mt. These literary contacts do not exhaust the literary influence of the gospel; one can expect, without a properly so-called literary contact, the use of typically Matthean vocabulary, themes and ideas.[23]

Thus Massaux seeks passages that are similar to Matthew, and he evaluates their relationship to Matthew by asking if they are closer to *Matthew* than to other New Testament writings. This, in effect, is what Neirynck has described as Massaux's principle of simplicity: material that looks like Matthew probably depends on Matthew, and little or no consideration is given to the possibility that it depends on postulated sources such as M or Q, or on the shared vocabulary of a common community (for it could be a specifically Christian or even a Graeco-Roman commonplace), or even on coincidence.

[19] Much of this section draws on A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), where an earlier version of some of the material presented here may be found on pp. 7–13.

[20] É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Irenaeus* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990; French original 1950).

[21] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

[22] Neirynck, 'Preface to the Reprint', in Massaux, *Influence*, p. xix.

[23] Massaux, *Influence*, pp. xxi–xxii.

Massaux assumes the knowledge and use of Matthew in at least some of the Apostolic Fathers, and sets out to determine its extent, whereas Köster sets out to determine whether the use of the synoptic gospels may be established at all.

Köster's approach is by far the more subtle and penetrating of the two. He takes proper account of the possibility that Jesus tradition may stem not from the synoptics but from their sources, written or oral; so he formulates a criterion to assess whether or not parallels to the synoptic tradition may be shown, rather than assumed, to depend on the synoptic gospels. This criterion is that literary dependence on the finished form of a text is to be identified only where the later text makes use of an element from the earlier text that can be identified as the redactional work of the earlier author or editor.[24] Köster does not refer to Massaux in his monograph,[25] but his methodology differs from Massaux's in its attempt to deal with the difficulty that the presence of similar or even verbally identical material in two texts is not itself sufficient proof of literary dependence, for two texts might each draw independently on a common source. Yet, if Massaux may be accused of finding dependence on Matthew too readily, Köster's weakness may be that his criterion makes it virtually impossible to demonstrate any dependence on a synoptic gospel except in passages where the redactional activity of an evangelist may be readily identified. The importance of Köster's criterion must be noted, but it is important to emphasize the limitations placed upon it by the nature of the evidence to which it must be applied.

Wolf-Dietrich Köhler provides a further important contribution to the debate on how the possible use of a synoptic gospel may be assessed.[26] Köhler's account of earlier research on the reception of Matthew notes the difference between the approaches of Köster and Massaux,[27] and he acknowledges that the methodology of the former is more satisfactory than that of the latter.[28] Köhler notes the importance of Köster's concern for introductory formulae, although he concludes that such formulae can neither prove nor disprove the appropriation of Matthew.[29] He also agrees with Köster's emphasis on redactional elements as proof for the use of a particular synoptic

[24] In discussion of the question of whether written gospels or older traditions lie behind passages quoted under the authority of 'the Lord' rather than that of an explicit appeal to a written source, Köster has: 'so hängt die Frage der Benutzung davon ab, ob sich in den angeführten Stücken Redaktionsarbeit eines Evangelisten findet' (*Synoptische Überlieferung,* 3). For another presentation of his argument, see H. Koester, 'Written Gospels or Oral Tradition', *JBL* 113 (1994), 293–7.

[25] But see Koester, 'Written Gospels or Oral Tradition', for a direct critique of Massaux.

[26] Köhler, *Rezeption.*

[27] Ibid. 2–4.

[28] Ibid. 5.

[29] Ibid. 4, 520.

gospel,[30] but notes also the limitations of his approach. Thus Köhler makes the important point that it is not appropriate to argue that written gospels have not been used just because it may not be possible to demonstrate their use,[31] and he sets out to address the problem of how possible literary dependence might be ascertained even in instances where neither an introductory formula nor any redactional material is present.

Köhler's discussion is in two parts. In the first, he considers the nature of the evidence, and describes three issues that should be addressed in seeking to determine whether and how Matthew was used; in the second, he offers criteria by which potential references to Matthew may be assessed. Köhler begins his description of the issues to be addressed by noting, first, that the appropriation of Matthew (whether quotation or allusion) may or may not be indicated as such;[32] and second, that expressions or details of content that are distinctive of, or particular to, Matthew may be present in other texts, whether or not there is any clear reference to a specific pericope or verse in Matthew.[33] Third, he is also clear that the purpose for which Matthew may have been appropriated is important.[34] Having outlined the issues, Köhler then addresses the question of how each is to be approached.[35] In the case of a text which contains both an introductory formula and material parallel with Matthew, both the wording of the parallel and the form of the introductory formula should be considered. The less clearly the introductory formula points to Matthew, the stronger must be the correspondence of the apparent reference itself to Matthew in order to make dependence probable. In the case of a text which does not contain an introductory formula, but which does contain material parallel to Matthew, other criteria must be employed. Köhler argues that three factors should determine the degree of certainty with which the use of Matthew may be maintained: the extent and type of parallels with Matthew in the instance in question; the existence of further parallels with Matthew in the same text, and the extent and type of such other parallels with Matthew; and the extent and type of divergences from Matthew. For Köhler, such divergences may be more important than the parallels. If they are not to be explained either by the purpose for which the later author has drawn on Matthew, or as free quotation dependent on memory, then, argues Köhler, they should be taken to derive not from the author of the document who includes the reference but from a post-Matthean source on which he has drawn—for example, a liturgical or kerygmatic formula, a catechism, or another gospel tradition.

[30] Köhler, *Rezeption*, 4. [31] Ibid. 5. [32] Ibid. 8. [33] Ibid. 8–10.
[34] Ibid. 11–12. [35] For what follows, see ibid. 12–13.

Köhler then summarizes and clarifies the manner in which these factors should be applied as follows.[36] First, dependence on Matthew is probable when (a) the wording of a particular passage clearly accords with Matthew, and at the same time, (b) the proximity to other parallels is less than that to Matthew, and (c) the wording of the passage, including its divergences from Matthew, can be explained on the basis that it has Matthew as its source. Second, dependence on Matthew is quite possible ('gut möglich') when, with (b) and (c) above, the wording corresponds only slightly with Matthew; or, with (a) and (c) above, the proximity to other parallels is just as extensive as it is to Matthew. Third, dependence on Matthew is theoretically possible, but in no way to be assumed either when, with factors (a) and (c), the proximity to other parallels is greater than to Matthew; or when, with factors (a) and (b), the wording of the passage in question cannot well be explained by the assumption that it has Matthew as its source.

Köhler then addresses the very important question of the Matthean *Sondergut*, noting that such material continued to be transmitted independently of, and alongside, Matthew. Clearly this observation precludes a straightforward and unqualified application of his criteria to possible instances of dependence on Matthew,[37] and Köhler allows that expressions which appear to modern readers to be distinctive of Matthew may originate in Matthew's sources rather than in his own redactional activity.[38] Yet Köhler appears to limit the extent to which such considerations might affect the outcome of his investigation of the reception of Matthew. This may be seen in two ways. First, Köhler appears to limit the theoretical possibility of the use of Matthean *Sondergut* independently of its inclusion in Matthew when he suggests that the reception of Matthean *Sondergut* in a document to be dated at some distance in space and time from the place and time in which Matthew was composed makes very likely ('sehr wahrscheinlich') the reception of Matthew rather than of the *Sondergut*.[39] Even in a document dated and located in close

[36] For what follows, see ibid. 13–14. [37] Ibid. 14. [38] Ibid. 14–15.

[39] Of course, questions might legitimately be asked as to whether this double criterion applies to any of the Apostolic Fathers. Each is likely to have been written no later than the mid-second century, and most probably earlier, so all were written within a relatively short space of time. Assuming that Matthew was written somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, then texts such as *1 Clement* and the *Shepherd*, each of which may be located securely in Rome, were written some distance away; but the probability of regular and speedy communication between different churches suggests that even such relatively long distances need not have precluded the rapid exchange of the type of tradition found in the Matthean *Sondergut*. For a helpful discussion of the exchange of information between early Christians, see M. B. Thompson, 'The Holy Internet: Communication between Churches in the First Christian Generation', in R. J. Bauckham (ed.), *The Gospels for all Christians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 49–70. On the links between the communities reflected in *1 Clement* and *Hermas* and Christians elsewhere in the Empire, see A. Gregory, 'Disturbing Trajectories: *1 Clement*, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the Development of

proximity to Matthew, the reception of the *Sondergut* makes the reception of Matthew quite likely ('gut möglich').[40] Thus Köhler's methodology tends to favour the use of Matthew rather than that of Matthean *Sondergut*. Second, Köhler appears to assume, rather than to argue, that liturgical, kerygmatic, catechetical, and extra-canonical gospel sources are all more likely to presuppose Matthew than vice versa.[41] Köhler tends to assume that texts whose combination of similarities with and divergences from Matthew suggest an indirect relationship between them are more likely to draw on, rather than to have been used by, the evangelist. This possibility cannot be excluded, of course, but Köhler's approach to this possibility means that it is scarcely surprising that he concludes that the use of pre-Synoptic oral tradition rather than Matthew is never probable in the period before Justin.[42] If sufficient consideration is not given to the possibility of other written texts or oral traditions besides the completed Synoptic Gospels, then there is a risk of reaching potentially maximalist results by an uncritical application of a methodology akin to what Neirynck called Massaux's principle of simplicity. Köhler's approach is methodologically much more sophisticated than that of Massaux, but his overall results are quite similar.

Yet there remains the problem that it is often difficult to know what was the range of sources that was available to an ancient writer. Thus Schoedel notes what he considers to be 'the . . . basic problem involved in taking any of the written Gospels as the point of departure. For such an approach already tends to narrow the range of possibilities and to hide the significance of the materials that cannot be explained in terms of dependence on Matthew or any written Gospel.'[43] Therefore he suggests that Köhler's approach is unlikely to allow sufficient weight to the possibility that a second-century writer may have drawn on sources other than our written gospels, and he offers as an example the question of whether Ignatius may have drawn on Matthew's special tradition as well as on Matthew.

Schoedel's criticism raises again the differences between Köhler and Köster as to what may be considered evidence of the appropriation of a synoptic gospel. Köhler indicates how his criteria may be applied in practice when he

Early Roman Christianity', in P. Oakes (ed.), *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), 142–66.

[40] Köhler, *Rezeption*, 14.

[41] Ibid. 13.

[42] Ibid. 525.

[43] W. R. Schoedel, 'Review of Édouard Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu sur la literature chrétienne avant saint Irénée*; and Wolf-Dietrich Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1987', *CBQ* 51 (1989), 562–4, on pp. 563–4.

sets out the nature and extent of evidence for the use of Matthew that will be required to decide the degree of probability with which a possible echo of Matthew may be considered as dependent on Matthew or on a parallel source. This seems reasonable, but it remains unclear whether any parallel other than one that contains material identified as the result of Matthean redaction—Köster's criterion—is in fact sufficient to indicate literary dependence on a synoptic gospel. Köhler's methodology is intended to avoid an uncritical identification of Matthean-like material as evidence of the appropriation of Matthew, but only Köster's criterion actually offers assured results. Further, it is not the case, *contra* Köhler,[44] that his approach to Matthew may simply be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the investigation of Luke.[45] Luke's own preface indicates clearly his claim to have used written sources and oral traditions, and modern scholarship has postulated a number of sources that may lie behind his narrative. Of course, it is not possible to prove either that such sources existed or that they remained in use in the second century, but the possibility that they did means that it may not be reasonable simply to assume that even a close parallel to Luke is evidence of dependence on Luke. Thus there may be methodological reasons why it is more difficult to demonstrate the use of Luke than of Matthew.

Therefore Köhler's caution about what Köster's method cannot achieve, given the evidence available, must be taken seriously, but so too must the difficulties in his own approach. Some of the chapters that follow will note parallels to the synoptic tradition that meet the level of evidence required by Köhler, but which do not meet Köster's criterion of the presence of redactional work by an evangelist. It is important that such parallels are discussed, and some readers will wish to accept many or all of these parallels as probable evidence for the appropriation of one or other of the synoptic gospels. Others will be more cautious, and will emphasize the importance of Köster's criterion. Their use of such a rigorous criterion may be thought to weight their research towards a minimalist conclusion, and this should be acknowledged. But it seems equally true that a less rigorous criterion may weight research towards a maximalist conclusion. Given that we know so little about the early transmission of the gospels in general, and given that so much of early Christian literature has been lost, it may be the case that a small sample of quite secure evidence may be of more value than a larger sample of less secure evidence. Köster's 'exemplary'[46] approach provides a methodologically

[44] Köhler, *Rezeption*, 16.

[45] But see T. Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert*, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), for the adoption of Köhler's criteria in his account of the reception of John.

[46] Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 199.

rigorous criterion, the greatest strength of which is that it excludes any tendency to parallelomania. Yet it is not without its limitations.

One needs to remind oneself, for example, of the very obvious fact that the evangelists were not the only writers of their day, and hence they were not complete innovators in relation to vocabulary. The fact that one synoptic evangelist uses words by adding them redactionally at one place does not mean that any occurrence of the same words in another text is due to (direct or indirect) dependence on the synoptic gospel in question. Words could be used (possibly added) by two authors working independently of each other.

Further, one needs to note that any dependence established by this criterion may not show *direct* dependence or use of the earlier text by the later author or editor. The presence of redactional elements need not show that the first text was sitting on the 'desk' of the later author and was being read or copied directly. All it can show is that the first text had already developed to the point of being redacted by its author at some stage prior to that text being 'referred to' in the subsequent tradition history of the text. But that may simply alert us to the problems in determining the nature of any 'dependence' in a discussion like this.

More significant methodologically may be the problems inherent in seeking to determine precisely what is due to the redactional activity of an author, especially the synoptic evangelists. In discussing possible relationships between the synoptic tradition and the Apostolic Fathers, many would regard it as important to seek to determine redactional elements in the synoptics *prior* to any discussion of possible parallels in the writings of a particular Apostolic Father. Even with this presupposition, there are important methodological problems.

For many, the identification of redactional elements in the synoptics is heavily dependent on which solution is presupposed for the synoptic problem. For advocates of the Two Source Theory (2ST), differences between Matthew/Luke and Mark in parallel passages are routinely explained as due to MattR/LkR; hence too, small extra elements in Matthew/Luke which are not in Mark are often ascribed to MattR/LkR.[47] Clearly, a different solution to the synoptic problem might produce different results about what could or should be identified as redactional. For example, on the Griesbach hypothesis (GH), Luke's text would have to be compared with the version of Matthew, not Mark, and any differences which were to be regarded as LkR would have

[47] Within the presuppositions of the 2ST, there is of course also the obvious possible complication of cases where Q may have overlapped with Mark, and hence parallels between Matthew and Luke against Mark might be explained as due to common dependence on Q rather than on (independent) redaction.

to be differences from the text of Matthew. So-called double tradition material[48] would also look potentially very different in relation to the present discussion on the 2ST and on the GH, respectively. For the 2ST, this material may contain a number of places where Luke has preserved Q more accurately, and where Matthew's different version may then be MattR. For the GH, the bulk of any differences will be explained as due to LkR.[49] Any identification of MattR elements will be much harder, as no pre-Matthean source is postulated as accessible to us outside Matthew. (In the 2ST, the Q source is, at least indirectly, accessible via Luke.)

In all such discussions, there is, however, a further factor which must always be borne in mind as a possibility, and it is one which could be of crucial significance in the present context. This concerns the possibility that, in cases where Matthew/Luke differ from Mark (on the 2ST),[50] the differences are due not so much to the creative activity of the later evangelists but to the use of other, independent, parallel traditions to which the later evangelists had access. In relation to the study of the synoptic gospels themselves, this has always been an important issue, and recent work on the ongoing existence of oral tradition (beyond the time of the writing of the gospels) has given added impetus to the debate.[51] And indeed, the evidence of the Apostolic Fathers may be of vital importance in this discussion, illustrating perhaps precisely this ongoing lively oral tradition existing alongside any possible written texts.[52]

But then in terms of methodology, it could be a key issue to decide whether one can use the evidence of the Apostolic Fathers themselves as part of the debate about whether differences between synoptic parallels are to be

[48] By 'double tradition material', we mean material where there seems to be a literary relationship between Matthew and Luke which is not explicable by dependence on Mark. Such material is normally ascribed to Q on the 2ST. On the GH, this is presumably (mostly) to be explained by Luke's direct dependence on Matthew.

[49] Although some advocates of the GH allow the possibility that, in the so-called double tradition, Luke may at times have had access to independent traditions: on this see below.

[50] We formulate the above on the assumption of the 2ST; but the same issue arises on any source hypothesis, and advocates of other hypotheses can easily change the parameters of the discussion to fit their own theories.

[51] E.g., most recently J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003). Cf. too debates about *Thomas* and the possibility that the vexed question of the relationship between *Thomas* and the synoptics could take account of the existence of oral tradition ongoing after the time of the writing of the synoptic gospels themselves, i.e. what Risto Uro has called 'secondary orality': see his 'Thomas and Oral Gospel Tradition', in R. Uro (ed.), *Thomas at the Crossroads* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 8–32.

[52] The theory which, in general terms (in relation to the Apostolic Fathers), Helmut Köster has done so much to promote. Dunn (*Jesus Remembered,* 196) explicitly notes Köster's contribution here, and laments the lack of influence which this has had on the broader discussion of the development of the synoptic tradition more generally.

explained by a model of creative redaction or by one of independent traditions used by the evangelists. In other words, is the assumption mentioned earlier, assumed as almost axiomatic by some, that one should examine the synoptic evidence on its own and only compare the evidence of the Apostolic Father(s) secondarily, really justified?

To take a concrete example, we may consider in general terms the parallels between Matt. 24, Mark 13, and *Did.* 16. It is often noted that *Did.* 16 has parallels with a number of features of Matt. 24 which are not in Mark 13. If we start with the synoptic evidence alone, we might well argue that these elements are due to MattR, Matthew having redacted Mark with no other evidence of an independent source being available to him. The parallels with *Did.* 16 then imply that the *Didache* presupposes MattR, and hence Matthew's finished gospel. But it would be equally possible to argue that confining attention to Mathew and Mark alone initially is too restrictive: with a broader look at *all* the evidence from early Christian texts available—i.e. Matthew, Mark, *and Didache*—then perhaps the evidence *of Did. 16 itself* could and/or should be brought into the picture as part of a case that the extra elements in Matt. 24 which are not from Mark 13 come from an independent tradition available to Matthew and the Didachist. Either way of arguing is defensible; both are in some way slightly circular; neither is inherently or clearly incorrect. And in part, such ambiguity may explain some of the different theories (e.g., about the relation of *Did.* 16 to Matthew) which are currently proposed.

Identifying the Use of John and Acts

Some of the difficulties encountered in seeking to establish the presence of quotations from, or allusions to, the synoptic gospels apply also to the discussion of quotations from, or allusions to, John[53] and Acts.[54] Each text is a narrative that purports to report events and discourses in the life of Jesus or that of some of his early followers. Therefore the possibility may not be excluded altogether that such events and discussions may have circulated in oral traditions quite independent of these written texts, or on sources which may have been used both by the authors of either text and also by others.[55]

[53] Studies of the reception of John include Hill, *Johannine Corpus*; Nagel, *Rezeption*; F.-M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien et son Évangile dans l'église ancienne* (Paris: Gabalda, 1959); J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943); W. von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Giessen: A. Töpelman, 1932).

[54] On the reception of Acts, see Gregory, *Reception*.

[55] On the possible use of sources in John, see G. van Belle, *The Signs Source in the Fourth Gospel: A Historical Survey and Critical Evaluation of the Semeia Hypothesis*, BETL 116 (Leuven:

Those who see the creative hand of their authors throughout these texts and who give little credence to the possible historicity of their accounts may argue that they reflect the redactional activity of their authors virtually from start to finish, so that any later parallels to these writings are very likely to depend on them. But others, whether they argue for the historical value of these texts as faithful descriptions, or as accounts that incorporate and reshape earlier sources and/or traditions, regardless of the historical value of such material, may take a different line. For example, if there was an apostolic decree sent out from Jerusalem, then perhaps we ought to expect that decree to have been known to many churches, quite apart from whether or not they were familiar with Acts.

John and Acts are both narratives to which it is extremely difficult to apply Köster's criterion without first making other far-reaching decisions. As it happens, they are also texts for which there is very little evidence in the Apostolic Fathers.

Identifying the Use of the Letters and the Apocalypse

Letters present slightly different issues. Their nature as occasional documents means that they were written in response to particular circumstances at particular times. They are likely to have been written over a relatively short period of time, and not to have gone through a period of oral development, although the possibility of multiple recensions may not be excluded altogether.[56] They may refer to events that have happened—for example, the difficult situations addressed in Paul's letters to Corinth—and it is possible that memories of such events may have been preserved and transmitted independently of Paul's letters. But it seems unlikely that any such accounts would resemble the phraseology or particular content and form of Paul's two letters, for their text depends as much on Paul's situation and his understanding of the situation in Corinth as on the details of the situation itself, such as these may have been known to others. Therefore, there is a strong sense in which letters are largely redactional, in that they reflect mainly the compositional activity of their authors. Of course, they may contain traditional material—for example, credal statements and hymns—as well as quotations from those to whom they are addressed, and it is possible that such materials

Leuven University Press, 1994). On the use of sources in Acts, see J. Dupont, *The Sources of Acts* (London: DLT, 1964).

[56] E.g., there might be difficulty in determining the origin of material that is found in both Colossians and Ephesians.

may have been transmitted quite independently of their inclusion in Pauline or other letters.

A further distinction which should be drawn, particularly with reference to Paul, concerns the question of whether later authors who might appear to appeal to Paul in some way actually make direct use of his letters, or whether they appeal either to a particular image (*Paulusbild*) of the apostle, or to his theological ideas. Appeals to an image of the apostle or to his ideas need not reflect direct literary dependence on his letters; nor need the demonstrable use of one letter in a given text mean that its author also had direct access to other letters. These are distinctions drawn by Andreas Lindemann, whose work remains the standard discussion of this subject.[57] Lindemann argues that quotations may be identified securely only when they are explicitly designated as such by an introductory formula (he cites the reference to Paul in *1 Clem.* 47. 1 as an example).[58] But he also allows that the presence of a quotation may be considered probable when a later text includes a form of words which is clearly reminiscent of Paul in terms of grammar, wording, and content, provided that they cannot be attributed to a common tradition (e.g., Ign. *Eph.* 18. 1 // 1 Cor. 1. 18, 20).[59] He argues further that quotations may be present even if their wording only loosely resembles that of Paul, provided that the text in which they are found shows other indications of an acquaintance with the Pauline letters or with Pauline theology.[60] Questions might be asked as to whether this tends to tip the scales in favour of dependence where the evidence is not sufficient to make the case, at least in the given instance then under discussion; but this is a relatively minor concern. Nothing significant hangs on any such instance of possible dependence, for such questionable examples are not in themselves used to determine whether or not a text draws on one or more of Paul's letters. Lindemann also allows that the presence of characteristic Pauline *topoi* or terminology may indicate the presence of allusions to Paul, provided that they appear to function as foreign bodies (*Fremdkörper*) in their host texts and could not have been derived from non-Pauline tradition.[61] His criteria are balanced and consistent, and they may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to all the letters contained in the New Testament.

[57] A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979). See also his essays, 'Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers', and 'Der Apostel Paulus im 2. Jahrhundert', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 39–67. Another important recent study of the early use of Paul is D. Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches: The Development of the Use of Paul's Letters in Second-Century Christianity' (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1981).

[58] Lindemann, *Paulus*, 17.

[59] Ibid. 17–18.

[60] Ibid. 18.

[61] Ibid.

Similar considerations are likely to apply also to the Apocalypse, the early use of which is the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Charles Helms.[62] The one Apostolic Father whom he considers is Papias,[63] and he notes three different categories of patristic exegesis from Papias to Eusebius: chiliastic (or anti-chiliastic), eschatological, and christocentric. Interestingly, he does not include any explicit methodological discussion of how the use of the Apocalypse is to be identified, presumably because there appears to be no doubt that it is being used in the exegetical debates that he discusses. R. H. Charles is similarly silent on methodological issues, but offers a number of parallels on the basis of which he notes that there are 'most probable but no absolutely certain traces' of the Apocalypse in the Apostolic Fathers.[64]

CONCLUSION

When the contributors to the *New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* wished to grade the probability with which allusions to, or quotations from, the New Testament might be found in the Apostolic Fathers, they did so by means of four classes, distinguished by the letters A, B, C, and D. Class A referred to those books about which there could be no reasonable doubt; Class D to those in regard to which the evidence appeared too uncertain to allow any case for dependence to be made. Classes B and C indicated a high and a low degree of probability, respectively. Such classification allows for a certain degree of slippage, particularly between classes B and C, and this is something about which the editors are candid.[65] This has remained the dominant approach in subsequent studies. Other attempts might be made to seek more clearly distinguishable boundaries between 'reasonably certain', 'highly probable', 'probable', and 'unlikely', but the judgements involved are not such as are readily susceptible to more precise categorization, or even to statistical analysis.[66] This may lead to a degree of open-endedness and untidiness in any

[62] C. R. Helms, 'The Apocalypse in the Early Church: Christ, Eschaton and Millenium'. (D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1991). See also D. Kyrtatas, 'The Transformations of the Text: The Reception of John's Revelation', in A. Cameron (ed.), *History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History* (London: George Duckworth & Co., 1989), 146–62.

[63] Helms, 'Apocalypse', 27–37; cf. Kyrtatas, 'Transformations', 150–1.

[64] R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), i. p. xcvii.

[65] *NTAF*, 'Preface', p. v.

[66] Cf. the attempt to do so in K. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul: An Analysis of their Literary and Theological Relationship in Light of Polycarp's Use of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature*, VCSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 203–6.

results that may be obtained; but this is hardly surprising when we have only such partial access to the life of the emerging church as it may be seen through the texts that survive from the second century. The surveys that follow do not claim to be the last word on this subject, but they can claim to provide reliable and comprehensive accounts of such quotations from, or allusions to, the New Testament as may be found in each of the Apostolic Fathers.

5

The *Didache* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

Christopher M. Tuckett

Ever since its discovery in 1873, the *Didache* has been a source of intense scholarly debate about a number of issues, including its date, the use of the 'Two Ways' tradition, early Christian liturgical—especially eucharistic—practice, and the nature of developing ecclesiastical hierarchy in the early church. Among these issues of debate has always been the question of the relationship of the *Didache* to the writings of (what became) the New Testament.[1]

The text of the *Didache* shows a number of striking parallels with some parts of other NT texts, and the vast majority of these parallels involve material appearing in the synoptic gospels. Parallels between the *Didache* and other parts of the NT are generally thought to be rather slight. Such parallels as exist are discussed below. But interest in this general topic (of the relationship between the *Didache* and the NT) has always focused primarily on the parallels that exist between the *Didache* and the synoptic gospels.[2] However, before discussing the parallels in detail, some preliminary observations and comments are in order.

First is the issue of the unity of the text known as 'the *Didache*'. This text is available to us in its entirety in only one eleventh-century Greek MS (henceforth denoted H), published in 1883 by P. Bryennios. Some sections of the text are available in other versions (Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian), and a small section of the Greek text is available in a fourth-century parchment fragment

[1] For many, this question is closely related to that of the date of the *Didache*. However, the dating question should perhaps be left on one side when considering the possible relationship with the books of the NT. Any theory that the *Didache* depends on, or presupposes, some of the NT books would clearly imply a later, rather than an earlier, date for the composition of the text. But it is doubtful if the question of the date can be determined prior to, and/or independently of, the issue of the relationship of the *Didache* to the books of the NT. (It also goes without saying that talk about the books of 'the NT' is almost certainly anachronistic when discussing the *Didache*. On this, see below.)

[2] Cf. K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1998), 48: 'The only texts that deserve serious consideration are from the synoptic tradition.'

from Oxyrhynchus (*P Oxy.* 1782; henceforth P).[3] Also the text appears to have been used directly by the author of Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is almost universally agreed that the present text (i.e. the H text) is, in some sense at least, 'composite'. *Did.* 1–6 incorporates an earlier (probably Jewish) Two Ways tradition attested in *Barn.* 18–20, the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, and elsewhere;[4] within this section, the material in *Did.* 1. 3b–2. 1 is probably a secondary Christianizing addition. *Did.* 9–10 also clearly reflects and uses earlier liturgical prayers and traditions which have almost certainly not been invented *de novo* by the Didachist. Other seams within the H text have been suggested: for example, chapters 8 and 15 may be secondary additions to an earlier *Vorlage*.[5] Other possible seams have led to more complex theories about the growth of the text into its present form (i.e., as it appears in H).[6] The precise delineation of the development of the tradition that has culminated in the text now represented in H is debated. Nevertheless, it is clear that any theories about the relationship to NT documents in one part of the *Didache* will not necessarily apply to the *Didache* as a whole.[7] Each part of the text must therefore by examined separately and, to a certain extent, independently.

On the other hand, we must bear in mind, and accept, the limitations of our evidence. Despite many theories about the composite nature of the H text, the fact remains that we have no direct evidence of the existence of an earlier version of the text of 'the *Didache*' which had any form other than that of H. Strong arguments can be adduced for the claim that *Did.* 1. 3b–2. 1 represents a secondary expansion of the Two Ways tradition found in the rest of the *Did.* 1–6.[8] However, this does not mean that the section is a later addition to the text of the *Didache* itself. It could have been incorporated by the editor or author of the *Didache* who used the Two Ways tradition as a

[3] For full discussion of the textual witnesses, see ibid. 19–29.

[4] See most recently H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Assen and New York: Royal Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 55–190.

[5] Cf. W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres*, SC 248 (Paris: Cerf, 1978), 36, 63; J. A. Draper, 'The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*', in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The Didache in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 72–91, on p. 76.

[6] Cf. most recently A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache*, JSNTSup 254 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2004), who argues for a multi-stage growth in the text.

[7] Cf. H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), who argues that most of the *Didache* is independent of the synoptic gospels but that the section 1. 3b–2. 1 presupposes our gospels and represents a later addition. C. N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, VCSup 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), argues that *Did.* 1–6, 16, and Matthew depend on common source material, but that *Did.* 7–15 depends on the finished gospels (cf. pp. 91, 143).

[8] Parallels to this section are lacking in *Barn.* 18–20 and the *Doctrina Apostolorum*.

source and expanded it with this small section.[9] Sources of the text of the *Didache* are not necessarily to be identified with earlier versions of the text itself. Hence in what follows I presume that 'the *Didache*' is the text substantially represented in H. This text may well represent the end-point of a complex tradition history in relation to some of its constituent parts. But we do not have evidence of the existence of a (single) text of 'the' *Didache* different from that of H.[10]

The above remarks do not of course apply to the detailed wording of the H text. H is an eleventh-century Greek MS, and no one would pretend to claim that the wording of the text can have been handed down in pristine purity over a period of almost a thousand years. For a (very small) section of the text, we do have the witness of the P text from Oxyrhynchus, and this shows a number of differences from the Greek text of H.[11] Of particular importance for the present discussion are a couple of places where the *Didache*'s text seems to be clearly parallel to material appearing in Matthew/Luke; in both instances the H readings are closer to the gospel texts than the P readings.[12] Thus it is possible that the text of H has, in the course of transmission, been assimilated to the (more familiar) NT wording in parallel passages. Possible close parallels between the detailed wording of H and that of the NT might have been less close at the stage of the 'original' composition of the *Didache*.[13]

A further point should, however, also be borne in mind. For the most part, the *Didache* does not 'quote' anything from the synoptic tradition or other traditions reflected in the NT.[14] There are a few instances where the *Didache* may indicate its intention to something (or someone): cf. *Did.* 1. 6; 8. 2; 9. 5;

[9] Cf. W. Rordorf, 'Le problème de la transmission textuelle de Didachè 1,3b–2,1', in F. Paske (ed.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, TU 125 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981), 499–513, who argues for close links between this section and the rest of the *Didache*—hence *contra*, e.g., K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Clemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, SUC 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), who is so convinced that the section is a later addition to the text of the 'original' *Didache* that he assigns it to a footnote in his edition of the text (p. 66).

[10] Such a comment is intended to apply only to the broad contents of the text (e.g., the issue of the status of 1. 3b–2. 1 within the text). On the issue of the detailed wording, see the next paragraph.

[11] For full details, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 22.

[12] The H text of *Did.* 1. 3 has *ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς*, P reads *φιλεῖτε* for the second *ἀγαπᾶτε* (the papyrus is not extant for the first) and *τοῦτο* for *τὸ αὐτό*. In each case, the H reading is the same as Matt. 5. 44.

[13] Cf. Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 75; Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 42. For some, then, differences between the detailed wording of the *Didache* and the NT are all the more significant. Cf. too A. Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache* Revisited', *JECS* 11 (2003), 443–80, esp. 452–3. On this see also the next paragraph here.

[14] For discussion of what constitutes a 'quotation', and what might be better described as an 'allusion' or 'reference', see Ch. 4 above, pp. 63–8.

16. 7.[15] Elsewhere there are references to a *εὐαγγέλιον* (8. 2; 11. 3; 15. 3, 4), which may be to a written source (but may not: see below). However, the remaining links between the *Didache* and (parallels in) the NT are at the level of allusion only. It is thus inappropriate to assess the *Didache*'s use of synoptic (or other NT) tradition as if it were a case of explicit quotation and to expect verbatim agreement between the 'quoted' version and the source used. The *Didache*'s use of synoptic (and other NT) tradition seems to be one of free allusion.[16] Hence disagreements between the *Didache* and the gospels in the context and application of common material, and to a certain extent in the wording, need not imply that the *Didache* cannot have known our gospels.[17]

One must remember too that, at the time of the writing of the *Didache*,[18] the texts of the NT were not necessarily 'canonical', if indeed they were in existence at all.[19] In one sense, therefore, one would not expect quotations of texts which had not yet become 'scriptural' to be regarded as so sacrosanct

[15] Two of these are probably citations of Jewish Scripture: 1. 6 is probably intended as a citation of Sir. 12. 2 (see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 84–6); 16. 7 cites Zech. 14. 5. For 8. 2 and the quotation of the Lord's Prayer, see below. *Did.* 9. 5 quotes what 'The Lord said', followed by a version of the saying which also appears in Matt. 7. 6: on this see below too.

[16] J. S. Kloppenborg, 'The Use of the Synoptics or Q in Did. 1.3b–2.1' in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *The Didache and Matthew: Two Documents from the same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 105–29, claims that this 'begs the question, since . . . one does not know a priori whether the Didachist's technique of usage is "allusive" or not'. Still it remains the case that the *Didache* does not for the most part 'cite' anything; it simply echoes or alludes to material which we identify as gospel traditions. (It may be, of course, that the *Didache* is carefully citing an earlier source at all these points very accurately; but that would simply shift the discussion to the issue of the relationship of the source at each point to the traditions of the NT.) For a reader without any knowledge of the NT gospels at all, there is nothing on the surface of the text of the *Didache* to indicate that the material presented in, say, 1. 3–5 has any parallels elsewhere or has been 'cited' from (an)other source(s).

[17] This applies especially to the work of R. Glover, 'The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 5 (1958), 12–29, who frequently argues that the *Didache* cannot be dependent on our gospels because the same material is used in such widely differing contexts and ways. (Glover even speaks of the *Didache*'s 'quotations' in the title of his article.) For a similar argument, see Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 75; also Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', 456–60. Cf. Wengst, *Didache*, 30: 'Nach diesem Argumentationsmuster mußte man etwa Paulus die Benutzung des AT absprechen' (and see also below).

On the other hand, I have never argued that the *Didache*'s possible use of gospel traditions is part of a policy of 'deliberate' non-quotation (as claimed by I. H. Henderson, 'Style-Switching in the *Didache*: Fingerprint or Argument?', in C. Jefford (ed.), *The Didache in Context: Essays on its Text, History and Transmission* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 177–209, on pp. 181–5; he discusses my work under the rubric of 'The Maxim of *Deliberate* Non-Quotation' (my emphasis): the reference to anything 'deliberate' is Henderson's, not mine.

[18] The date is disputed, but few today would date the text much later than the middle of the second century CE.

[19] Certainly if the *Didache* is to be dated very early, as some would argue, then it may have been written before some or all of the NT documents themselves were produced.

that no change were possible.[20] On the other hand, if the NT texts were in existence at the time of the *Didache* and were gaining status on the way to becoming authoritative and/or 'canonical', then freedom in applying such texts to new situations is precisely what one would expect: their very status as (quasi-) 'scriptural' texts would invite just such a process of reapplication. Certainly at almost every period of later Christian history, Christian writers fastened on the words of the NT books and applied them to new situations. Similarly, from the start of the Christian movement, Christians adopted at times the words of Jewish Scripture (the 'Old Testament') and applied them to their own circumstances, which differed significantly from their 'original' contexts. And in this Christians did no more and no less than many Jews at the time.[21] Indeed, texts from Qumran also show that Jews could at times claim the freedom to be able to change the wording of their ('scriptural') texts to fit their own new interpretations and applications of these texts. One cannot, therefore, place much weight (if any) on differences between the *Didache* and parallels in the NT, whether at the level of wording or that of application and interpretation, as showing too much in the context of the present discussion. *If* the *Didache* did presuppose the gospel/NT texts, then an element of difference between the two, in wording and/or application, would not be at all unexpected.

In assessing whether the parallels between the *Didache* and materials in NT books reflect some 'knowledge' or 'use' of the NT books by the Didachist, the best criterion remains whether material which owes its origin to the redactional activity of the NT writer in question reappears in the *Didache*. If it does, then the latter must presuppose the finished work of that author.[22] It will be argued here that such a situation does seem to be implied by the *Didache*, at least in relation to the gospel of Matthew. However, one should not assume

[20] *Contra*, e.g., W. Rordorf, 'Does the Didache contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?', in H. Wansbrough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 394–423, on p. 411, who argues that one cannot think of the *Didache* being dependent on the gospels via, say, a later harmony, since 'a harmony of the Gospels presupposes that the basic text has canonical authority. But with a canonical text it is impossible to chop and change as the *Didache* does.' As Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', 466, points out, such a view of the status of the gospels may well be anachronistic for the period of the first 200 years of the Christian church. In any case, one sees Matthew and Luke doing precisely such a process of chopping and changing Mark, as do many later writers using the gospel materials. Cf. generally W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 536, who speaks of the 'größtmöglichste Freiheit gegenüber dem "Text" bei enger Bindung an den Herrn—das war in der Zeit vor Irenäus der Weg, den schriftlichen überlieferten Evangelienstoff auf sich and seine Gegenwart zu beziehen'.

[21] Cf. the Qumran *Pesharim*, where the texts are applied to the situation of the present unashamedly and with scant regard for their 'original' application or meaning.

[22] See Ch. 4 above, p. 71, with further references.

that any 'dependence' which is established on the basis of such a criterion is necessarily direct: the later document may be several stages removed from the earlier one.[23] In the case of the synoptic tradition generally, one must reckon with a period of oral tradition existing alongside the written texts.[24] But equally, too, the written texts themselves may well have generated their own oral tradition as the texts were read (almost certainly aloud), heard (rather than read silently), and passed on verbally and orally.[25] It may well be that, if the *Didache* is 'dependent' on the gospel of Matthew, then that dependence is at best very indirect, perhaps several stages removed, and mediated through a process of oral transmission, retelling, and remembering. Once again, one should not think in terms of too close or direct a relationship as being the only one possible to conceive. The *Didache* is clearly not the result of an attempt by a scribe to *copy* the text of Matthew or any of the other gospels. In relation to the gospels or gospel traditions, the Didachist is not trying to do the same thing as any of the evangelists: he or she is not trying to produce an account of the life of Jesus; nor is he or she even necessarily concerned to present the teaching reproduced here as the teaching of Jesus himself.[26] We should not, therefore, judge the parallels between the *Didache* and other texts such as the gospels solely on the basis of a comparison with the way in which, say, the later synoptic evangelists used the earlier one(s).[27] On any showing, the Didachist has done something different with the materials available to him or her than what Matthew or Luke did with Mark and/or Q.

With these preliminary comments in mind, we may turn to the texts and the parallels with similar materials in the NT. I consider, first, parallels with NT texts other than the synoptic gospels before turning to the more substantial set of parallels with the synoptics.

[23] Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', in arguing for the independence of the *Didache* from the synoptics generally assumes that the only alternative to his own theory (of complete independence) is that of the *Didache* being directly and immediately dependent, with the Didachist having the text of Matthew open in front of him or her and being read directly.

[24] It is the great merit of Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, to have emphasized this and taken it seriously in discussing the history of the synoptic tradition in the second century.

[25] Cf. J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, I (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 131. The phrase 'secondary orality' has become popular in recent years in discussions of the *Gospel of Thomas* and its relationship to the canonical gospels to refer to this secondary, oral use of written texts: see R. Uro, '*Thomas* and the Oral Gospel Tradition', in R. Uro (ed.), *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 8–32, on p. 10, with further references. Exactly the same phenomenon is relevant to discussion of the *Didache*.

[26] The first 'title' of the work states that it is the 'teaching of the twelve apostles'. The second 'title' states that it is the 'teaching of the Lord [= Jesus?] through the twelve apostles . . .'. The relationship between the two titles, and their relative age, is disputed, though majority opinion is probably that, of the two, the first is more likely to be more original.

[27] Cf. V. Balabanski, *Eschatology in the Making: Mark, Matthew and the Didache*, SNTSMS 97 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 197.

THE *DIDACHE* AND THE NEW TESTAMENT APART FROM THE SYNOPTICS

Parallels between the *Didache* and NT texts apart from the synoptics are generally thought to be too slight have any significance at all in discussing the possible knowledge of, and use of, NT books by the Didachist. In any such discussion one must of course beware the danger of 'parallelomania', seeing any kind of verbal agreement as significant. One must, as always, remember that the NT books themselves were not hermetically sealed entities totally cut off from their surrounding context in the first century: hence the odd verbal agreement between two texts may be coincidental, or due to common traditions, rather than to any direct literary dependence. Further, the NT books and/or their traditions were not necessarily sealed off from each other. It is widely agreed, for example, that writers such as Paul and the author of 1 Peter may themselves have been in touch with Jesus traditions.[28] Hence any parallels between the *Didache* and NT epistles in material where there are gospel parallels as well may be due to common use of Jesus traditions rather than any link between the *Didache* and the NT epistles themselves (cf. below). With these factors in mind, I turn to a discussion of the relevant texts.

The *Didache* and Acts

Parallels between *Didache* and Acts are almost non-existent.[29] Some parallels have been noted,[30] but most are extremely weak. Perhaps the closest example might be the parallel between *Did.* 4. 8 and Acts 4. 32 (cf. also Acts 2. 44):

Did. 4. 8	Acts 4. 32
συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι	*καὶ οὐδὲ εἷς τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι ἀλλ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κοινά.*

[28] Clearly Paul knew some Jesus traditions (cf. 1 Cor. 7. 10; 9. 14; 11. 23–5); 1 Peter has a number of places with material that is parallel to the gospels. In the case of Paul, assuming conventional datings for the writings in question, such contact cannot have been between Paul himself and the written gospels since the latter had (almost certainly) not been written at the time Paul wrote. The case of 1 Peter is more debatable (and debated).

[29] A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 310 and n. 1, dismisses any links between Acts and *Didache*, along with possible links between Acts and a number of other early texts (e.g., *Barnabas*, Ignatius, *2 Clement*), as 'so tenuous that they hardly need further mention'.

[30] See C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, i, ICC, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 35–6; É. Massaux, *Influence de l'Evangile de saint Matthieu sur la litterature chrétienne avant saint Irénée*, BETL 75 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 642.

This is the one example cited by Lake in his discussion in the *NTAF* volume.[31] The verbal similarity is close (though the two texts are certainly not verbally identical). However, it is very doubtful whether the life-style presupposed in the two texts is the same: the *Didache* gives no indication elsewhere of a communal life-style like that of the early Jerusalem church as reflected in Acts 2–5. The ethos of caring for the needy amongst one's friends and neighbours is widespread in the OT and in Jewish tradition, and indeed in non-Jewish literature as well.[32] This verse of the *Didache* is part of the Two Ways tradition, attested in *Barnabas* and with widespread roots in Jewish tradition, and this particular exhortation has a close parallel in *Barn.* 19. 8, probably from the Two Ways source shared by the *Didache* and *Barnabas*. Given the background in Jewish tradition, strongly affirming the obligation to care for the needy in the community, it seems quite unnecessary and unjustified to posit any direct relationship with Christian literature such as Acts at this point to explain the wording of *Did.* 4. 8.[33]

Other possible parallels between *Didache* and Acts are even more tenuous, involving perhaps at most common vocabulary of an odd word to two.[34] There is thus no compelling evidence to show that *Didache* knew or used Acts.

The *Didache* and Non-Pauline Letters

The only real candidate for inclusion in this discussion is the parallel between *Did.* 1. 4a and 1 Pet. 2. 11.

Did. 1. 4a	1 Pet. 2. 11
ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν	*ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν*

The situation here is complicated by the presence of textual variants in the text of the *Didache*, and also by the widely held view that the phrase is a later gloss in *Didache*.

H reads the text as above. The P reading is *ἀπόσχου τῶν σαρκε[ι]κῶν ἐπιθυμειῶν*. The text of the *Apostolic Constitutions* here reads *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν*. Lake has suggested that perhaps the

[31] K. Lake, 'The Didache', in *NTAF*, 24–36, on p. 25; cf. too Massaux, *Influence*, 642.

[32] See Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 108 f., who also cites the Greek proverb 'Friends have all things in common' (attributed to Pythagoras, according to Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 8. 10).

[33] So too Lake, 'The Didache', 25: 'The resemblance . . . is not sufficiently close to prove literary dependence.'

[34] Massaux, *Influence*, 642, refers to 'baptising in the name of the Lord' in *Did.* 9. 5 cf. e.g. Acts 19. 5, but this is far too general. Massaux also compares the use of *κυριακή*, in *Did.* 14. 1 with Acts 20. 7, but the 'parallel' is remote at best (with no verbal agreement beyond this word), also the phrase 'break bread' in *Did.* 14. 1, which also occurs in Acts 2. 46; 20. 7, 11 (and 1 Cor. 10. 16), but this is scarcely distinctive enough to show anything in this context.

Didache reading had only σωματικῶν with ἐπιθυμιῶν (comparing 4 Macc. 1. 32), with σαρκικῶν then added later under the influence of 1 Pet. 2.[35] The subsequent discovery and publication of *P Oxy.* 1782 renders such a theory more doubtful, since σαρκικῶν seems to be the one adjective common to all three textual witnesses, and hence perhaps most likely to have been present in the original. Some secondary expansion or change of the text has clearly occurred. Niederwimmer suggests that the shorter P reading was more original and was glossed later (by καὶ σωματικῶν in H, and by καὶ κοσμικῶν in *Apostolic Constitutions*).[36] Hence the earliest reading may provide a parallel with 1 Pet. 2. 11. Many have also argued that the phrase is a secondary addition within (what may itself be a secondary addition to the rest of *Didache*) *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1.[37] Nevertheless, the phrase is clearly present in all the MS tradition (such as it is) of the text that is available to us, and hence must presumably be considered as part of the text of 'the' *Didache.*

How one should assess the parallel between the *Didache* and 1 Peter is not clear. The idea involved is very general, and other clear parallels in *Didache* to 1 Peter are lacking.[38] Lake's conclusion, giving this parallel a 'd' rating, seems entirely justified: the coincidence of wording may just as easily be due to dependence on a common early Christian tradition.

There is thus no clear evidence that *Didache* knew 1 Peter. Further allusions to other NT books are almost totally lacking.

The *Didache* and Pauline Letters

Parallels between the *Didache* and Paul are also not numerous, and many have deduced that the *Didache* shows no knowledge of the Pauline letters.[39] Among possible parallels to be mentioned, the following may be considered:

[35] Lake, 'The Didache', 34.

[36] Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 76–7. B. Layton, 'The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.1', *HTR* 61 (1968), 343–83, on pp. 375–8, has a much more complex theory, with the *ApConst* reading taken as more original, abbreviated in P and changed by mistake in H.

[37] See Layton, 'Sources'; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 76. But contrast Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 78, who takes it as 'pivotal' to the wider context, being a general statement which is then applied more specifically in what follows. Nevertheless, Garrow still takes the statement as independently formulated prior to its inclusion here.

[38] One might refer to the possible parallel between the ποία γὰρ χάρις ... of *Did.* 1. 3 and 1 Pet. 2. 20: τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις ... ποῖον γὰρ κλέος ... But 1 Peter itself is here close to, and may reflect, the language of the Jesus tradition in Luke 6, and *Did.* 1. 3 is also close to Luke 6 in language. The primary NT parallel to *Did.* 1. 3 is thus probably the Jesus tradition represented in Luke 6, and any parallels between *Didache* and 1 Peter here are probably via this link.

[39] Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 48: 'There is no echo of the corpus Paulinum in the *Didache.*' Cf. also A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979), 174–7; T. Aono, *Die Entwicklung des paulinischen Gerichtsgedanken bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979), 163–4.

Did. 5. 2	Rom. 12. 9
οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ	*κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ,*

Despite the verbal agreement in talking about 'cleaving to the good', the parallel is scarcely sufficient to show any dependence. The contexts are quite different (*Did.* 5 is a list of vices, whereas Rom. 12 is part of positive Christian paranesis).[40] Lake calls it an 'ethical commonplace',[41] and Niederwimmer also refers to similar language in *T. Asher* 3. 1.[42] There is therefore scarcely sufficient evidence here to warrant a theory of knowledge of Romans by the *Didache*.

Did. 10. 6	1 Cor. 16. 22
εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχεσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστι, μετανοείτω, μαραν ἀθα, ἀμήν	*εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα. Μαρανα θα.*

The common use of the Aramaic word *Maranatha* in both texts is striking. Both may however reflect common usage in early Christian liturgical practice. (In *Did.* 10 the context is clearly that of 'liturgical' celebration of a Eucharist of some form.) The very use of Aramaic suggests that both authors are citing earlier traditions. Again, there is nothing to suggest a link between *Didache* and Paul's actual letters.

Did. 1. 3	Rom. 12. 14
Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν	*εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας [ὑμᾶς], εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε.*
Did. 13. 1	1 Tim. 5. 18
πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ	*ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

These two examples may be considered together. Both show some parallel between the *Didache* and words found in Paul's letters.[43] However, in each case Paul (or 'Paul') is probably alluding to Jesus tradition: for Rom. 12. 14, cf. Matt. 5. 44 // Luke 6. 27 f.; for 1 Tim. 5. 18, cf. Matt. 10. 10 // Luke 10. 7. In each case the text of the *Didache* may be closer to that of the gospel parallels than to Paul/'Paul'. Hence any similarity between the *Didache* and the Pauline texts is probably via the link of Jesus traditions. As such, these *Didache* texts will be considered below in more detail in relation to parallels between the

[40] A closer substantive parallel to *Did.* 5 in Romans would surely be the vice list at the end of Rom. 1!

[41] Lake, 'The Didache', 25.

[42] *ἀλλά τῇ ἀγαθοτήτι μόνῃ κολλήθητε*: Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 117 n. 20.

[43] Whether 1 Timothy is a genuine Pauline letter or not is immaterial here.

Didache and the synoptic tradition. They probably tell us nothing about links between the *Didache* and the Pauline letters.[44]

The analysis above thus confirms the widely held view that there is little if any evidence to support any theory that *Didache* knew or used the Pauline corpus of letters.

The *Didache* and John

Evaluations of possible contacts between the *Didache* and John's gospel have varied quite widely over the course of scholarship since the publication of the *Didache*. Some have pointed to a number of potentially striking agreements in the use of significant words and phrases, especially in the language of the prayers in *Did.* 9–10 and passages in John sometimes associated with the Eucharist and/or Last Supper (John 6, 15, 17).[45] Others have been rather more negative in their evaluations, seeing at most perhaps one or two similar words, but no suggestion of any direct link between the *Didache* and John. Thus Lake saw only three possible parallels (*Did.* 9. 2, 3; 10. 3), which he classified as 'unclassed'.[46] Niederwimmer denies that any link between the two texts can be established.[47]

Of the possible links between the *Didache* and John, perhaps the most striking are the following:[48]

Did. 9. 2 speaks of the 'holy vine of David your servant'; cf. John 15. 1, although there, Jesus himself is the vine. The common use of 'vine' language may simply reflect common use of Jewish imagery and/or a culture in which grapes are grown.

[44] Some have tried to see echoes of Paul in other parts of the *Didache*: e.g., A. von Harnack, *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), 11, saw in the command not to test a prophet (*Did.* 11. 7) an implied critique of Paul (cf. 1 Cor. 12. 10; 14. 29), but this seems extremely tenuous: cf. Aono, *Entwicklung*, 203. Other possible verbal parallels might include the reference to *εἰδολοθύτου* in *Did.* 6. 3; cf. 1 Cor. 8, or the command to a wandering Christian who wishes to settle in the community, 'let him work and eat'; cf. 1 Thess. 4. 11; 2 Thess. 3. (See Harnack, *Apostellehre*, 10 f.) Again the parallels are extremely tenuous, and insufficient to establish any theory of possible knowledge of Paul's letters with any degree of probability.

[45] Cf. A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1884), 79–81; J. Betz, 'The Eucharist in the *Didache*', in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The Didache in Modern Research* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 244–75, on p. 255; also E. R. Goodenough, 'John a Primitive Gospel', *JBL* 64 (1945), 174–5; C. F. D. Moule, 'A Note on *Didache* IX. 4', *JTS* 6 (1955), 240–3. See too C. Claussen, Ch. 8 in companion volume.

[46] Lake, 'The Didache', 31.

[47] Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 48.

[48] Ibid. See also Lake, 'The Didache', 31.

Did. 9. 2, 3; 10. 2 also uses the verb γνωρίζειν (e.g., 9. 2: 'which you have made known to us through Jesus . . .'); cf. John 17. 26 (also 17. 3), though in John it is God's name and/or his very self whom Jesus makes known.

Did. 9. 4 speaks of the broken bread becoming one (ἐγένετο ἕν); cf. John 17. 11, 21, 22, and Jesus' prayer for the unity of his church.

The address of God as 'holy Father' in *Did.* 10. 2 is the same as Jesus' address to God in John 17. 21, though this may simply reflect common liturgical practice.

The prayer to deliver the church from all evil in *Did.* 10. 5 is similar to John 17. 15 (though also close in language to the Matthean version of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6. 13).

Did. 10. 3 thanks God for the gift of 'eternal life' through Jesus, a theme which is very prominent throughout John.

Finally, *Did.* 9. 3, 4 refers to the bread over which thanks is given as the κλάσμα, a strange word (much debated in discussions of *Did.* 9), but one which also appears in the gospels' accounts of the feeding stories referring to the crumbs that are left when the crowds have eaten. (See John 6. 13, but the word is also in the synoptics: cf. Mark 6. 43 and parallels.)

However, in all this it is hard to find any distinctively Johannine ideas appearing in the *Didache*.[49] Thus there is no hint in the *Didache* of the idea that Jesus himself is the vine, or that he is himself the bread of life. The address to God as 'holy Father' is never developed christologically into the characteristically Johannine idea of Jesus as God's Son. Although Jesus is the medium of the activity of God's 'making known', the typically Johannine focus on Jesus as the active agent of the process of revealing, and on God himself as the object of the revealing activity, are absent in the *Didache*. And in the prayer for the unity of the church, the characteristically Johannine basis for this—the unity of the Father and the Son—is not found in the *Didache*.

Both the *Didache* and John may have roots in the same liturgical tradition.[50] At the very least, the *Didache* and John share negatively a use of eucharistic language and ideas that do not seem to ground the founding of the meal in an act of institution by Jesus at the Last Supper. But any suggestion that the *Didache* might have known John's gospel itself almost certainly goes beyond the evidence of the texts themselves.

[49] Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 48 n. 40: 'Precisely those things that are specifically Johannine are absent from the *Didache*.'

[50] See Claussen, Ch. 8 in companion volume; also Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 48.

THE *DIDACHE* AND SYNOPTIC TRADITION

As already noted, it is the parallels between the *Didache* and the synoptic gospels that have provoked the most interest and debate since the discovery of the full text of the *Didache*. Widely different positions have been taken by different scholars in the past. Some have argued that the *Didache* is independent of the synoptic gospels, perhaps being dependent on independent oral tradition, on other collections of the sayings of Jesus, or on one or more of the sources used by the evangelists; others have argued that the *Didache* is dependent on the finished gospels, or at least the gospel of Matthew, and that the parallels with the synoptic tradition are to be explained in this way.[51]

In the light of the widely held theory that *Did.* 1. 3b–2. 1 represents a separate section within the *Didache*, I consider first the parallels between the *Didache* and the synoptic gospels which occur outside this section.

[51] For those arguing for independence, some have argued for dependence on oral tradition: see P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres* (Paris: Gabalda, 1958); Rordorf, 'Problème', and *idem*, 'Jesus Tradition'. For possible dependence on Q, see Glover, 'Didache's Quotations'; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition'. For dependence on other collections of sayings of Jesus, see Lake, 'The Didache'; A. Tuilier, 'La *Didachè* et le problème synoptique', in Jefford (ed.), *Didache in Context*, 110–30; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (with the exception of *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1); J. S. Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16.6–8 and Special Matthean Tradition', *ZNW* 70 (1979), 54–67 (at least for *Did.* 16). More generally, a theory of independence is defended by Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 48–51; Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 35–48; Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition'. For the theory that the *Didache* is independent of Matthew, but that Matthew is dependent on the *Didache*, see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*.

Those who have argued for dependence (in some form) of the *Didache* on Matthew include B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 507–11 (except for possibly one saying (*Did.* 16.1) which might be dependent on Q); F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache* (London: SPCK, 1938); Massaux, *Influence*, 604–41; B. C. Butler, 'The Literary Relations of Didache, ch. XVI', *JTS* 11 (1960), 265–83; *idem*, 'The "Two Ways" in the Didache', *JTS* 12 (1961), 27–38; Layton, 'Sources'; J. M. Court, 'The Didache and St. Matthew's Gospel', *SJT* 34 (1981), 109–20; Wengst, *Didache*, 19–31; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 19–56 (with the possible exception of *Did.* 16); Aono, *Entwicklung*, 164–89 (perhaps via oral tradition and/or memory); C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the Didache', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1989), 197–230 (repr. in Draper (ed.), *Didache in Modern Research*, 92–128; all references to the earlier edition); O. Knoch, 'Kenntnis und Verwendung des Matthäus-Evangeliums bei den Apostolischen Vätern', in L. Schenke (ed.), *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium: Festschrift für Wilhelm Pesch* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk), 159–77, on pp. 164–7; Balabanski, *Eschatology*, 180–205; A. Lindemann, 'Die Endzeitrede in Didache 16 und die Jesus-Apokalypse in Matthäus 24–25', in W. L. Petersen, J. S. Vos, and H. J. De Jonge (eds.), *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and non-Canonical: Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda*, NovTSup 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 155–74.

For what follows, see also my essay 'Synoptic Tradition', of which the present discussion represents a slightly updated and abbreviated version. Constraints of space have precluded more detailed bibliographical details being included here. Some of these may be found in the earlier essay.

Did. 1. 1	Matt 7. 13–14	Luke 13. 24
ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν	*Εἰσέλθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης· ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι᾽ αὐτῆς·* 14 *τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες αὐτήν.*	*Ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας, ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσιν.*

Although some relationship between *Did.* 1. 1 and Matt. 7. 13–14 has sometimes been postulated in the past,[52] such a theory seems unlikely and certainly unnecessary. The wording of the *Didache* here is close to that of *Barn.* 18. 1 and also the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, and hence almost certainly reflects dependence on a Two Ways source widely believed to underlie all three texts (cf. n. 4 above). The motif of the Two Ways was widespread in both Jewish and non-Jewish literature of the time.[53] Any verbal agreements between *Did.* 1. 1 and Matt. 7. 13 f. are thus probably due to both reflecting this widespread motif, rather than to any more direct relationship between the two texts.[54]

Did. 1. 2	Matt. 22. 36–9	Mark 12. 28–31
	ποία ἐντολὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ; 37 *ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ,*	*Ποία ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων;* 29 *ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρώτη ἐστίν, Ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστιν,*
πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν	*Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου*	30 *καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου*

[52] Jefford, *Sayings*, 25, with references to other literature.

[53] See Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 60–3.

[54] Some discussions of synoptic tradition in the *Didache* (e.g., by Glover, Köster, Draper, Aono) do not mention the parallel. Jefford, *Sayings*, 25, ascribes the Matthean version to a special M source which has been combined in Matthew with Q (the Lucan parallel in Luke 13. 24 makes no mention of two 'ways'). But this seems both speculative and unnecessary (cf. too Rordorf, 'Jesus Tradition', 397, who calls Jefford's arguments here 'richly hypothetical'): rather than a special 'source', one need only posit use of the very widespread Two Ways motif, probably by Matthew himself.

τὸν ποιήσαντά σε·	ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου·	ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.
	38 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή.	
δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.	39 δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.	31 δευτέρα αὕτη, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

The commands to love God and one's neighbour are well known separately in non-Christian Judaism, and at times together, notably in the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*.[55] However, the use of the πρῶτον . . . δεύτερον is not easy to parallel in non-Christian sources, and may reflect Christian influence.[56] The 'first . . . second' formulation appears in both Matthew and Mark in their accounts of the giving of the double love command, but does not appear in Luke's version (10. 25–8). This rather tells against Glover's thesis that the *Didache* tends to follow Matthew only when Matthew is not following Mark, and hence that the *Didache* is dependent on Q rather than on Matthew.[57] There may well have been a Q version of the pericope, as there are a number of agreements between the accounts in Matt. 22. 34–40 and Luke 10. 25–8.[58] But it is doubtful if the πρώτη . . . δευτέρα formulation was present in Q: it is

[55] Cf. *T. Iss.* 5. 2; 7. 6; *T. Dan* 5. 3. See Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 157 f.

[56] Cf. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 172.

[57] See Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 13. Glover sees a reflection of Luke's version of the pericope in the reference to the way of 'life' in *Did.* 1. 1, but this seems rather fanciful. This also tells against part of Garrow's overall argument for the dependence of Matthew on the *Didache*. An important part of his argument is the claim that almost all the redactional layers he identifies in the *Didache* have links with Matthean material: hence, if the *Didache* were dependent on Matthew, a whole series of different editors must have used Matthew in the same way and, moreover, homed in primarily on Matthew's special material (see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, esp. 159, 246). This, he claims, is too coincidental to be credible. Part of the argument rests on the credibility of an extremely complex theory of a multi-stage development of the *Didache* itself, and the complexity itself makes the theory somewhat uncertain. But in any case, the parallels with Matthew are *not* confined to Matthew's special material, as here. Cf. too below on *Did.* 1. 2; 2. 2; 6. 1, 2; 8. 2; 11. 2–4; 11. 7; 13. 1; 16. 4–5; also most of 1. 3–2. 1.

[58] Cf. R. H. Fuller, 'The Double Love Commandment of Love: A Test Case for the Criteria of Authenticity', in *idem* (ed.), *Essays on the Love Commandment* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978),

absent from Luke 10, and hence there are no Matthew–Luke agreements in this respect to establish any theory that the Q version numbered the two commands in this way. The presence of the numbering in Matthew cannot therefore be explained as due to Q.

The *Didache* here is marginally closer to Matthew's version than to Mark's, in that the two love commands are rather more clearly in Matthew labelled as *πρώτη . . . δευτέρα*. (In Mark the parallelism is slightly more confused by the inclusion of the Shema before the command to love God in the 'command' that is said to be *πρῶτη πάντων*.) But whether this shows that the *Didache* is dependent on, or presupposes, Matthew is not so clear. It is likely that the 'first . . . second' formulation in Matthew derives from Mark's account.[59] At least in part, the *Didache* is clearly still dependent on the Two Ways source that it evidently shares with *Barnabas* (cf. the common reference to God as 'the one who made you' here and in *Barn.* 19. 2). But has the Two Ways command to love God been expanded with material taken from Matthew as such? Some dismiss the suggestion out of hand, on the basis that the differences are too great.[60] Köster simply states that the possibility that the linking and numbering of the two commands had already occurred prior to the evangelists is 'very probable'.[61] All one can probably say at this stage is that the *Didache* shows the closest similarity with Matthew's version of all the synoptic versions.

Did. 1. 2b	Matt. 7. 12	Luke 6. 31
πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γινέσθαι σοι,	πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,	καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι
καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει	οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς·	ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.

41–56; also C. M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 416–17, with further references. However, the pericope is excluded from Q by the recent edition of the International Q Project (IQP): see J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffman, and J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 200–5.

[59] Jefford, *Sayings*, 33–5, suggests that Matthew might have had yet another version of the story from his M tradition, along with that of Mark and Q. He appeals to A. J. Hultgren, 'The Double Commandment of Love in Mt 22: 34–40: Its Sources and Compositions', *CBQ* 36 (1974), 373–8, on p. 376; but Hultgren produces no concrete evidence beyond general claims that Jewish teachers often summarized the Law, and that great teachers often repeat themselves.

[60] Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 64.

[61] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 172. This is of course very likely, but it does not determine where the *Didache* got it from!

The *Didache* appends to its version of the double love command a version of the golden rule, a form of which also appears in Matt. 7. 12 and Luke 6. 31. Again, it is not clear whether one could claim that the version of the *Didache* derives from one or other of the synoptic versions. The golden rule itself was very widespread, though it is usually presented in negative form, referring to what one would *not* want others to do to oneself. The positive form of the rule, as it appears in Matthew and Luke, is somewhat unusual.[62] If it could be established that the reference to the 'two ways' in 1. 1 were related to Matt. 7. 13–14, it *might* then be significant that the golden rule in Matthew occurs in a very closely related context: i.e., just before the reference to the 'two ways'.[63] However, I argued above that any link between *Did.* 1. 1 and Matt. 7. 13–14 was tenuous at best, hence one probably cannot build too much on the slight coincidence in contexts here. The evidence provided by this parallel is thus probably inconclusive.

Did. 2. 2–3	Matt. 19. 18 f.	Mark 10. 19	Luke 19. 20
οὐ φονεύσεις,	οὐ φονεύσεις,	μὴ φονεύσῃς,	μὴ φονεύσῃς,
οὐ μοιχεύσεις,	οὐ μοιχεύσεις,	μὴ μοιχεύσῃς,	μὴ μοιχεύσῃς,
οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις,			
οὐ πορνεύσεις,			
οὐ κλέψεις,	οὐ κλέψεις,	μὴ κλέψῃς,	μὴ κλέψῃς,
οὐ μαγεύσεις,			
οὐ φαρμακεύσεις,			
οὐ φονεύσεις			
τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ			
οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν			
ἀποκτενεῖς			
οὐκ επιθυμήσεις τὰ			
τοῦ πλησίον,			
3 οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις,			
οὐ	οὐ	μὴ	μὴ
ψευδομαρτυρήσεις,	ψευδομαρτυρήσεις,	ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς,	ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς,
		μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς,	μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς,
οὐ κακολογήσεις			
οὐ μνησικακήσεις			

[62] Cf. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 66.

[63] Cf. Jefford, *Sayings*, 36, who argues that Matthew may have known the same 'set of elements from which the Didachist derived *Did.* 1.2' and hence juxtaposed the two traditions in Matt. 7.

Exod. 20, LXX: ^{13}*οὐ μοιχεύσεις* ^{14}*οὐ κλέψεις* ^{15}*οὐ φονεύσεις* ^{16}*οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ*
Deut. 5, LXX: ^{17}*οὐ μοιχεύσεις* ^{18}*οὐ φονεύσεις* ^{19}*οὐ κλέψεις* ^{20}*οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ*

In 2. 2 the Didachist begins an exposition of the Way of Life with an expansion of the second half of the Decalogue. The ordering and wording of the elements from the Decalogue which are included in the *Didache* here bear some relationship to the list which appears in Matthew's account of Jesus' enumeration of these commands to the rich young man in Matt. 19, though it is not clear whether Matthew's version is sufficiently different from the other synoptic versions for this to be significant in the present discussion. All three synoptics have the same order of the four commands mentioned, and this differs from that of the LXX versions of the Decalogue in both Exod. 20 and Deut. 5 by having 'murder' before 'adultery'. However, the MT versions of both Exod. 20 and Deut. 5 agree with the synoptic versions in having the ban on 'murder' first.[64] Hence it is not certain whether the *Didache* is here to be seen as dependent on the NT versions or simply on the MT version of the OT itself (or perhaps on a Greek version of the OT which was closer to the ordering of the MT than our LXX versions).

For what it is worth, *Did.* 2. 2–3 is also closer to Matthew in using *οὐ* + future, rather than *μή* + aorist subjective (as in Mark and Luke). However, the LXX versions also use the *οὐ* + future construction, so one cannot say that the version of the *Didache* could *only* have derived from that of Matthew. In any case, the difference in wording is scarcely very significant, with little if any change in meaning. The *Didache* also has no equivalent to the *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς* element which appears in Mark and Luke (but whether one can place any weight on an argument from silence in a context where there is anything but verbatim agreement between the different versions is very doubtful).

The *Didache* is clearly closest to Matthew; and further, Matthew's version is presumably due to MattR of Mark here. But presumably Matthew's own redaction might have been due to his aligning the account in Mark more closely with the LXX, and hence the possibility cannot be ruled out that the *Didache*'s version is due to 'dependence' on the LXX itself rather than on Matthew's gospel.

Did. 3. 7	Matt. 5. 5
ἴσθι δὲ πραΰς ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.	*μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.*

Ps. 37 (LXX 36). 11: *οἱ δὲ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσιν γῆν*

64 So too does Exod. 20, LXX A, but this may be due to assimilation to the text of the NT, a feature which characterizes the A version of the LXX.

It is very uncertain whether one should see any significance in the apparent agreement (at one level) between *Did.* 3. 7 and Matt. 5. 5 in extolling the virtues of being 'meek'. The beatitude in Matthew is widely regarded as being heavily dependent on the wording of Ps. 37 (LXX 36). 11, and hence any agreement with the *Didache* here may be due to common dependence on the psalm verse. The beatitude in Matthew (along with the other 'extra' beatitudes, i.e., those not in Luke) may well be due to MattR. But the immediate context in the *Didache* shows no other influence from Christian sources such as Matthew, and moreover does not reflect the beatitude form. Hence it is highly unlikely that the Didachist derived this part of his exhortation here from Matthew's gospel.[65]

Did. 6. 1	Matt. 24. 4	Mark 13. 5
ὅρα, μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς	Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ·	Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ

The agreement in wording here between the *Didache* and Matthew/Mark in the warning not to be led astray is perhaps striking, though the contexts are quite different (ethical paranesis in the *Didache*, eschatological warnings in Matthew/Mark). Further, there is nothing to indicate that the evangelists' redactional work has affected the wording, certainly not Matthew's.[66]

Did. 6. 2	Matt. 5. 48	Luke 6. 36
εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ.	Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.	Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς [καὶ] ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.

A potentially more significant parallel might be provided by *Did.* 6. 2 and Matt. 5. 48. There is widespread agreement that in Matt. 5. 48 // Luke 6. 36, Luke's reference to being 'merciful' is more original, and that Matthew's 'perfect' is due to MattR.[67] Further, this verse in Matthew clearly ties in very closely with a prominent theme in Matthew's gospel as a whole: namely, the

[65] So most who bother to discuss the parallel at all: cf. Jefford, *Sayings*, 73–80. Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 240, regards it as significant that the next exhortation in the *Didache* mentions being 'merciful', which would be parallel to Matt. 5. 7, and he uses this as part of his evidence to show that Matthew might be dependent on the *Didache*. However, the agreement here seems too slight to bear the weight that Garrow suggests.

[66] At the very least, one could say that this example might tell again against Glover's claim that parallels between the *Didache* and Matthew are confined to those parts of Matthew which are not derived from Mark. It would also be relevant to Garrow's general claim: cf. above.

[67] So, e.g., the IQP's *Critical Edition of* Q, 72.

importance of obeying the ethical demands laid upon one with absolute seriousness.[68] The Didachist's similar interest in the notion of being 'perfect' might then relate to what appears to be a significant element of MattR. One may also note the presence of the same word τέλειος in *Did.* 1. 4. The evidence could then be interpreted as due to two redactors independently developing the idea of ethical 'perfection'; or it could indicate the Didachist's dependence on a significant element of MattR, thus showing the dependence of the *Didache* on Matthew (whether direct or indirect).

We may also note the language here of the 'yoke' (of the Lord). This is not dissimilar to the reference of the Matthean Jesus to 'his' 'yoke' in Matt. 11. 28, a verse which many have thought again to resonate with significant Matthean themes, and hence could be due to MattR.[69]

In sum, the evidence of this small verse would seem to indicate a close link between the *Didache* and Matthew's gospel in particular.

Did. 7. 1	Matt. 28. 19
περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε, ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε	πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς
εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι	εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος,

Further evidence of a close connection between the *Didache* and Matthew is implied by the next parallel to be considered, the instruction about baptism in *Did.* 7. 1 and the explicit instruction to baptize in the threefold name (of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). The command to baptize in the threefold name is peculiar to Matthew among the synoptics.[70] On the other hand, a text such as this almost certainly reflects the ongoing liturgical life of the community, both Matthew's and the Didachist's. Matt. 28. 19 itself presumably reflects the baptismal practice of the Matthean community/communities.[71] Hence one

[68] Cf. Matt. 5. 20; 6. 33; 7. 21–7; 16. 28; 21. 28–32; 21. 43; 22. 11–14; 23. 3; 25. 31–46, etc.

[69] Cf., e.g., the parallels between Matt. 11. 28–30 and Sir. 51, which many have seen as developing an implicit equation between Jesus and the figure of Wisdom, which may be a significant part of Matthew's Christology: see J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 2nd edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 197–206.

[70] Assuming, that is, that the command is a genuine part of the text of Matthew. There is a very small amount of (mostly patristic) evidence suggesting that the words were not present in the text of Matthew (as read by Eusebius), but the evidence is very weak and generally discounted. See W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel According to St Matthew*, iii (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 684.

[71] There is of course debate about whether we should think of a single community, or a number of communities, behind Matthew, or whether Matthew was writing for a broader audience or readership than just his own community.

cannot necessarily ascribe the verse to MattR. Presumably, then, the presence of the same instruction in the *Didache* implies the same. It would thus be hard to deduce any direct literary relationship between the two texts on the basis of such a liturgical text as this which they have in common (though presumably the common text indicates that the communities behind the two texts were relatively 'close', at least in relation to liturgical practice).

Did. 8. 1	Matt. 6. 16
αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, νηστεύσουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν	*Ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποί, ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν.*

The teaching about fasting in *Did.* 8 is, at one level, not close to teaching about fasting that occurs in Matt. 6. Both texts talk about 'fasting' and about the need to be different from the 'hypocrites'. However, the way in which one is to distinguish oneself from those implicitly attacked is quite different: in Matthew it is via a totally different attitude and manner of fasting, in secret as opposed to publicly; in the *Didache* it is simply a matter of fasting on different days of the week. For some, this is an indication that the two texts are not directly related to each other at all.[72] On the other hand, the close proximity of this text to the teaching about prayer, and the giving of the Lord's Prayer in both contexts (cf. the next parallel: it is adjacent in both the *Didache* and in Matthew) is noteworthy. Further, the talk of one's opponents as 'hypocrites' is very characteristic of Matthew and, one suspects, owes quite a lot to MattR. This is of course not to say that every other reference in Christian literature to 'hypocrites' must be dependent on Matthew.[73] Nevertheless, the agreement in language is striking. Moreover, the change in application of the language from Matthew might simply be due to Matthew becoming an 'authoritative' text, which, by virtue of being such, lent itself more readily to being reapplied to new situations. Thus the parallel between the *Didache* and Matthew might be more readily explained if Matthew's teaching was known in the community of the Didachist and has been reapplied here to a new situation.

[72] Cf. Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 85; Rordorf, 'Jesus Tradition', 422; Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', 457.

[73] Assuming Marcan priority, the occurrence in Mark 7. 6 is manifestly not.

Did. 8. 2	Matt. 6. 5, 9–13	Luke 11. 2–4
μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ	[5]*Καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε,*	[2]*Ὅταν προσεύχησθε*
	οὐκ	*λέγετε,*
ὑποκριταί	*ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριται*	
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ		
κύριος		
ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ,		
οὕτω προσεύχεσθε	[9]*Οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε*	
	ὑμεῖς·	
πάτηρ ἡμῶν	*πάτερ ἡμῶν*	*Πάτερ,*
ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,	*ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,*	
ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·	*ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·*	*ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·*
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·	[10]*ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·*	*ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·*
γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,	*γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,*	
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς,	*ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·*	
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν	[11]*τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν*	[3]*τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν*
ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν	*ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν*	*ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ*
σήμερον,	*σήμερον·*	*καθ’ ἡμέραν·*
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν	[12]*καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ*	[4]*καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς*
ἡμῶν,	*ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,*	*ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν,*
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς	*ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν*	*καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν*
ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν,	*τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·*	*παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·*
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς	[13]*καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς*	*καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς*
εἰς πειρασμόν,	*εἰς πειρασμόν,*	*εἰς πειρασμόν*
ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ	*ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ*	
πονηροῦ,	*πονηροῦ.*	
ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ		
ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας		

The next part of the teaching in the *Didache* is the giving of the Lord's Prayer. It is well known that the version of the prayer given here is extremely close to that of Matthew, and is certainly far closer to the Matthean version than to the Lucan version.[74] Further, the *Didache* shares with Matthew in the same context a warning not to pray like the 'hypocrites' (cf. Matt. 6. 5). At one level, there is clearly a strong case for arguing that the *Didache* is closely related to Matthew's gospel.

How close, of course, is another matter. As with the command about baptism, the specific prayer here was presumably one that was prayed—

74 Cf. the address to God as 'Our Father who art in heaven', rather than as just 'Father', the inclusion of the 'Thy will be done…' petition, as well as the 'deliver us from evil' clause.

regularly—by Christians in the communities of both Matthew and the *Didache*. Hence any version of the prayer that is presented in either text is likely to have been influenced by the form in which the prayer was actually prayed in the community/ies to which each writer belonged. One does not need to resort to dependence on, and/or knowledge of, a written gospel text such as the gospel of Matthew to explain the text of the *Didache* here.

Some have referred to differences between the versions of the prayer in the *Didache* and in Matthew, arguing that these show that the *Didache* cannot have copied from Matthew.[75] For example, the *Didache* has a doxology at the end of the prayer (though so also do some MSS of Matthew); in addition, there are some fairly small differences between the two texts: for example, in the opening phrase, the *Didache* refers to our Father in 'heaven' (singular), whereas Matthew has 'in the heavens' (plural); the *Didache* speaks of forgiving our 'debt' (singular), whereas Matthew has 'debts' (plural); the *Didache* speaks of 'we forgiving' others' debts in a present tense, whereas Matthew has a perfect tense. On the other hand, no one has ever pretended that the *Didache* was, or was trying to be, a perfect scribal copy of the text of Matthew! In fact, the differences are for the most part extremely small, and can be explained perfectly adequately while still positing a close relationship between the two versions of the prayer.[76]

This is also the first time that the *Didache* mentions a *εὐαγγέλιον*. Three other occurrences of the word appear elsewhere in the text (11. 3; 15. 3, 4). The precise force of this is much debated. It is well known that the word *εὐαγγέλιον* underwent a significant semantic shift at some stage during the course of the first two Christian centuries, from meaning the Christian proclamation, or message, to referring to a written book or text. Where the usages in the *Didache* are to be placed in this semantic development is much disputed. However, as Kelhoffer has argued forcefully, one should not confuse issues here: whether the *Didache* here refers to a book or not, and whether the *Didache* is dependent specifically on Matthew's gospel, are two logically separable problems.[77] The evidence here is probably not clear one way or the other. It is said here that 'the Lord' 'commanded' in his 'gospel'. If the 'Lord' is Jesus, then one could translate *εὐαγγέλιον* as something like 'preaching': 'as the Lord commanded during the course of his preaching and

[75] Cf. Audet, *Didachè*, 173; Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 19; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 205–7; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 86; Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', 452 f.

[76] See esp. J. A. Kelhoffer, ' "How Soon a Book" Revisited: *ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* as a Reference to "Gospel" Materials in the First Half of the Second Century', *ZNW* 95 (2004), 1–34, on pp. 17–22.

[77] Ibid., *passim*.

teaching'. There is no clear signal indicating that the εὐαγγέλιον here is something written which is to be read.[78] On the other hand, as we shall see, the other references to a εὐαγγέλιον in the *Didache* seem to point more clearly to a written text. It is likely (though of course by no means absolutely necessary) that the four references to a 'gospel' use the word in the same way. Hence it may be that, here too, the reference is to the version of the prayer as written in a text, and the most obvious text likely to be in mind is the gospel of Matthew.[79]

Overall, it seems hard to resist the notion that there is some relationship between the *Didache* and Matthew here. Clearly the *Didache* is no slavish copy of the text of Matthew; and liturgical influence has almost certainly been at work in shaping the text of the *Didache*. Hence the *Didache* is probably 'dependent' primarily on the version of the Lord's Prayer as this was prayed (daily) in the community. But equally, the version of the prayer, and possibly too the reference here to a 'gospel', may indicate that that community had been significantly informed by the text of the gospel of Matthew.

Did. 9. 5	Matt. 7. 6
καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος	
μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν	Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν

Did. 9. 5 is another instance where the Didachist signals explicitly his or her intention to quote—here what 'the Lord said'. The verbal agreement with Matt. 7. 6 is notable. On the other hand, there is nothing really to indicate that the verse in Matthew is due to MattR. Further, the saying looks very much like a stock proverb.[80] Hence there is nothing to require that Matthew's gospel be the source for the *Didache*'s wording and 'citation' here. Certainly a theory of dependence on Matthew would fit the evidence here, but one cannot say more.

Did. 11. 2–4	Matt. 10. 40–1
ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκῃ	
ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην	Ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

78 For the view that εὐαγγέλιον in the *Didache* here means the preached message, see Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 10; also his *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 16–17. But see now Kelhoffer's response.

79 Cf. Köhler, *Rezeption*, 26–7, and see below on 15. 3–4. See too Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, ch. 8, arguing that the four occurrences are all clear references to the gospel of Matthew, though he argues that this is a relatively late redactional layer in the growth of the *Didache* as a whole, and hence that these passages do not imply that the rest of the *Didache* presupposes the text of Matthew.

80 R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 103.

καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον. [3]*Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε.* [4]*πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος.*	[41]*ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήμψεται, καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου μισθὸν δικαίου λήμψεται.*

The parallel noted here between *Did.* 11. 2–4 and Matt. 10. 40–1 is at best a parallel in ideas: the verbal agreement between the two passages is slight. On the other hand, this is another of the passages in the *Didache* which refers to a *εὐαγγέλιον*. The reference here is to a '*δόγμα* of the gospel'. If *εὐαγγέλιον* here means 'preaching' (or some such), the reference to a *δόγμα* in it seems a little odd, and it perhaps makes more sense to see *εὐαγγέλιον* here as a reference to a written text.[81] If so, then the likeliest candidate is again the gospel of Matthew, with perhaps the text in Matt. 10. 40–1 in mind and (relatively loosely) alluded to here. Certainly Matthew consistently uses the verb *δέχομαι* in the context of a saying like this, and it is Matthew who applies the saying to Christian followers of Jesus in their preaching/'missionary' activity.[82] The lack of close verbal agreement here makes any theory of possible dependence a little uncertain. Nevertheless, the evidence would certainly be adequately explained by such a theory (though with a rider that any 'dependence' here, if it exists, is then clearly shown to be not one of careful copying by the later writer, and the 'use' made of Matthew is one of more allusive reference than exact citation).

Did. 11. 7	Matt. 12. 31–2	Mark 3. 28–9	Luke 12. 10
πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία	[31]*πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ*	[28]*πάντα ἀφεθήσεται*	
	βλασφημία	*τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν*	
ἀφεθήσεται,	*ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ*	*ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ*	
αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία	*πνεύματος βλασφημία*	*βλασφημίαι ὅσα ἐὰν*	
οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.	*οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.*	*βλασφημήσωσιν·*	

81 Hence *contra*, e.g., Lake, 'The Didache', 30 f.; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 10; for the view taken above, see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 132; Kelhoffer, '*ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*', 23–4.

82 Contrast e.g. Mark 9. 37 which applies the saying to the 'receiving' of a little child. See Kelhoffer, '"How Soon a Book"'.

32 *καὶ ὃς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· ὃς δ’ αν εἴπῃ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου,*	29 *ὃς δ’ αν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος.*	*πᾶς ὃς ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· τῷ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι*
οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.		*οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.*

The saying about the unforgivable sin here may provide further evidence for some form of dependence by the *Didache* on Matthew. The evidence is very slight in extent, and the synoptic evidence is somewhat complicated. On the 'standard' Two Source theory, the passage constitutes a 'Mark–Q overlap'. However, in so far as it is possible to determine the Q wording, *Didache* here appears to show agreement with Matthew's redaction of Mark, rather than with the Q version.[83] Thus *Did.* 11 agrees with Matthew's redaction of Mark 3. 28 in the clause *πᾶσα ἁμαρτία . . . ἀφεθήσεται*. Mark has a different construction; and the Q version, if Luke is anything like a reliable guide, seems to have spoken of someone 'speaking against' other people/the Son of Man/the Holy Spirit, and of this there is nothing in the *Didache*'s version. The second part of the saying in the *Didache* has been modelled very precisely on the first half. *ἁμαρτία* in the second half has no precise parallel in any Synoptic version, although *οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται* agrees with Matthew again (Matt. 12. 31b, 32b, also Luke 12. 10b). Köster admits that the *Didache* is closer to Matthew than to the other synoptic versions here, but denies direct dependence in view of the lack of any significant features.[84] However, it remains the case that such links as exist seem to be with features that are redactional in Matthew. Once again, this may provide a further pointer in support of a theory of dependence of the

[83] *Contra* Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 20. Glover argues that the *Didache* here rejects words common to Matthew and Mark alone, but not in Luke, and also has some words in Matthew but not in Mark. But then, appealing to Streeter, he claims that Matthew here has conflated carefully his two sources so that every word in Matthew comes from one or other of Mark or Q; hence the non-Marcan words in Matthew must be from Q and omitted by Luke. This simply excludes a priori any possibility of Matthew actively redacting the Marcan (and Q) version(s).

[84] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 216 f. Cf. too Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 53, 88.

Didache on Matthew, though once again with the rider that any parallels are more by way of allusions than strict citations.

Did. 13. 1	Matt. 10. 10	Luke 10. 7
πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς		
ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.	*ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.*	*ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

1 Cor. 9. 14: *οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.*
1 Tim. 5. 18: *Ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

The same may also be implied by the saying about the workman. The saying is clearly close to the Q saying found in Matt. 10. 10 // Luke 10. 7, and is closer to Matthew in talking about the workman being worthy of his 'food' rather than his 'hire'. Certainty is not possible, but it seems likely that Luke's version is more original, and that Matthew's *τροφῆς* is MattR.[85] The parallels in Paul and deutero-Paul must be noted, but it is unlikely that they are directly relevant in this context: the passage in 1 Cor. 9 is clearly an allusion (though in very general terms) to the gospel tradition; and the passage in 1 Tim. 5 may well be dependent in turn on 1 Cor. 9 and/or the gospel passage(s). Most probably the *Didache* is to be seen here as primarily parallel to the gospel passages; and of the two, it is closer to Matthew's version, which in turn may well be redactional: hence once again the *Didache* appears to show knowledge of Matthew's redactional work, and hence probably presupposes Matthew's finished gospel.

Did. 15. 3–4: *Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ ἐναγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ.* [4]*τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.*

No gospel parallel texts have been given alongside the above passage, if only because any 'parallels' in the gospels are not verbally close. This is, however, the last of the passages in the *Didache* which refer to a *εὐαγγέλιον*. Of all four references, these two are thought by many to be the most likely to refer to a written text rather than to (oral) preaching. Certainly the reference to *Did.* 15. 3, which speaks of 'finding' in 'the' gospel (used absolutely, i.e., not the 'gospel of the Lord') seems to suggest that 'the gospel' is a relatively fixed entity which can be consulted independently. As such, it seems to fit a referent as a book

[85] This is the judgement of the IQP: cf. Robinson, Hoffman, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition*, 170; Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 210, for further references.

much better than being a reference to the general 'preaching' (of Jesus, or the church).[86]

If the references here are to a written gospel, once again Matthew seems to be the likeliest candidate. The (general) reference to 'prayers and alms[giving]' links closely with the teaching which appears in Matthew 6 concerning prayers and almsgiving (much of which may have already been picked up earlier in *Did.* 8). Further, the instruction not to speak with an unrepentant brother is clearly close in general terms (but by no means a precise verbal 'citation') of the teaching appearing in Matt. 18. 15–17.[87] As before, the nature of any possible 'dependence' should be noted: the 'allusion' is quite unspecific, referring the hearer or reader in general terms to the teaching on these broad topics to be found elsewhere. At least, then, this part of the *Didache* seems to know of a written text known as a 'gospel', and probably (but not absolutely certainly) knew the gospel of Matthew in this connection.

Didache 16

Did. 16. 1	Matt. 24. 42	Mark 13. 35
γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι.	*γρηγορεῖτε οὖν,*	*γρηγορεῖτε οὖν.*
		Luke 12. 35
		Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι·
	Matt 25. 13	
	Γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν.	
		Mark 13. 35
οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.	*ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.*	*οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται*

The final chapter of the *Didache* presents an extraordinarily complex set of parallels, with a range of passages from the synoptic gospels, and it is not at all

[86] This is conceded even by Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, esp. 11; see too Wengst, *Didache*, 26; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 88; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 76; Knoch, 'Kenntnis', 164; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 27; Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 131–2. (Both the latter ascribe the sections to a later redactional layer, and hence firmly resist any idea of generalizing from these passages to any theory involving the rest of the material in the *Didache*.) Garrow is also critical (probably rightly) of Köster's attempt to interpret *εὐαγγέλιον* differently in different passages of the *Didache*.

[87] Cf. Kelhoffer, '*ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*', 27, and others.

certain how these parallels are to be interpreted. The general exhortation to 'watch' in *Did.* 16. 1 illustrates the complexity well. The introductory call to 'watch' is parallel to Matt. 24. 42 (MattR of Mark 13. 33, but the phrase also occurs in Mark 13. 35). The saying about the lamps and loins is close to (but not identical with) Luke 12. 35; and the saying about being 'ready for you do not know...' is close to the ending of the parable of the thief in the night in Matt. 24. 44 // Luke 12. 40 and the similar saying in Matt. 24. 42 // Mark 13. 35.

It is certainly not possible to be dogmatic about the relationships implied here. One must bear in mind again the fact that this is not an explicit quotation, but a piece of exhortation perhaps using traditional language. Thus it is not unexpected that the uses of individual words may have shifted slightly from their synoptic contexts.[88] There is nothing here that is so clearly MattR that it could only have derived from Matthew's gospel.[89]

More difficult to assess is the possible parallel between *Did.* 16. 1a and Luke 12. 35. Some have seen this as clear evidence of the *Didache*'s dependence on Luke.[90] Others have disagreed, arguing variously that Luke 12. 35 may be Q material, so that the *Didache* here is dependent on Q rather than Luke,[91] that the language and imagery is stereotypical (cf. 1 Pet. 1. 13; Eph. 6. 14),[92] that the verbal agreement between the *Didache* and Luke is not close enough to imply direct dependence,[93] or that the *Didache* nowhere else shows knowledge of Luke's gospel and hence is unlikely to do so here.[94] Others again have been agnostic.[95]

It must be said that none of the arguments against dependence on Luke is fully convincing. The argument appealing to lack of Lucan parallels elsewhere is somewhat circular and unpersuasive. If nothing else, it appears to prejudge the discussion of other possible parallels between the *Didache* and Luke (see, e.g., below on *Did.* 1. 4). With regard to the allegedly stereotyped

[88] Cf., e.g., Balabanski, *Eschatology*, 198, who refers to the significant shift in meaning in the command to 'watch', from referring to watching for the imminent end to being careful about ongoing daily life.

[89] Of the possible Matthean parallels, that involving the final phrase here in the *Didache* is perhaps the most significant, though the verbal agreement between the *Didache* and Matthew is not exact (cf. *Didache*'s 'our Lord' versus Matthew's 'your Lord'; cf. Mark's 'lord of the house'), and one cannot build too much on this.

[90] Butler, 'Literary Relations', 265–8, appeals to the parallels between *Did.* 16. 1a, 1b, and Luke 12. 35, 40, and argues that the link in Luke is due to LkR.

[91] Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 21–2; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 87; also Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 511 (for this one saying).

[92] Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', ibid.; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 175–6; Wengst, *Didache*, 99.

[93] Audet, *Didachè*, 181; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, ibid.

[94] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 89–90.

[95] Gregory, *Reception*, 119–20.

language and imagery, each of the images ('loins girded' and 'lamps') can be paralleled separately, but the conjunction of the two is not so easy to find. Whether Luke 12. 35 belonged to Q is more debatable. More recent study has suggested that, whilst Luke 12. 36–8 may (in part at least) derive from Q, v. 35 is more likely to be LkR.[96] This might then suggest that the *Didache* is dependent on LkR material, and hence presupposes Luke's finished gospel. Nevertheless, the lack of precise verbal agreement between the *Didache* and Luke here must make this suggestion by no means certain.

Did. 16. 3–8	Matthew	Mark
[3]*ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος.*	24. 10–12 *καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλήλους παραδώσουσιν καὶ μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους·* [11]*καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται καὶ πλανήσουσιν πολλούς·* [12]*καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν.* 7. 15 *Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσιν λύκοι ἅρπαγες.*	
[4]*αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ*	24. 24 *ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν*	13. 22 *ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν*

[96] See C. M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis*, SNTSMS 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 181, with further references.

κοσμοπλανὴς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα,	*σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς·*	*σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.*
ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος.	[21] *οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κόσμου*	[19] *οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως*
[5] *τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ*		
καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος,	24. 13 *ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.* 24. 30	13. 13 *ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.*
[6] *καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα της ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρων.* [7] *οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ ὡς ἐρρέθη · ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.*	*καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* [31] *καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης,*	
[8] *τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*	24. 30 *καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς·*	13. 26 *καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης.*

Dan. 7. 13, LXX: *ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἤρχετο καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες παρῆσαν αὐτῷ*

The cluster of parallels between *Did.* 16 and passages from the synoptic gospels (predominantly Matthew) is extremely complex. There are few, if any, direct parallels between longer phrases in the *Didache* and in any of the gospels. Rather, it is a case of similar language and (possibly significant) words in common between the texts. In relation to Matthew, the parallels occur in various places in Matt. 24, but also Matt. 7.

Many who have argued against any dependence of the *Didache* on Matthew's gospel have appealed to a peculiar pattern in the parallels here. It is said that *Did.* 16 shows links only with material peculiar to

Matt. 24 in the synoptic tradition: the *Didache* does not have any links with material from Matt. 24 which Matthew has derived from Mark. Hence, it is argued, the *Didache* is more likely to be dependent on the source(s) which lie behind Matt. 24 and which were available to Matthew alone, since if the *Didache* were dependent on Matthew, one would expect some of Matthew's Marcan material to be reflected as well.[97] Such an argument is not wholly convincing, however, especially if one considers the whole of *Did.* 16. 3–8.[98]

Didache 16. 4

In *Did.* 16. 4, there is a reference to the κοσμοπλανής who will perform 'signs and wonders' (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα) and iniquities ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. The language is similar to that of Matt. 24. 24 // Mark 13. 22, referring to the coming of false messiahs and false prophets who will perform σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, and in Matt. 24. 21 // Mark 13. 19 the coming tribulation is said to be such as has never been (οὐ γέγονεν) since the creation of the world. It can be argued that these verbal 'parallels' (or echoes) are not very significant. Both the *Didache* and the synoptics could be reflecting standard eschatological motifs and using OT language.[99] However, it is clear that the verbal links between *Did.* 16 and Matt. 24 are not confined to material peculiar to Matthew.[100]

[97] See, e.g., Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 22–5; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 184 f.; Audet, *Didachè*, 182; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 90; Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16. 6–8'; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 90; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 212; Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', 477. This, in general terms, is also the phenomenon to which Garrow appeals in relation to the rest of the *Didache* (see above); however, he here argues, interestingly, that *Did.* 16 might itself be the source of Mark 13 (as well as of Matthew): see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 191–6. But this raises a host of other issues (e.g., about the relationship between the *Didache* and Mark elsewhere and about whether other Matthew–*Didache* agreements in Marcan material are also mediated through Mark's possible use of the *Didache*), which Garrow does not discuss.

[98] Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16. 6–8', to whom many later authors refer approvingly, considered only *Did.* 16. 6–8. That there are many parallels between *Did.* 16 and elements peculiar to Matthew in Matt. 24 is undeniable: see below.

[99] Cf. Deut. 13. 2; Dan. 12. 1 θ': see Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 182. Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 24, refers to the differences between the *Didache* and the gospels; cf. too Rordorf, 'Jesus Tradition', 415: in the *Didache* it is the (single) 'world deceiver' who performs the signs and wonders, whereas in the gospels it is the (many) false prophets. But this may confuse quotations and allusions: clearly on any showing the *Didache* is not *quoting* any of the gospels: it might, though, be using language (ultimately) deriving from the gospels to build its *own* eschatological discourse.

[100] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 184–5, recognizes this, but argues that the parallels here might be with Mark's source, not Mark's gospel. Whether this is actually the case or not is

Didache 16. 5

A similar instance may occur in *Did.* 16. 5: *οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες . . . σωθήσονται*; cf. Matt. 24. 13 // Mark 13. 13 (cf. also Matt. 10. 22): *ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος . . . σωθήσεται*. Again it can be argued that the parallel is not by itself very significant.[101] The language is not unusual in such an eschatological context (cf. Dan. 12. 12; *4 Ezra* 6. 25), though the verbal agreement between these texts and the *Didache* is not as close as that between the *Didache* and Matthew/Mark.[102] Whether the verse in Mark is part of Mark's *Vorlage* is debatable. But whatever its origins, the parallel here provides another instance of the *Didache* showing verbal links with material which Matthew shares with Mark.

Didache 16. 8

Potentially one of the most significant parallels in this passage occurs in *Did.* 16. 8 with the reference to the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven. With its clear allusion to Dan. 7. 13, the *Didache* is very close here to the wording of Matt. 24. 30, which in turn is (probably) MattR of Mark 13. 26. The *Didache* shares with Mark and Matthew the use of *ὄψεται/ὄψονται*, and the inversion of the order of the 'coming' and the 'clouds' as compared with Dan. 7. Further, the *Didache* agrees with Matthew's redaction in having the person come 'on' the clouds (*ἐπάνω*: cf. Matt. *ἐπί*, Mark *ἐν*), and adding *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*. A priori there is a strong case for seeing the *Didache* here reflecting MattR of Mark, and hence presupposing Matthew's finished gospel.

Others have interpreted the evidence differently. For example, Glover argues that the agreement is due to 'joint borrowing from Dan. vii. 13',[103]

dubious (cf. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 202, for more detailed discussion and for the case that, if anything, at least v. 22 in Mark might be MkR). But whatever the ultimate origin of the verses in Mark, the fact remains that the *Didache* here shows agreement with material *common* to Matthew and Mark. Köster's point might have relevance if one were positing possible dependence of the *Didache* on Mark. But this is unlikely, and the issue is more probably whether the *Didache* might be dependent on Matthew.

[101] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 183, again ascribes it to Mark's *Vorlage*, and argues that, since Matthew's wording is dependent on Mark here, this cannot prove the dependence of the *Didache* on Matthew. On its own, this is quite true; but it does add a further example which tells against any claims that *all* the parallels between *Did.* 16 and Matt. 24 are confined to material peculiar to Matthew.

[102] *Pace* Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 183, who claims that the passage in 4 Ezra is 'fast wörtlich gleich Mk 13,13b par'. Dan. 12. 12 has *ὁ ὑπομένων*, but no exact parallel to *σωθήσεται*. 4 Ezra 6. 25 has 'omnis qui derelictus fuerit . . . saluabitur', but 'derelictus' is perhaps rather weaker in meaning than the active endurance implied by *ὑπομένω*.

[103] Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 24.

but he provides no explanation for the ways (noted above) in which the three texts agree in differing from Dan. 7. Köster claims that Matthew's '*on* the clouds' might have been in Mark's *Vorlage*,[104] but there appears to be no evidence for this. Kloppenborg appeals to some of the differences between the *Didache* and Matthew: e.g., the absence of any reference in Matt. 24. 29 to the 'signs' of heaven mentioned in the *Didache*, and the absence in the *Didache* of the words *μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς*, claiming that 'there is no reason for the author's avoidance of this phrase'.[105] However, any argument from silence is precarious, bearing in mind that the *Didache* here is clearly not attempting to reproduce the full text of Matthew, but is developing its own eschatological discourse; further, any argument based on what is not present at the very end of the text of *Did.* 16 as we have it (i.e., in H) is even more dangerous, since it is widely agreed that the text in H is incomplete and that some text has been lost at the end.[106] Kloppenborg claims that 'Did 16,8 agrees with Mt 24,30 at those points where Matthew disagrees with Mark';[107] but this ignores the features common to the *Didache*, Matthew, and Mark noted above. Kloppenborg's conclusion is that 'Did 16,8 represents an independent tradition under whose influence Matthew altered his Markan source, namely by substituting *ἐπί* for *ἐν* and adding *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*'.[108] However, both these alterations serve to align the text more closely with the text of Dan. 7. 13, LXX. A tendency by Matthew to conform OT allusions to the LXX version is well documented.[109] Thus 'tradition under whose influence Matthew altered his Markan source' may simply be the LXX version of Dan. 7. Any theory of a special Matthean tradition here is probably unnecessary: rather, the *Didache* aligns itself with Matthew's redaction of Mark.[110]

The parallels considered so far indicate that *Did.* 16 has links not only with Matthew's special material, but also with material common to Matthew and Mark, and in the last instance considered, presupposes Matthew's redaction of Mark. I consider now the links between *Did.* 16 and material peculiar to Matthew.

[104] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 188.

[105] Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16. 6–8', 63.

[106] Audet, *Didachè*, 73–4; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 107, 199; Wengst, *Didache*, 20.

[107] Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16. 6–8', 63.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Cf. K. Stendahl, *The School of St Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 147 ff.; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 21 ff.

[110] For further discussion of other possible explanations, see Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 204–5.

Didache 16. 3–5

The existence of verbal echoes and possible allusions between *Did.* 16 and material peculiar to Matt. 24 is widely recognized. In *Did.* 16. 3–5 there is a cluster of such echoes, mostly of Matt. 24. 10–12, but also of other passages in Matthew, though in no case could one say there is anything like a 'citation'. 'False prophets being multiplied' in *Did.* 16. 3 uses similar vocabulary to Matt. 24. 11–12 ('false prophets' in Matt. 24. 11, being 'multiplied' in Matt. 24. 12); 'sheep becoming wolves' in *Did.* 16. 3 uses imagery similar to that of Matt. 7. 15; 'love turning to hate' reflects Matt. 24. 10, 12 ('love' in v. 10, 'hate' in v. 12); an increase in *ἀνομία* (*Did.* 16. 4) is similar to Matt. 24. 12 (*ἀνομία* multiplying); and *σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί* in *Did.* 16. 5 reflects the identical words in Matt. 24. 10. In fact, all the parallels to *Did.* 16. 3–5 in Matthew include the three references in Matthew to 'false prophets' (Matt. 7. 15; 24. 10–12; 24. 24). This might be readily explained if the Didachist were attempting to cull from Matthew language and ideas associated with false prophets. This might then go some way to explaining what might appear at first sight to be a rather random set of parallels in Matthew.[111]

Within Matthean scholarship, there is widespread agreement that, e.g., Matt. 24. 10–12 may be due to MattR.[112] However, from the side of Didachean scholarship, others have disagreed. Some have pointed to the fact that the common words are used in very different ways in the *Didache* and Matthew as evidence of the independence of the two writings.[113] However, such an argument does tend to assume that the *Didache* is 'quoting' synoptic tradition, whereas there is at best here only allusion and use of common language.

In a significant part of his argument, Köster also claims that, while the parallels between the *Didache* and Matthew here undoubtedly exist, the level of verbal agreement is insufficient to show dependence, and hence both depend on common tradition; further, *Did.* 16 itself might provide part of

[111] Cf. the way in which it is almost impossible to set out the parallels in a neat synopsis: the parallels in Matthew to the words of the *Didache* appear in a bewilderingly complex 'pattern'.

[112] See, e.g., J. Lambrecht, 'The Parousia Discourse: Composition and Content in Mt. XXIV–XXV', in M. Didier (ed.), *L'Evangile de Matthieu* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1972), 320; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 479; U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Mt 18–25)*, (EKK i/3 (Zürich: Benziger; and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 409; Balabanski, *Eschatology*, 185. One can point to a number of words and phrases here that seem to be highly characteristic of Matthew: e.g., *καὶ τότε*, *οκανδαλίζομαι*, *πλανάω*, *ψευδοπροφήτης*, *ἀνομία*, etc.

[113] Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 23; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 178, 180–1.

the evidence that Matt. 24. 10–12 is a piece of pre-Matthean tradition.[114] However, such an argument is in danger of becoming somewhat circular in the present context: since the issue here of whether Matt. 24. 10–12 is MattR or pre-Matthean bears directly on the issue of the *Didache*'s possible dependence on Matthew, it is dangerous to use the evidence of the *Didache* itself to provide an answer to the first issue (effectively assuming the *Didache*'s independence) and then use this 'result' to decide the second issue of the *Didache*'s independence.[115]

Overall it is certainly possible to argue that Matt. 24. 10–12 owes much to Matthew's redactional activity. If this is the case, then the parallels with *Did.* 16 may indicate that the *Didache* here presupposes Matthew's finished work.

Didache 16. 6

Parallels between *Did.* 16. 6 and Matt. 24. 30a, 31, are also widely recognized (e.g., the common use of *φανήσεται*, *σημεῖον*, *ἐν οὐρανῷ*, *σάλπιγξ*). Again, many would ascribe this material to MattR in Matthew,[116] though the limited extent of the evidence makes certainty impossible. In defending the *Didache*'s possible independence, reference has again been made to the differences between the two texts here.[117] But again we should note that, whatever the *Didache* is doing, it is not attempting to reproduce the text of Matthew. Others too have pointed to the fact that *Did.* 16. 6 has links only with material peculiar to Matthew.[118] This is certainly true for *Did.* 16. 6, but in 16. 8, as we have seen, the situation is rather different. Each of the motifs here may be using stock apocalyptic images (e.g., the trumpet); but the collocation of all these motifs in both *Did.* 16 and Matt. 24 is still striking.

[114] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 181, 184. Cf. too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, iii. 327, for a similar appeal to the *Didache* to make deductions about possible sources of Matthew. See too Rordorf, 'Jesus Tradition', 417–18, for a defence (against my earlier essay) of Köster's argument.

[115] See further, Balabanski, *Eschatology*, 184–5, on the fundamental difference between my earlier argument and that of, e.g., Rordorf: Rordorf and others are primarily 'source critics'; in dealing with Matt. 24. 10–12, the assumption is implicitly made that these verses must derive from another source (since they clearly do not derive from Mark 13). The possibility of redactional creation is almost excluded a priori.

[116] Cf. Lambrecht, 'Parousia Discourse', 324; Gundry, *Matthew*, 488.

[117] Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 24–5; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 184–5.

[118] Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 24–5; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 184–5; also Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16. 6–8', 64–5.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this section is that there is nothing peculiar in the pattern of verbal parallels in *Did.* 16 and Matt. 24. The *Didache* here shows verbal parallels with material peculiar to Matthew, with material common to Matthew and Mark, and with Matthew's redaction of Mark. There is little convincing evidence to show that Matthew had access to any extensive source other than Mark for this chapter. One must again recall that the *Didache* is clearly not attempting to reproduce the text of Matthew, but is developing its own argument and rhetorically structured chapter to conclude the work.[119] The pattern of parallels may be most easily explained if the *Didache* here presupposes Matthew's finished gospel.

Didache 1. 3–2. 1

The final section to be examined here is *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1. This is an extraordinarily complex passage. As already noted, it may be a secondary expansion to the Two Ways source probably underlying the rest of *Did.* 1–6 (though that does not necessarily mean that it represents a later addition to the *Didache* itself: see above). The passage contains a number of clear echoes of parts of the Sermon on the Mount in Matt. 5 with parallels in Luke. In turn, this material in the gospels is extremely complex: the parallels are mostly Q material, and there is no unanimity about what is the more original form of the tradition at any point.

Recent studies of the *Didache* have also differed in their assessments of the parallels here. Contrary to his general conclusions about the rest of the *Didache*, Köster argues here that the text does presuppose the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke, and this has been supported by the detailed study of Layton.[120] Others have argued that the *Didache* here represents an independent line of the tradition.[121] The evidence often appears to be indeterminate and does not point clearly one way or the other. Nevertheless, there

[119] Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, ch. 13, makes much of the rhetorical structure of the chapter in the *Didache*, and seeks to show that vestiges of this appear also in Matthew and Mark. Balabanski, *Eschatology*, 192–5, argues that the broad structure of *Did.* 16 is determined by the discourse in Matt. 24 (in debate primarily with Köhler). Lindemann, 'Entzeitrede', 157, speaks of *Did.* 16 as 'eine Art "Kommentierung" der Aussagen in Mt 24'.

[120] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 217 ff.; Layton, 'Sources'; for others supporting dependence here, cf. Butler, ' "Two Ways" '; Massaux, *Influence*, 608–13.

[121] Rordorf, 'Problème'; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 46; also Audet, *Didachè*, 166–86; Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', *passim*; Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition', 461–5. Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', argues that the *Didache* depends on Q.

may be a few instances indicating possible dependence of the *Didache* on the NT gospels. I consider each parallel briefly in turn.

Did. 1. 3	Matt. 5. 44	Luke 6. 27–8
	ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν	ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,
		καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,
εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν		εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς,
καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ	καὶ προσεύχεσθε	προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.
ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς	ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς,	

Rom. 12. 14: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας [ὑμᾶς], εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε.

The evidence is probably ambiguous for the present purposes. The 'love of enemies' saying in the *Didache* is perhaps closer to Luke 6. 27–8 than to Matt. 5. 44: the *Didache* has an exact parallel to the 'bless those who curse you' clause of Luke 6. 28a, which has no parallel in (at least the 'best' MSS of) Matthew.[122] Although there is no explicit parallel to the command to 'love one's enemies', the rhetorical question which follows in the next section ('if you love those who love you...') seems to presuppose a command here to 'love' those who are not well disposed to one. Moreover, the *Didache* has a clause at the end of the next section ('love those who hate you') which is parallel to both halves of Luke 6. 27 ('*love* your enemies and do good to *those who hate you*'). Thus the whole of the longer, fourfold command to love one's enemies (as in Luke) seems to be presupposed by the *Didache* here.

It is not certain, however, whether Luke's fourfold form of the saying, or Matthew's twofold one, is more original and which might be redactional. But even if one were to decide that Matthew's twofold form is the more original,[123] the presence of a (rough) parallel to Luke 6. 28a in Rom. 12. 14

[122] The clause is present, however, in some, predominantly 'Western' MSS of Matthew. One must bear in mind that, *if* the *Didache* did know Matthew's gospel, it probably was not precisely the text of NA^{27}! But Glover's claim that the *Didache* agrees with Luke only when it 'is covering ground common to both Luke and Matthew' ('Didache's Quotations', 14), which he uses to posit some relationship between the *Didache* and Q, is clearly true only in the most general terms here.

[123] So Robinson *et al.*, *Critical Edition*, 56.

may suggest that Luke added a traditional exhortation here, rather than creating the clause himself. The one part of Luke 6. 27–8 which is widely accepted as LkR is *καλῶς ποεῖτε* (which links with the references to 'doing good' later: see below); but it is just this phrase which does not have a parallel in *Did.* 1. 3.

One small feature here which may be more significant is the use of the verb *διώκω* in *Did.* 1. 3, which agrees with Matt. 5. 44 against Luke 6. 28. Many would argue that the word in Matthew may be redactional.[124] Luke uses the word not infrequently (three times in the gospel, nine times in Acts), so there is no obvious reason why he would change it. But the word is a Matthean favourite (cf. its use in the beatitude in Matt. 5. 10, which in turn is widely regarded as a redactional creation). Hence, it may be MattR here too, in which case the *Didache* shows an agreement with redactional wording of Matthew. On the other hand, the word is a common one, so cannot carry too much weight here. But equally, the idea of 'persecution' is not one that dominates this, or any, part of the *Didache*, hence it may be due to influence from a source. This small agreement, then, may indicate that the *Didache* presupposes Matthew's finished gospel here.

Did. 1. 3b	Matt. 5. 46–7	Luke 6. 32–5
ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε	ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς	καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς
τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς;	ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;	ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν.
	[47] καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε;	[33] καὶ [γὰρ] ἐὰν ἀγαθοποιῆτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;
οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;	οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;	καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν.
		. . .
		[35] πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαθοποιεῖτε καὶ δανίζετε
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν.		μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες· καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολύς, καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου,

124 Further, more detailed arguments, with references, in Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 219. The most recent IQP *Critical Edition* prints this as the text of Q, though this reverses the earlier decision of the IQP: see Kloppenborg, 'Use', 120.

The *Didache* here is once again close to the Lucan version without being identical with it. On the other hand, it agrees with Matthew in mentioning Gentiles as the 'opposing group' from whom the readers are to distinguish themselves.

There is also a problem with the text of the *Didache* here. As noted earlier, part of the text here is also witnessed in P as well as H, and the P reading here has the verb φιλέω instead of the second ἀγαπάω.[125] The H reading aligns more closely with the wording in the NT gospels and may represent a later scribal assimilation to the text of the gospels. Hence, some have argued that the P reading is more original and attests to the independence of the *Didache* from the gospels here.[126] However, it is not certain how much weight this evidence will bear. That a process of assimilation may have taken place is undeniable. However, the two verbs ἀγαπάω and φιλέω are all but synonymous, so no great change in meaning is implied by the different verbs. Further, as has been said many times in this essay, one must remember that the *Didache* is not intended as a scribal copy of the text of Matthew but an independent composition where the text of Matthew and Luke may (possibly) be at most echoed and/or alluded to, but not 'quoted'. Hence, even if the P reading were to be accepted here,[127] it probably does not affect the issue very significantly. Similarly, the difference between H's τὸ αὐτό (= Matthew/Luke) and P's τοῦτο seems too slight to bear much weight. Even with the P readings (making the *Didache*'s text differ from Matthew/Luke at this point), there is a whole range of other agreements between the *Didache* and the synoptics to suggest a common link between the two.

The reference to 'Gentiles' here is probably indecisive for the present purposes.[128] It is widely agreed that Luke's reference here to 'sinners' is almost certainly LkR, seeking to avoid the slightly derogatory reference to Gentiles. Hence Matthew's version is probably the more original, and thus the *Didache* here shows no link with any clearly redactional elements in Matthew.

More significant may be the introductory question ποία γὰρ χάρις; which agrees closely with Luke's form of the rhetorical questions here ποία ὑμῖν

[125] The use of φιλέω is also attested by the *Apostolic Constitutions* at this point.

[126] Cf. Audet, *Didachè*, 54; Draper, 'Jesus Tradition', 82; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 44. A possible parallel in Ign. *Pol.* 2. 1 (which also uses φιλέω) has also been adduced to support the theory of a form of the saying existing independently of the Synoptic versions.

[127] Though one must beware of adopting a (potentially dangerous) criterion appealing simply to the earliest MS as *ipso facto* the 'best'. The P text does have some clear errors and/or secondary readings.

[128] The slightly different wording used here (the *Didache* has ἔθνη, Matthew ἐθνικοί) is probably immaterial (*pace* Glover, 'Didache's Quotations', 14): as before, the *Didache* is not a scribal copy of Matthew.

χάρις ἐστίν; Luke's version here may well owe a lot to LkR. In a programmatic essay, van Unnik has shown how Luke adapted his tradition in order to address the morality determined by a Hellenistic reciprocity ethic:[129] an ethic of doing good to others in order to receive reciprocal favours in return was widespread in the ancient Hellenistic world. Further, talk about 'doing good' and *χάρις* had a firm place in such talk. Thus Luke's language here may well be redactional, directly addressing this ethos and criticizing it sharply. Further Luke's language here, especially his use of *ποία*, is probably significant, pointing to the nature of the reward that the Christian can expect: it is *not* a this-worldly reward, but a divine one.

The *Didache* here shares some of the same language, but not the framework of thought. For the *Didache* the rather lame conclusion is not that one will have a 'heavenly', rather than a this-worldly, reward ('you will be sons of the Most High'), but that 'you will not have an enemy'. However, this is precisely the reciprocity ethic which Luke's language was designed to oppose: love others and they will love you back. Thus the formulation of the rhetorical question, which makes excellent sense in the Lucan context, becomes confused when repeated verbatim in the slightly different context of the *Didache*. The *Didache* thus seems secondary here, taking over—but failing to understand fully—the wording from Luke. Given that the wording in Luke may be redactional, the *Didache* here may betray the fact that it is presupposing the finished text of Luke.[130]

Did. 1. 4	Matt. 5	Luke 6
ἐάν τίς σοι δῷ ῥάπισμα ἐις τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,	39 *ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.*	29 *τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,*
	48 *Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος*	36 *Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς [καὶ] ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.*
καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος·	*τέλειός ἐστιν.*	
ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.	41 *καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.*	

129 W. C. van Unnik, 'Die Motivierung der Feindesliebe in Lukas VI 32–35', *NovT* 8 (1966), 288–300.

130 For a similar conclusion, though with slightly different argument, see Kloppenborg, 'Use', 123 (with some caution).

The evidence here is probably indecisive. *Did.* 1. 4 agrees very closely with the Matthean form of the saying about 'turning the other cheek', specifying explicitly the 'right' cheek, using *δῷ ῥάπισμα* (cf. Matthew's *ῥαπίζει* as opposed to Luke's *τύπτοντι*) and *στρέψον* (Luke *πάρεχε*). However, it is not clear if any of these elements are MattR. The saying about going the extra mile here is paralleled in Matt. 5. 41, with no parallel at all in Luke; but again there is no clear evidence that this is a redactional creation by Matthew. Nevertheless it is still with the Matthean version that the *Didache* shows the closest affinity.

It is possible that the phrase 'and you will be perfect' here in *Did.* 1. 4 may be more significant. The wording is similar to the exhortation in Matt. 5. 48, which closes the series of antitheses in Matt. 5 and where the talk about being 'perfect' is widely regarded as MattR of Luke's more original exhortation to be 'merciful' in Luke 6. 36. A similar exhortation to be 'perfect' occurs in *Did.* 6. 2. Hence it could be argued that both Matthew and the *Didache* have a common interest in the idea of promoting 'perfection', in which case any parallel in vocabulary here could be regarded as coincidental. However, it could also be argued that, given the number of other indicators elsewhere in the text of the *Didache* of closeness to Matthew, any interest in the idea of 'perfection' may come precisely from Matthew's interest in this (see earlier on *Did.* 6. 2). Hence the parallel here may be more significant as another pointer to the possibility that the *Didache* presupposes Matthew's finished gospel.

Did. 1. 4–5	Matt. 5. 40, 42	Luke 6. 29–30
ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα. ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ	*καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν,*	*καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.*
σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.	*ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.*	
παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου	*τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ τὸν*	*παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ*
καὶ	*θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανίσασθαι*	*ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ*
μὴ ἀπαίτει.	*μὴ ἀποστραφῇς.*	*μὴ ἀπαίτει.*

The *Didache* here reveals close affinities with the Lucan version. The differences between Matthew and Luke here are quite considerable. It is well known that Matthew's version (at least in the first part) seems to presuppose a legal situation where someone is being sued for their property; Luke's version presupposes a situation of a robbery. But which is more original in this respect, and which redactional, is not easy to determine.

In the second saying, the exhortation to 'give to everyone who asks' is common to Matthew and Luke. But the *Didache* here seems to agree with

Luke in continuing to envisage a robbery situation, whereas Matthew talks about someone wanting to 'borrow'. Matthew's version here may well be more original (it is echoed later in Luke 6. 34–5, which may well be a reminiscence of the Q version in the earlier context[131]). Luke appears to have continued the 'robbery' idea from v. 29, somewhat artificially, and saved the reference to 'borrowing' for later; but he starts to introduce the idea of not asking for anything in return (μὴ ἀπαίτει) here, an idea which ties in closely with Luke's critique of the reciprocity ethic already noted earlier.

The resulting Lucan version is somewhat uneven. For the Lucan text exhorts someone who has just been robbed not to demand their property back. But in such a context, simply asking for one's property back is unlikely to have any effect at all. It may be that it is just this incongruity which is reflected in the *Didache*'s little clause οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι which is appended at this point. The clause has caused immense perplexity.[132] But it may simply represent the Didachist's own comment on the preceding exhortation, which he recognizes as somewhat incongruous. If this is so, then it may suggest that the *Didache* is again presupposing Luke's wording here, and that this represents Luke's editorial activity in relating the saying to a situation of a robbery: hence the *Didache* is presupposing Luke's finished gospel.[133]

Did. 1. 5	Matt. 5. 26	Luke 12. 59
καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.	*οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν, ἕως ἂν ἀποδῷς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.*	*οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν, ἕως καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν ἀποδῷς.*

The final parallel to be noted here again shows a striking agreement between the *Didache* and the synoptics, though using similar words in a very different context. If anything, the *Didache* here is closer to the wording of Matthew (cf. the use of κορδάντης, Luke λεπτόν), though it is hard to say with any certainty if this is MattR in Matthew. The evidence here is thus probably indecisive. However, it may be significant that the saying occurs relatively close to the other sayings paralleled here on love of enemies and non-retaliation only in Matthew. In Luke the sayings are widely separated (Luke 6 and Luke 12), and Luke's order is often thought to reflect the order of Q, at least in general terms, most closely. The placing of the sayings in Matt. 5 relatively close together may therefore be due to MattR, and the *Didache* may then reflect this, thus once again showing a link with Matthew's redaction and hence presupposing Matthew's finished gospel.

131 See Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', 228, with further references.

132 See Layton, 'Sources', 346 ff., for a discussion of older views, together with his own proposed emendation of the text.

133 See too Kloppenborg, 'Use', 126–7.

CONCLUSIONS

This essay has attempted to analyse the parallels that exist between materials in the *Didache* and other books of the New Testament. In relation to the NT books apart from the synoptic gospels, the evidence is mostly negative: there is no compelling evidence to suggest that the *Didache* knew any of these books.

In relation to the synoptic gospels, the situation is rather different. The *Didache* clearly has a number of places where a form of wording that is strikingly similar to that of the synoptics is offered, even though it rarely if ever appears to quote the gospels as such. However, the few references to the 'gospel' may indicate that the author knew of one or more written texts, and also referred to it or them as a 'gospel'. Moreover, the likeliest candidate to have been in mind here is the gospel of Matthew. Apart from *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1, almost all the echoes of the synoptic tradition which appear in the *Didache* can be explained as deriving from Matthew. (The one exception might be the possible parallel which exists between *Did.* 16. 1 and Luke 12. 35.) In virtually every instance where there are synoptic parallels, the version in the *Didache* is closest to the Matthean version. Moreover, in some instances the *Didache* appears to reflect elements of Matthew's redactional activity, and hence to presuppose Matthew's finished gospel rather than just Matthew's traditions.

The parallels concerned also cover the range of material in Matthew in relation to Matthew's possible sources. Thus some parallels are with material peculiar to Matthew, some with Q material, some with Marcan material. The slightly lower proportion of Marcan material (whether from Matthew or not) may simply reflect the fact that the *Didache* is clearly interested in material giving (Jesus') *teaching*, and, for whatever reason, Mark's gospel is relatively speaking less rich in this respect than the Q material. However, it is certainly not the case that the parallels with Matthew in the *Didache* are confined (or even largely confined) to Q material (implying that the *Didache* might be dependent on Q) or to Matthew's special material (implying an ability by the editor(s) of the *Didache* to home in only on this material in a way that seems inherently implausible).

In the case of *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1, more parallels with Luke's gospel were found, along with some evidence suggesting that the *Didache* might reflect elements of LkR, and hence of Luke's finished gospel, as well. Given the peculiar nature of this section of the *Didache*, it may be that any theories about relationships to the synoptics in this section do not apply to the rest of the text. On the other hand, the general picture that emerges from the analysis here is fairly consistent across the whole of the present (i.e., H) text of the *Didache*: parallels with Matthew predominate and at times relate to elements of MattR. In theory, it is of course possible that the *Didache* derived some of its language in part from Matthew's traditions rather than from Matthew's gospel itself; but it is probably a more economic solution to say that, if some parts of the *Didache* derive (ultimately) from the finished gospel of Matthew, then other parallels with Matthew are to be explained in the same way.

However, to reiterate what has been said many times in the course of this discussion, the *Didache* is clearly not attempting to produce a scribal copy of the text of any of the gospels. Whoever compiled the *Didache* was aiming at a new literary production. Any 'agreements' between the *Didache* and the gospels are thus almost all at the level of allusions only, not quotations, and they should be judged as such. Further, if (as has been argued here) the agreements are to be explained as due to a measure of 'dependence' of the *Didache* on the Gospel of Matthew (and perhaps of Luke), it must also be remembered that this 'dependence' is not necessarily a direct dependence. Certainly, the Didachist is not using Matthew (if at all) in the same way as, say, Matthew used Mark. Certainly he or she did not have Matthew's gospel open in front of him or her as he or she wrote. Any 'dependence' here is likely to be somewhat indirect, perhaps mediated through a process of oral tradition and/or memory. Yet, if the arguments of this essay have any validity, they show that the *Didache* is primarily a witness to the post-redactional history of the synoptic tradition. It is certainly none the worse for that! But it may not then be a witness to pre-redactional stages of the Jesus tradition.

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6

1 Clement and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

Andrew F. Gregory

INTRODUCTION

Writing in 1973,[1] Donald Hagner could observe that there was as yet no full-scale monograph on the subject of the use of the New Testament in *1 Clement*, although there were available a number of works which discussed *1 Clement* in the context of the use of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.[2] Thus Hagner refers to a number of studies of the early use of some or all of the writings which were later canonized as the New Testament, singling out *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* as the standard work on its subject-matter.[3] Other works have since appeared which consider *1 Clement* in the context of more wide-ranging studies of the reception of particular texts or bodies of texts than those with which Hagner was able to engage,[4] and the present survey takes into account their discussions. There are a number of

[1] D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, NovTSup 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

[2] Ibid. 14.

[3] Ibid. 14 n. 14, 278 n. 2. Older studies that remain significant include A. E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957); and E. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Irenaeus* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990), published originally as *Influence de l'Evangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée*, BETL 75 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986 [1950]).

[4] A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979); W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987); T. Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert*, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000); A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). In commentaries on *1 Clement*, see also the summaries in A. Lindemann, *Die Clemensbriefe*, HNT 17 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 18–20, with a

points on which this leads to conclusions closer to those of the Oxford Committee than to the sometimes more maximalist judgements of Hagner, but the latter's work remains the standard discussion of this topic.[5] Hence, his criticisms of less comprehensive treatments than his own notwithstanding, Hagner's work is but one of a number of advances in scholarship made in the course of the last 100 years that justifies the present undertaking and its attempt to meet the need for a succinct survey of the current state of scholarship on this question. As the following account will indicate, the judgements of the Oxford Committee, as presented by A. J. Carlyle in 1905, have tended to stand the test of time. More recent discussions do not reach conclusions that are radically different from the committee's, although the presentation of the methodological basis on which they are reached is significantly more transparent than that of *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers.*

Carlyle's survey of potential quotations begins with Paul's letter to the Romans, his first letter to the Corinthians, and also the letter to the Hebrews. Each of these texts is classified as 'A', which means that he considered its use to be beyond any reasonable doubt.[6] His survey ends with the synoptic gospels, the possible use of which is considered too uncertain even to admit classification according to the alphabetical scheme adopted by the committee responsible for the *New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.* In between he finds a low degree of probability for the use of Acts and of Titus (class C), and the possibility (class D) that 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Apocalypse were used, although (as per the definition of class D) 'the evidence appeared too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it.'[7] The Fourth Gospel is passed over in silence.

particular focus on the relationship of *1 Clement* with Hebrews; and H. E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 48–58.

[5] Further, its importance is by no means limited to the specific question of *1 Clement*'s use of the writings recognized subsequently as the Old and New Testaments. Hagner's monograph contains an extended methodological discussion of how scholars should evaluate what he refers to as 'variant [i.e. inexact] quotations' (in which he argues that these are usually best explained as *memoriter* quotations from known texts rather than as accurate quotations from unknown texts or oral traditions; see Hagner, *Use*, 80–108, on the use of the OT; 287–312, on the use of the NT), and also a helpful survey of how the pattern of *1 Clement*'s apparent use of the writings later canonized as the NT compares with that of the use of the same writings in other Apostolic Fathers (ibid. 272–87).

[6] For the following summary, see *NTAF*, 137–8, tables I and II. It is unfortunate that Ephesians, classified as D in table I, has been omitted from table II. Each classification (a description of which is explained in the introduction to the *NTAF*, pp. iii–iv, and is summarized in Gregory and Tuckett, p. 81 above) should be read in the light of the qualifications presented in Carlyle's discussion. See *NTAF*, 37–62.

[7] *NTAF*, p. iii.

In the discussion that follows, I shall consider potential quotations from the New Testament according to the canonical order of these texts. Thus I shall begin with the Gospels and Acts, then move to Pauline letters, and finish with other letters and the Apocalypse.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

Carlyle notes four possible instances of the use of synoptic tradition, none of which may be attributed securely to any one of the synoptic gospels. More recent studies add little to his discussion, although they are less likely to specify that his source or sources was some form of written or unwritten 'Catechesis'.

The first example is *1 Clem.* 13. This passage opens with an appeal to its hearers to be humble, to do what is written in Scripture, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus which he spoke when teaching about gentleness and patience. It is these words that are quoted at *1 Clem.* 13. 2.[8] As Carlyle observes, 'the phenomena of the passage are very complex'.[9] Most, but not all, of the passage has parallels of differing degrees of similarity to sayings known also from synoptic double tradition found in the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain, but similar material is found also in other (later) patristic texts.[10] Thus the material may depend on Matthew and Luke (and perhaps also on Mark), either directly or indirectly, or on some of the sources and/or traditions on which the evangelists drew. The passage consists of seven maxims, stylistically arranged, as set out below. Each maxim is labelled both numerically (with Carlyle) and alphabetically (with Hagner) for ease of reference.

1 Clem. 13. 2	Matt. 5. 7; 6. 14; 7. 1–2, 12	Mark 4. 24; 11. 25	Luke 6. 31, 36–8
1a: *Ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε*	5. 7: *μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.*		6. 36: *Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες καθὼς [καὶ] ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.*

[8] *NTAF*, 58–61; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 12–16; Massaux, *Influence*, 7–12; Hagner, *Use*, 135–51; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 67–71; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 53–4; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 214–16; Gregory, *Reception*, 125–8.

[9] *NTAF*, 59.

[10] Clem. Al. *Strom.* 2. 18. 91; Pol. *Phil.* 2. 3; *Didascalia Apostolorum*, 2. 21, 42 (preserved in Greek in the *Apostolic Constitutions*); Ps. Macarius, *Hom.* 37. 3. Each is printed in *NTAF*, 59, but it is unclear whether any of them casts any light on the source of *1 Clement*. Polycarp may be an independent witness to Clement's source, but this seems less likely for the later texts; certainly at least Clement of Alexandria was familiar with *1 Clement*. See Carlyle's careful discussion in *NTAF*, 60–1; cf. Hagner, *Use*, 140–6.

2b: ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν	6. 14: Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος.	11. 25b: ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατά τινος, ἵνα καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀφῇ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.	6. 37c: ἀπολύετε, καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε
3c: ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν	7. 12: Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς		6.31: καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.
4d: ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν			6. 38a: δίδοτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·
5e: ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε	7. 1: Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· 7.2 ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι		6. 37a: Καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε
οὕτως κριθήσεσθε	κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε,		
6f: ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν			6. 35c: ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς.
7g: ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.	καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.	4. 24: ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.	6. 38c: ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

As Carlyle observes,[11] maxim 1 'has no phrase directly corresponding to it in any of our four Gospels, but might be founded on Matt. 5. 7'. Maxim 2 'has no proper parallel in St Matthew, but is near Luke ἀπολύετε etc.'. Maxim 3 'has no proper parallel in our Gospels, but may be compared with Matt. 7. 12 and Luke 6. 31'. Maxim 4 'has no parallel in Matthew, but is very near Luke 6. 38'.

[11] For what follows, see *NTAF*, 59–61.

Maxim 5 'is parallel to Matt. 7. 1 and Luke 6. 37', but shows differences from each. Maxim 6 'has no parallel in either Gospel'. Finally, maxim 7 'is parallel to Matt 7. 1 and Luke 6. 38', but shows differences from each.

Hagner's summary of the evidence is based on a more detailed description than that given by Carlyle, but his analysis is broadly the same: 'three sayings (g, e, d) are paralleled closely enough to suggest literary dependence as a possibility; for two other sayings (b, a) such a suggestion seems less plausible; for the remaining two (c, f) no convincing parallels exist, and the second, at least, may be designated as extra-canonical.'[12] Hence it comes as no surprise that his conclusions are similar to those recorded in 1905, although his judgement that there is no convincing parallel to maxim c (Carlyle's '3') further accentuates the differences between these maxims and their synoptic parallels than does Carlyle's summary. Thus the Oxford Committee concludes that these sayings are *probably* (my italics) drawn from 'some written or unwritten form of "Catechesis" as to our Lord's teaching, current in the Roman Church, perhaps a local form which may go back to a time before our Gospels existed',[13] whereas Hagner finds it '*highly probable* (my italics) that Clement here employs an extra-canonical tradition which was known also to his Corinthian readers'.[14] Further, argues Hagner, this tradition was more likely to have been oral than written on account of its readily memorable form, the use of the verb *μιμνήσκω* in its introductory formula, the probable importance of oral tradition in the early church, and the differences between the forms of this tradition as they are found here at *1 Clement* and also in Pol. *Phil.* 2. 3.

Hagner offers a helpful survey of previous scholarship, which indicates clearly that his evaluation and that of Carlyle *et al.* stand clearly in the majority tradition of finding evidence here of a pre- rather than a post-synoptic collection of sayings ascribed to Jesus. Other more recent studies concur with this conclusion.[15] The fact that it is very difficult to establish the presence of either MattR or LkR in double tradition means that we are scarcely able to use this criterion, but the presence of differences from the forms of those sayings that are paralleled in Matthew and Luke, the presence of one or two saying(s) that are not, the demonstrable unity of the present collection, and parallels elsewhere in early Christian literature strongly suggest that Clement refers here to a collection of sayings that is independent of and

[12] Hagner, *Use*, 140.
[13] *NTAF*, 61.
[14] Hagner, *Use*, 151.
[15] Köhler, *Rezeption*, 71; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 54; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 215; Gregory, *Reception*, 128.

earlier than the broadly similar sayings of Jesus that are preserved also in Matthew and/or Luke.[16]

The second substantial parallel to synoptic tradition in *1 Clement* occurs at 46. 8.[17] It consists of an extended saying[18] ascribed to Jesus, in which he warns of the consequences for those who offend or cause to stumble his elect (or little ones). The saying is straightforward when read in its context in *1 Clement*, but appears much more complicated when it is analysed in terms of its relationship to parallels in the synoptic tradition as preserved in the synoptic gospels. It may be set out as follows:

1 Clem. 46. 7–8[19]	Matt 26. 24; 18. 6	Mark 14. 21; 9. 42	Luke 22. 22; 17. 2
7: *Μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.*			
8: *εἶπεν γάρ,*			
	26. 24: *ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ,*	14. 21: *ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ,*	22. 22: *ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν*
a: *οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνω*	*οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι᾽ οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται·*	*οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι᾽ οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται.*	*οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι᾽ οὗ παραδίδοται.*
καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη	*καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος.*	*καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος.*	

[16] *Pace* H. B. Green, ‘Matthew, Clement and Luke: Their Sequence and Relationship’, *JTS* 40 (1989), 1–25, who argues that Matthew was the source of the Jesus tradition found in *1 Clem.* 13. 2 and 46. 8, and that Luke was familiar with both Matthew and *1 Clement.* Green also argues (ibid. 15–16) that the author of *1 Clement* also used Mark.

[17] *NTAF*, 61–2; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 16–19; Massaux, *Influence*, 21–4; Hagner, *Use*, 152–64; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 62–4; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 137; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 497–8.

[18] It might be described as two sayings that have been conflated, but this would be to prejudge questions about the most primitive context of the twofold warnings that Clement presents as one saying, and also about the relationship between the synoptic tradition found here and in the synoptic gospels.

[19] The text presented here follows that of B. D. Ehrman (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers*, i (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003). The early versions and Clement of Alexandria, who quotes *1 Clement*, all read *ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι* against the two Greek manuscripts, A and H, both of which read *μικρῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι*. The latter, the easier reading, may be explained as a harmonization of *1 Clement* to Luke. For discussion of the textual variants in this passage of *1 Clement*, see Hagner, *Use*, 154–5.

b: ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι	18. 6: ὃς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ,	9. 42: Καὶ ὃς ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων [εἰς ἐμέ],	
c: κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ	συμφέρει αὐτῷ	καλόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον	17. 2: λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ
	ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς	εἰ περίκειται μύλος ὀνικὸς	εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται
περιτεθῆναι μύλον	περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ	περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ	περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ
καὶ καταπονισθῆναι εἰς	καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει	καὶ βέβληται εἰς	καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς
τὴν θάλασσαν	τῆς θαλάσσης	τὴν θάλασσαν.	τὴν θάλασσαν
d: ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι			ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα.

The first part of the saying (indicated as 'a' in the tabulation) appears to be parallel to what are two very different sayings in the synoptic tradition. The first synoptic parallel, present in Matthew and in Mark, refers specifically to Judas, 'that man . . . for whom it would be better that he had not been born'. But whereas Matthew and Mark refer to him as 'that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed',[20] Clement here refers to 'that man who causes one of my [i.e., Jesus'] elect to stumble'. Thus the second part of the saying (b) is parallel to the Matthean and Marcan forms of another saying of Jesus, where he offers a general warning to his disciples of the consequences of causing his elect (or little ones) to stumble. The third part (c) is loosely parallel to the same saying as it is found in all three synoptics, though with little verbal identity; and the fourth (d) is parallel in content if not vocabulary to the final clause of the Lucan version of this saying.

As the Oxford Committee observes, it is not impossible that Clement, quoting from memory, has conflated two very different sayings that he quotes from one or other of the gospels. 'But it is just as probable that we have here, as in Clem. xiii, a quotation from some form of catechetical instruction in our Lord's doctrine.'[21]

[20] Luke has a similar form of words at 22. 22b.

[21] *NTAF*, 62.

Subsequent scholarship has been divided on this question, as documented in Hagner's survey of the discussion.[22] Unlike the case of the sayings cited at *1 Clem.* 13, where apparently independent external parallels support the likelihood of independence of the synoptic gospels, there are no similar parallels to witness to the source of the current citation, although some parallels that appear to draw on the synoptic gospels do indicate that there was a tendency to give Jesus' words to Judas a wider application, and that this warning was commonly combined with others.[23] Nevertheless, the majority of scholars have tended to find Clement's source in an extra-canonical tradition, probably oral. Édouard Massaux argues for Clement's literary dependence on Matthew, but his argument rests almost entirely on their shared use of *καταποντίζω*, which he describes as 'a rare and characteristic term, peculiar to Mt. in the entire New Testament'.[24] Yet this shared terminology is hardly compelling; the word is also used by contemporary authors such as Plutarch and Josephus,[25] and its presence here need imply only that *1 Clement* and Matthew drew on a shared tradition. Massaux also notes that *1 Clement* and Matthew both have the verb *ἦν* after *κάλον*, whereas Mark does not. If it were possible to take this as evidence of Clement's use of MattR, then the case for literary dependence would be strengthened greatly, but this is unlikely. Assuming that Matthew's addition to Mark is a stylistic improvement,[26] there is no reason why Clement might not have also made such an improvement if he knew the Marcan version of the saying.

Hagner[27] offers three reasons that, he argues, make it more likely that Clement is dependent on an extra-canonical source than on the synoptic gospels. These are, first, that, had Clement known the synoptic context of these sayings, he would have had to remove them (particularly the first, addressed to Judas) from those contexts, which seems unlikely. Second, that each part of Clement's sayings differs from the synoptic gospels. Third, that the internal parallelism of Clement's sayings suggests that the combination has an identity of its own quite apart from the synoptic gospels. This third argument is particularly convincing, and may be presented even more strongly if Clement's quotation is referred to as one extended warning rather than as two warnings that have been combined. There is no reason to describe it as two warnings unless it is read in the light of its parallels in the synoptic gospels.[28]

[22] Hagner, *Use*, 159–61.

[23] Hagner, *Use*, 156–9, esp. 159. But see below, p. 137 and n. 29.

[24] Massaux, *Influence*, book I, 23.

[25] See *BDAG*, *ad loc.*

[26] See W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St Matthew*, iii, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 463.

[27] For what follows see Hagner, *Use*, 162–3.

[28] Cf. above n. 18.

Further, he observes, the probability that *1 Clem.* 13 draws on oral tradition strengthens the likelihood that this passage does the same. The Corinthian Christians are again invited to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, which are again presented in a form which lends itself to easy memorization.

Such conclusions might be further supported if it were possible to demonstrate that Clement shows no evidence of any redactional touches of the evangelists in their accounts of Jesus' words concerning Judas. Arguments from silence must of course be treated with great circumspection. Nevertheless, Hagner's suggestion as to how Clement would have had to modify Matthew if that gospel were his source is highly suggestive, for it appears to amount to the observation that Clement would have had to remove everything that might be considered to be the result of either Matthean or Marcan redactional activity (assuming that Mark first connected these words with Judas, or at least that his connection of these words with Judas is the earliest stage to which we may trace the tradition). Thus, if such speculation may be allowed (and I emphasize that this is speculative, for the following suggestion depends on the possibility of getting behind the Marcan passion narrative to a stage at which some of its contents were not yet joined together in the tradition), then perhaps it may be possible, albeit with great caution, to raise the question of whether *1 Clement* testifies to a stage when a minatory saying of Jesus had not yet been given a narrative setting as a reference to Judas, but was rather a free-floating logion. This possibility would then be strengthened if Hermas' warning at *Vis.* 4. 2. 6 (spoken by the personified Church) were taken as evidence of a similar free-floating warning, irrespective of the fact that the words there are not attributed to Jesus.[29]

The third example comes at *1 Clem.* 24. 5. Here Clement makes the statement that 'the sower went out' (*ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων*) in the context of a discussion of the resurrection of the body.[30] He appears to draw on 1 Corinthians 15 as the wider context of his discussion, and uses these words to refer to the way in which God the sower brings human lives into

[29] It would gain further support if it were in fact possible to demonstrate that any of the parallels which Hagner considers to depend on the synoptic gospels rather than on *1 Clement* could be shown to be independent of the former, but I see no way to demonstrate that this might be the case. (Nor, *pace* Hagner, do I see any methodologically rigorous way in which to demonstrate that it is not. Thus such parallels may provide little evidence for or against this possibility.) On the development of traditions concerning Judas, and for bibliography, see W. Klassen, 'Judas Iscariot', in D. N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), iii. 1091–6.

[30] *NTAF*, 62; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 20–1; Massaux, *Influence*, 28–9; Hagner, *Use*, 164–5; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 61–2; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 87–8; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 301–2; Gregory, *Reception*, 129.

existence.[31] The words are parallel to the phraseology of Jesus' parable of the sower, found in all three synoptic gospels, but they do not carry the same meaning as the phrase carries in that context. Therefore it is unclear whether Clement echoes that parable at all, either consciously or unconsciously. If he does, then it seems impossible to decide whether he draws on a form of the parable that is independent of any of the synoptic gospels or, if not, then on which gospel (if any) he depends. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note the way in which Clement appears to conflate traditions associated with Jesus and with Paul.

Carlyle offers no comment on the origin of this expression. His brevity is admirable, for it seems that there is little that may be said with any degree of confidence.

The fourth example, *1 Clem.* 15. 2,[32] is one of a number of instances where Clement includes a citation from the Jewish Scriptures that is cited also in the synoptic gospels.

1 Clem. 15. 2	Matt. 15. 7–8	Mark 7. 6	Isa. 29. 13
	7 ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἠσαΐας	ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἠσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν	Καὶ εἶπεν
Λέγει γάρ που,	λέγων,	τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται [ὅτι]	κύριος Ἐγγίζει μοι
Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς	8 Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς	Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς	ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς
χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ,	χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ,	χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ,	χείλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσίν με,
ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν	ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν	ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν	ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν
πόρρω ἄπεστιν	πόρρω ἀπέχει	πόρρω ἀπέχει	πόρρω ἀπέχει
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.	ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.	ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.	ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

The Oxford Committee observed only that the citation is probably from Isaiah, 'but the form of the quotation in Clement is the same as that in the Gospels'.[33] Yet this is not strictly correct. As Hagner observes (with H. B. Swete, *contra* W. Sanday),[34] Clement's use of ἄπεστιν against ἀπέχει (which is

[31] *Contra* Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 302 n. 5, Hagner (*Use*, 164) may be correct when he suggests that 'what Clement presents is not the Parable of the Sower, but rather a homily on 1 Cor. 15. 36 ff., employing the imagery of the Parable of the Sower'—which need not be to claim (as Hagner goes on to do) that Clement used the parable itself.

[32] *NTAF*, 62; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 21–2; Massaux, *Influence*, 19–21; Hagner, *Use*, 171–4; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 64–6; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 58; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 224–5; Gregory, *Reception*, 125–8.

[33] *NTAF*, 62. They also note a parallel at *2 Clem.* 3. 4.

[34] Hagner, *Use*, 174.

found in Isaiah, Matthew, and Mark) calls into question his dependence on the synoptics. He is close to them, but not identical. Variations between the form of this verse as found in different manuscripts of the LXX and as cited here complicate discussion, so the similarities between *1 Clement* and the gospels might be accounted for either by the dependence of the former on the latter or by their independent use of some form of testimony collection.[35] The fact that Clement appears more likely elsewhere to draw on extra-canonical rather than canonical forms of the synoptic tradition is not good enough reason to deny that he might have been influenced by either Matthew or Mark in this instance; but nor is there sufficient evidence to mount a convincing case that he was. As Hagner observes, 'There can be no certainty here as to the source of Clement's citation.'[36]

Other instances of parallels between *1 Clement* and the synoptics have also been adduced,[37] and there are a number of points where Clement includes citations from the Jewish Scriptures that are included also in the synoptic gospels.[38] Yet none adds any clearer evidence than that already considered above to indicate that Clement drew on the synoptic gospels rather than on pre-canonical forms of the synoptic tradition. Therefore, while it is not possible to demonstrate that Clement did not know or use any of the synoptics, there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate that he did.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN

Carlyle offers no instances where *1 Clement* appears to draw on John. Nor does Charles Hill.[39] J. N. Sanders[40] and Titus Nagel[41] also pass over *1 Clement* in silence, and Lindemann makes no reference to the Fourth Gospel in his succinct account of possible references to the New Testament in *1 Clement* in

[35] Hagner, *Use*, 37 n. 1, 53–4, 106, 172–4; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (London: SCM, 1961), 164–6.

[36] Hagner, *Use*, 174.

[37] See Massaux, *Influence*, i, 12–29. Massaux finds further evidence for dependence on Matthew as follows: *1 Clem.* 7. 4 // Matt. 26. 28; *1 Clem.* 27. 5 // Matt. 5. 18; 24. 35; *1 Clem.* 30. 3 // Matt. 7. 21. On pp. 24–32 he considers further passages, but concludes that their evidence for literary dependence on Matthew is doubtful or to be dismissed. See also Hagner, *Use*, 165–71.

[38] Hagner, *Use*, 171–8.

[39] Hill, *Johannine Corpus*.

[40] J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943).

[41] Nagel, *Rezeption*.

the introduction to his commentary.[42] Braun finds a number of affinities between them, but he refrains from claiming direct literary dependence of *1 Clement* on John, and suggests that the majority of their doctrinal and literary contacts might be explained 'par la diffusion d'une liturgie primitive d'esprit johannique'.[43] Lona concurs: *1 Clement* and John show similar motifs, but there are no exact parallels, and a literary relationship is unlikely.[44] Hagner appears to take a stronger line in favour of literary dependence of *1 Clement* on John. He notes a range of potential parallels that are insufficient to suggest literary dependence, but considers that such dependence is possible at *1 Clem.* 49. 1 and 43. 6.[45] He suggests that some of the similarities 'are impressive and deserve consideration as possibilities', but acknowledges that in no instance is there significant agreement in wording. Thus he acknowledges that 'the evidence indicates only the possibility of Clement's knowledge of, and dependence upon, the Gospel of John'.[46]

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Carlyle notes three possible citations of Acts.[47] Two of these, which he rates only as 'd', may be dismissed at once. As Carlyle notes, the observation that it is preferable to give rather than to receive, found in similar forms at *1 Clem.* 2. 1 and on the lips of Paul at Acts 20. 35, may depend either on an otherwise unrecorded saying of Jesus, or on Clement's use of an early Christian commonplace. Thus there is no good reason to posit the dependence of *1 Clement* on Acts in this instance. Similarly, the common use of the metaphor of transference from darkness to light (*1 Clem.* 59. 2 // Acts 26. 18; cf. Col. 1. 13; 1 Pet. 2. 9) is too widespread in early Christian literature to provide any evidence for literary dependence.

Carlyle rates as 'c' his other example, *1 Clem.* 18. 1[48] // Acts 13. 22, so it is on the basis of this parallel alone that he considers it possible that the author of *1 Clement* has used Acts, although he concedes that the agreements between the two texts in their quotation of Ps. 88(89). 21 and 1 Sam. 13. 14 might be

[42] Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 18–20.

[43] F.-M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien et son Évangile dans l'église ancienne* (Paris: Gabalda, 1959), 173–80, esp. 179, where this quotation may be found. The principal passages that he discusses are *1 Clem.* 21. 6; 42. 1–2; 43. 6; 45. 2; 49. 1; 51. 3; 52. 1; 59. 2–3.

[44] Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 51–2.

[45] Hagner, *Use*, 263–8.

[46] Ibid. 268.

[47] *NTAF*, 48–50.

[48] Ibid.; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 66; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 57, 236–7.

explained on the hypothesis of independent use of a testimony book. The parallel is as follows.

1 Clem. 18. 1	Acts 13. 22
Τί δὲ εἴπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δαυίδ; πρὸς ὅν εἶπεν ὁ θεός, εὗρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἐν ἐλέει αἰωνίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.	*καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν, ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας, εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου.*

Ps. 88(89). 21	1 Sam. 13. 14
εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν ἐλέει ἁγίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν	*Καὶ ζητήσει Κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.*

As Carlyle observes, *1 Clement* and Acts both (1) combine phrases from the psalm and from 1 Samuel; (2) insert the words *τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί*, which are not in either passage quoted; and (3) agree in reading *ἄνδρα* against *δοῦλόν* in Ps. 88. 21) and *ἄνθρωπον* (1 Sam. 13. 14). He also notes that the quotations in *1 Clement* and Acts end differently. He observes that the evidence is complicated, but inclines towards the conclusion that Clement set out to quote Ps. 88. 21, but was possibly influenced in doing so by 'a recollection of the passage as it is quoted in Acts 13.^{22}'.[49] Thus he appears to imply that although Clement knew the verse in the form in which it was quoted in Acts, it is possible that he took it not from Acts but from a source known also to Luke. His caution is commendable.

Hagner finds the agreement between *1 Clem.* 18. 1 and Acts 13. 22 to be sufficiently conspicuous to assert the probability of Clement's knowledge of Acts,[50] but C. K. Barrett observes that the differences between the parallels suggest that they are independent.[51] Martin Albl, who argues that Luke is unlikely to have created so complex a conflated quotation as is found in Acts 13. 22, points to the differences between the endings of the two quotations. He argues that both the absence in *1 Clement* of the final phrase of Acts 13. 22 and the continuing use of Ps. 88(89) past what appears in Acts suggest that both texts are independent witnesses to an earlier tradition which had already combined 1 Sam. 13. 14 and Ps. 88(89). 21, perhaps as part of a scriptural historical review that culminated in the selection of David, the ideal

[49] *NTAF*, 49.

[50] Hagner, *Use*, 263. See also the other parallels which he lists: ibid. 256–63. These include common subject-matter and shared citations from the Jewish Scriptures, but it is hard to see why they suggest literary dependence rather than origin in a similar milieu.

[51] C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, i, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 35. He notes that other parallels that have been cited include *1 Clem.* 2. 2; 6. 3; 12. 2; 14.1.

'messianic' king.[52] This substantiates Carlyle's observation that a possible collection of Davidic or Messianic passages 'might explain the phenomena presented by the passages in Clement and in the Acts without requiring any direct dependence of the one upon the other'.[53]

Morton Smith (followed, in part, by Hagner) has argued that the report of Peter's trial and martyrdom at *1 Clem.* 5. 4[54] is best accounted for as an exegesis of Acts 3–5 (esp. 5. 4) and 12 (esp. 12. 3 ff.),[55] but this seems unlikely.[56] Thus Barrett's conclusion, not altogether unlike that of Carlyle, can hardly be bettered: 'That Acts was known to Clement is not impossible, but is by no means proved.'[57]

THE PAULINE EPISTLES AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

As Andreas Lindemann has argued, to speak of 'Paul in the writings of the apostolic fathers' is to speak of Paul as he was understood in the early church rather than as he is now often understood in the contemporary academy. 'This Paul was the author of the letter to the Ephesians as well as of the letter to the Romans; and he was writer not only of a letter to Philemon but also of letters to Timothy and to Titus.'[58] In the section that follows, I shall therefore consider those letters considered deutero-Pauline as well as the seven that are now often thought to have been written by Paul. Hebrews is then treated by itself. This is because we do not know what opinion Clement held about its

[52] M. C. Albl, *'And Scripture Cannot be Broken': The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*, NovTSup 96 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 196–8.

[53] *NTAF*, 49–50.

[54] Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 37–8; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 57 n. 6, 159 n. 2.

[55] M. Smith, 'The Report about Peter in *1 Clement* v.4', *NTS* 7 (1960/1), 86–8.

[56] For a critique, see Gregory, *Reception*, 312–13.

[57] Barrett, *Acts*, 35.

[58] A. Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 25–45, on p. 25. On the specific question of Paul's discernible influence on the theology of *1 Clement*, see *idem*, 'Paul's influence on "Clement" and Ignatius', ch. 1 in companion volume. See also *idem*, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*; *idem*, 'Der Apostel Paulus Im 2. Jahrhundert', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 39–67. Other important surveys of the reception of Paul include Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*; D. K. Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches: The Development of the Use of Paul's Letters in Second-Century Christianity' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1981).

authorship. Internal evidence suggests that the author of Hebrews will have been known to those whom he addressed (13. 19), and some form of connection with Rome, or at least Italy, is strongly implied (13. 24). Pantaenus and Clement of Alexandria both attributed the letter to Paul,[59] and it is included in P^{46}, our earliest manuscript of the Pauline corpus. But the absence of any earlier evidence means that we must remain agnostic about the views of Clement of Rome.[60]

Carlyle's conclusions regarding Clement's knowledge of the letters of Paul were careful and modest: Clement can be shown to have used both Romans and 1 Corinthians, and there is some slight evidence that he may also have used 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, and Titus. Hagner's conclusions are much more maximalist. Despite the careful qualifications in his detailed and nuanced discussion of a wide range of often extremely tenuous parallels to Paul's letters, he concludes that the evidence suggests that Clement appears to have known all the Pauline epistles except 1 and 2 Thessalonians and Philemon. He concedes that only for Romans and 1 Corinthians is there enough evidence to provide certain knowledge, but considers the use of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 Timothy, and Titus to be probable. Clement's use of 2 Corinthians, Colossians, and 2 Timothy is possible, and even his knowledge of 1 and 2 Thessalonians and Philemon is not to be ruled out, for their brevity and particular content make them less susceptible to quotation than the other Pauline letters. 'Clement thus provides us with indications that the greater part, if not the whole, of the Pauline corpus was probably known to him and was present to his mind as he wrote in c.95 AD.'[61] Lindemann's conclusions are closer to those of Carlyle: Clement may be said with confidence to have used Romans and 1 Corinthians, but the evidence for his use of other Pauline letters is much more ambiguous.[62] Lona concurs: 'Mit Sicherheit läßt sich . . . nur die Kenntnis des ersten Briefes an die Korinther und des Römerbriefes nachweisen.'[63]

[59] Eusebius, *EH* 6. 14. 1–3; cf. 6. 13. 1–3.

[60] For a survey of ancient views on the authorship of Hebrews, see H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 1–2. He notes that Pauline authorship was not widely accepted in the West until the fifth century.

[61] Hagner, *Use*, 237.

[62] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 177–99, esp. 178, 194; *idem*, 'Paul in the Writings', 32; *idem*, Ch. 1 in companion volume.

[63] Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 49.

1 Corinthians

That Clement knew something about Paul—what Lindemann has referred to as the 'Paulusbild'—is beyond doubt, for Clement refers by name to both Peter and to Paul at 5. 5–7.[64] But our concern here is solely with the not unrelated question of what may be shown about Clement's knowledge and use of Paul's letters. Whereas Carlyle began with Romans, the current survey begins with 1 Corinthians. This is because we have the strongest possible evidence for Clement's knowledge of that letter at *1 Clem.* 47. 1–4.[65] Not only does Clement tell the Corinthians to take up a letter from Paul, but so too he refers to sufficient of its contents to make it all but certain that the letter to which he draws their attention is 1 Corinthians. Such clear testimony to 1 Corinthians means that this conclusion is secure, even without any significant verbatim parallels at this point.[66]

The evidence may be set out as follows:

1 Clem. 47. 1–4	1 Cor. 1. 12
Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου ἀποστόλου. Τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν	
ὑμῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ἥττονα ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν, προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς.	*Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.*

As Lindemann observes, this passage is of especial interest.[67] It shows that Clement considered it to be self-evident that he should make use of Paul's letter in support of his own argument; that he assumed that the letter Paul sent some forty years before is still available in the Corinthian church; and

[64] Cf. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 72–82.

[65] *NTAF*, 40–1; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 98–99; Massaux, *Influence*, 40; Hagner, *Use*, 196–7; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum* 178, 190–2; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 138–9; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 505–9.

[66] This is a striking reminder of the methodological point that a lack of literary parallels between texts is not evidence that the author of the later writing was unfamiliar with the earlier text.

[67] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 190–1; *idem*, Ch. 1 in companion volume; 'Paul in the Writings', 30–1.

that he saw no reason to comment on the fact that a copy of the letter already existed in Rome.

This in turn strengthens the likelihood that other parallels to 1 Corinthians may be considered evidence for Clement's use of that letter. These include two other passages which Carlyle classified as 'a': *1 Clem.* 37. 5–38. 1 (to which may be added, with Lindemann, *1 Clem.* 38. 2) and *1 Clem.* 49. 5. Each will be considered in turn.

1 Clem. 37. 5–38. 2[68]	1 Cor. 12. 12, 14	1 Cor. 12. 20–8
Λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν.	12 *Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἕν ἐστιν καὶ μέλη*	20 *νῦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν μέλη, ἓν δὲ σῶμα.*
ἡ κεφαλὴ δίχα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδέν ἐστίν οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πόδες δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς.	*πολλὰ ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἕν ἐστιν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός· . . .* 14 *καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν μέλος ἀλλὰ πολλά . . .*	21 *οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρί, Χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω, ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσίν, Χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω·*
Τὰ δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ εὔχρηστα εἰσιν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι. ἀλλὰ πάντα συνπνεῖ καὶ ὑποταγῇ μιᾷ χρῆται		22 *ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν ἀναγκαῖά ἐστιν . . .* 24 *ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα τῷ ὑστερουμένῳ περισσοτέραν δοὺς τιμήν,* 25 *ἵνα μὴ ᾖ σχίσμα ἐν τῷ σώματι*
εἰς τὸ σῴζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα. Σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ιησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ.		*ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσιν τὰ μέλη.* 28 *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ . . .*
ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τημελείτω τὸν ἀσθενῆ, ὁ δε ἀσθενὴς ἐντρεπέσθω τὸν ἰσχυρόν . . .	cf. 1 Cor. 8. 7–13; Rom. 15. 1	

68 *NTAF*, 40; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 96–7; Hagner, *Use*, 197–200; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 189; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 116–17; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 413–19.

Paul's metaphor of the body is found in 1 Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians. But the detailed correlation between *1 Clement* and 1 Corinthians makes it very likely that in this instance Clement draws on the metaphor as it is developed in Paul's letter to the Corinthians. As Lindemann observes, there is 'eine erhebliche Wahrscheinlichkeit' that we find here evidence of direct literary dependence on 1 Corinthians.[69]

1 Clem. 49. 5[70]	1 Cor. 13. 4–7
ἀγάπη κολλᾷ ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ,	4 ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ,
ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν,	χρηστεύεται ἡ ἀγάπη, οὐ ζηλοῖ,
ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται,	[ἡ ἀγάπη] οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ
πάντα μακροθυμεῖ.	φυσιοῦται,
οὐδὲν βάναυσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ,	5 οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ,
οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον.	οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς,
ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔξει,	οὐ παροξύνεται,
ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει,	οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν,
ἀγάπη πάντα ποιεῖ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ.	6 οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ,
	συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.
	7 πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει,
	πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

The parallels between these passages are extremely suggestive, although perhaps not in themselves sufficient to demonstrate literary dependence. If Clement has used Paul, he echoes rather than quotes him, taking Paul's hymn to love but adapting it to his own preferred vocabulary (σχίσμα, στασιάζω, ὁμόνοια) for dealing with the situation in Corinth.[71] The lack of direct parallels or quotations notwithstanding, it does seem likely that here Clement refers to Paul's letter,[72] and that his hearers in Corinth would have been expected to recognize the allusion.

Also worthy of particular attention is *1 Clem.* 24. 1,[73] which Carlyle rated as 'b', but described as 'almost certainly a reminiscence'[74]:

[69] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 188–9.

[70] *NTAF*, 41; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 100; Hagner, *Use*, 200; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 192; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 143–5; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 526–8.

[71] Hagner, *Use*, 200.

[72] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 192; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 143.

[73] *NTAF*, 41; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 91; Massaux, *Influence*, 41–2; Hagner, *Use*, 201; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 183–4; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 86; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 298.

[74] *NTAF*, 41.

1 Clem. 24. 1	1 Cor. 15. 20	1 Cor. 15. 23
Κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί,		
πῶς ὁ δεσπότης		
ἐπιδείκυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν	*Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς*	*ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν*
τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν	*ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν*	*τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι.*
ἔσεσθαι, ἧς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν	*α’παρχη τῶν*	*ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός,*
ἐποιήσατο τὸν κύριον	*κεκοιμημένων.*	*ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν		*ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ,*
ἀναστήσας.		

Closely related is the following parallel between the same chapters, where the image of the seed and the point that it makes, if not the vocabulary used, are similar:

1 Clem. 24. 4–5[75]	1 Cor. 15. 36–7
Λάβωμεν τοὺς καρπούς, ὁ σπόρος πῶς	*ἄφρων, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ*
καὶ τίνα τρόπον γίνεται; ἐξῆλθεν ὁ	*ζῳοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ.*[37]
σπείρων καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς τὴν γῆν	*καὶ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ*
ἕκαστον τῶν σπερμάτων, ἅτινα	*γενησόμενον σπείρεις ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν*
πεσόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ	*κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἤ τινος τῶν*
διαλύεται . . .	*λοιπῶν.*

Clement's use of *ἀπαρχή* to refer to the resurrection of Jesus as the first fruits of the general resurrection suggests that Clement draws on Pauline teaching about the resurrection contained in 1 Corinthians 15. Clement's emphasis on the future resurrection of the dead (*τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀναστασιν ἔσεσθαι*; cf. 1 Cor. 15. 12, 51–5) and his use of the image of the seeds of corn (*1 Clem.* 24. 4; cf. 1 Cor. 15. 36–7) give further support to the strong likelihood that Clement here depends on 1 Corinthians. Lindemann suggests that the parallels are so clear that one is compelled to conclude that Clement had the text of 1 Corinthians directly before him as he wrote.[76]

Other parallels between *1 Clement* and 1 Corinthians might also be adduced. Carlyle and the Oxford Committee consider three others: *1 Clem.* 48. 5 // 1 Cor. 12. 8–9 (the juxtaposition of faith, knowledge, and wisdom); *1 Clem.* 5. 1–5 // 1 Cor. 9. 24; cf. Phil. 3. 14 (the metaphor of an athlete's prize); and

[75] *NTAF*, 41–2; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 92; Massaux, *Influence*, 28–9; Hagner, *Use*, 201; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 183–4; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 86–7; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 301–2.

[76] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 183: 'Kap. 24 weist so deutliche Parallelen zu 1 Kor 15 auf, daß man zu der Annahme gezwungen ist, der Vf habe beim Schreiben diesen Text direkt vor sich gehabt.' Cf. *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 86: 'Die Verwendung des *ἀπαρχή* in diesem Zusammenhang erinnert an 1 Kor 15. 20, 23; diesen Text hat der Vf zweifellos gekannt . . . aber man braucht nicht mit einer unmittelbar gewolten Anspielung zu rechnen.'

1 Clem. 34. 8 // 1 Cor. 2. 9; cf. Isa. 64. 4 (the common use of a quotation, the source of which is unclear[77]). To these may be added similar epistolary conventions (*1 Clem.*, sal.; cf. 1 Cor. 1. 1–3; *1 Clem.* 65. 2; cf. 1 Cor. 16. 23; Rom. 11. 36); and the use of the imperative and indicative in ethical exhortation (1 *Clem.* 30. 1 // 1 Cor. 5. 27; cf. Gal. 5. 25, etc.); although such features are found in other Pauline letters besides 1 Corinthians.[78] None of these possible references is compelling in itself, and each may be explained on grounds other than of direct literary dependence, but the fact that Clement clearly used 1 Corinthians means that the possibility that each parallel arises from direct literary dependence (or at least an intimate acquaintance with the letter, such that Clement draws on its language and content quite unconsciously) should not be underestimated.

Romans

Provided that one does not posit a developmental model that sees Clement's community as somehow disconnected from those whom Paul addressed at Rome in his letter to the Christians of that city, then there is an a priori possibility that Clement would have been familiar with this text. It was written earlier than his own letter, and it was addressed to the predecessors of those on whose behalf he now claims to speak. Hagner may be correct when he suggests that the original manuscript may have been available to Clement,[79] although to state that this is probable may be to claim too much.

Carlyle found[80] that there was one passage (*1 Clem.* 35. 5–6 // Rom. 1. 29–32, 'a') where it was 'practically certain' that Clement drew on Romans; another (*1 Clem.* 33. 1 // Rom. 6. 1, 'b') where it was 'most probable' that he wrote 'under the impression of . . . Romans'; and another (*1 Clem.* 32. 2 // Rom. 9. 5, 'c') in which 'It seems probable that the sentence in Clement was suggested by that in Romans'. Hagner suggests that there is perhaps not as much allusion to Romans as one might expect,[81] but this apparent discrepancy may arise from unrealistic expectations. Given that Clement appears to have wanted to accentuate what he perceived to be parallels between the contemporary situation in Corinth and the unrest that Paul had addressed a generation or so before, it is perhaps only to be expected that it would be 1 Corinthians rather than Romans on which he would rely the most.

[77] The same source appears again at *2 Clem.* 11. 7. See my discussion in Ch. 10 below, on pp. 284–5.

[78] For further examples, see esp. Hagner, *Use*, 195–209.

[79] Ibid. 214.

[80] For what follows, see *NTAF*, 37–9.

[81] Hagner, *Use*, 214.

The principal evidence may be set out as follows:

1 Clem. 35. 5–6[82]	Rom. 1. 29–32
ἀπορρίψαντες ἀφ ἑαυτῶν	29 *πεπληρωμένους*
πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν	*πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ*
καὶ ἀνομίαν,	*πονηρίᾳ*
πλεονεξίαν,	*πλεονεξίᾳ κακίᾳ,*
	μεστοὺς φθόνου φόνου
ἔρεις,	*ἔριδος*
κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους,	*δόλου κακοηθείας,*
ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιάς,	*ψιθυριστάς* 30 *καταλάλους*
θεοστυγίαν,	*θεοστυγεῖς ὑβριστάς*
ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν,	*ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας,*
κενοδοξίαν	*ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς,*
τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν.	31 *ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτους*
	ἀστόργους ἀνελεήμονας·
	32 *οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ*
	ἐπιγνόντες
6 *ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες*	*ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες*
στυγητοὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν.	*ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν,*
Οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες αὐτά, ἀλλὰ	*οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ*
καὶ οἱ συνευδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς.	*συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν.*

The parallels are striking, but not necessarily decisive. The fact that so many of the same vices are listed need not be important, since it is possible that each author might have drawn independently on existing tradition.[83] A similar argument might apply to the comment which follows each list of vices, but it is probably easier to explain this sentence and the passage as a whole on the basis that Clement has drawn on Paul's letter to the Romans. Hagner goes too far when he concludes that literary dependence is the 'only satisfactory conclusion which can be drawn',[84] but it certainly seems the most likely explanation. As Lindemann observes, differences between the uses to which the authors put these vice lists in their respective arguments notwithstanding, there remains 'eine erhebliche Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß 1 Clem 35,5f tatsächlich in unmittelbarem literarischem Zusammenhang mit Röm 1, 29–32 steht'.[85]

[82] *NTAF*, 37–8; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 95–6; Massaux, *Influence*, 42; Hagner, *Use*, 214–16; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 188–89; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 109; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 383–7.

[83] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 188.

[84] Hagner, *Use*, 216.

[85] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 188–9.

1 Clem. 32. 4–33. 1[86]	Rom. 5. 21–6. 2a
Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας ἢ συνέσεως ἢ εὐσεβείας ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν. ᾧ ἔστω ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.	5. 21: *ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.*
33. 1: *τί οὖν ποίησωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀργήσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποιΐας καὶ ἐγκαταλίπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην; μηθαμῶς τοῦτο ἐάσαι ὁ δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γε γενηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν μετὰ ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν.*	6. 1: *Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσῃ;* 6. 2: *μὴ γένοιτο.*

As Carlyle observes, the thought but not the vocabulary of these passages is closely related. Each is placed in the context of justification by faith; each argues that justification is not an excuse for sin, but an impetus for appropriate ethical living. It seems difficult not to conclude that at this point Clement is very probably dependent on Romans.

1 Clem. 32. 2[87]	Rom. 9. 5
	ὧν οἱ πατέρες
ἐξ ἀυτοῦ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς	*καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς*
τὸ κατὰ σάρκα	*τὸ κατὰ σάρκα,*
	ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

This passage may reflect dependence on Romans, but it is difficult to be certain. As the Oxford Committee observes, the phrase '*κατὰ σάρκα*' is 'not a very obvious one'.[88] It is part of an idiom in Clement (*ὁ κύριος Ιησοῦς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*) that corresponds almost exactly with Paul's *ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, but appears to disrupt the sense of the former; *1 Clement* would read more smoothly were the reference to Jesus not there, for it falls between references

[86] *NTAF*, 38; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 92–3; Hagner, *Use*, 216–17; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 186–7; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 103; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 351–2.

[87] *NTAF*, 38–9; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 92; Massaux, *Influence*, 49; Hagner, *Use*, 216; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 185; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 99; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 343–5.

[88] *NTAF*, 39.

to the origin of priests and Levites, and of the kings, rulers, and leaders in the line of Judah. Thus, suggests Lindemann, albeit with suitable caution, it might be considered a gloss that was added to *1 Clement*.[89] This is an attractive suggestion and a plausible example of where knowledge of Paul's letters may have influenced the text of *1 Clement* after it was originally written.[90]

The other possible parallels that Carlyle notes are *1 Clem.* 36. 2; 51. 5 // Rom. 1. 21; cf. Eph. 4. 18; *1 Clem.* 38. 1; 46. 7 // Rom. 12. 4; cf. 1 Cor. 6. 15; 12. 12; Eph. 4. 4, 25; 5. 30; 1 *Clem.* 50. 6–7 // Rom. 4. 7–9; cf. Ps. 31(32). 1–2. Among further possible references that Hagner considers are: *1 Clem.* 30. 6 // Rom. 2. 29b; *1 Clem.* 31. 1 // Rom. 6. 1; *1 Clem.* 34. 2 // Rom. 11. 36; cf. 1 Cor. 8. 6; *1 Clem.* 37. 5 // Rom. 12. 4, etc.; *1 Clem.* 47. 7 // Rom. 2. 24; cf. Isa. 52. 5.[91] None of these parallels is decisive evidence of dependence on Romans, but the fact that Clement's use of that letter has already been established securely from other references means that the cumulative force of these parallels should not be underestimated.

The Other Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Letters

Carlyle notes the possibility (class D) that 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy were used, but the textual evidence is very slight indeed.[92] The evidence of the use of Titus is rated slightly higher, with one parallel classified as 'c', but here Carlyle notes that his own judgement, unlike that of the rest of the committee, is that the parallel *1 Clem.* 1. 3 // Titus 2. 4–5 is more likely to reflect independent use of a common source than dependence of one upon the other.[93] A full account of possible references to these texts is offered by Hagner,[94] but the evidence is very sparse.

[89] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 185.

[90] For other intentional changes in *1 Clement*, see Ehrman, Ch. 1 above, at pp. 20, 22–3.

[91] For further references and discussion, see Hagner, *Use*, 217–20.

[92] He notes the following parallels, some of which are unclassed, but considers none sufficiently certain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it (*NTAF*, 51–5): *1 Clem.* 36. 2 // 2 Cor. 3. 18; *1 Clem.* 5. 5–6 // 2 Cor. 11. 23–7; *1 Clem.* 2. 1 // Gal. 3. 1; cf. Deut. 28. 66; *1 Clem.* 5. 2 // Gal. 2. 9; *1 Clem.* 36. 2 // Eph. 4. 18; *1 Clem.* 46. 6 // Eph. 4. 4–6; *1 Clem.* 59. 3 // Eph. 1. 18; *1 Clem.* 3. 4; 21. 1 // Phil. 1. 27; *1 Clem.* 47. 1–2 // Phil. 4. 15; *1 Clem.* 59. 2 // Col. 1. 12–13; cf. Col. 1. 9; Acts 26. 18; 1 Pet. 2. 9; *1 Clem.* 2. 4 // Col. 2. 1; *1 Clem.* 61. 2 // 1 Tim. 1. 17; *1 Clem.* 29. 1 // 1 Tim. 2. 8. For a critique of a recent claim that the author of *1 Clement* used Ephesians, see J. Muddiman, 'The Church in Ephesians, *2 Clement* and *Hermas*', Ch. 6 in companion volume, at p. 108.

[93] *NTAF*, 51. A further possible parallel with Titus is rated d: *1 Clem.* 2. 7; 24. 4 // Titus 3. 1; cf. 2 Tim. 2. 21; 3. 17; 2 Cor. 9. 8.

[94] Hagner, *Use*, 220–37. Cf. Lona, who notes parallels in vocabulary and content between *1 Clement* and the Pastorals, but attributes them to a common background (*Erste Clemensbrief*, 50–1).

Hebrews

Hebrews is the third text that Carlyle finds Clement to have used without any reasonable doubt. He offers one passage in which such dependence is secure, and notes others where it is possible. The principal passage is *1 Clem.* 36. 1–5,[95] which has occasioned much debate. Carlyle suggests that there is 'practically no doubt that in this passage we have a reminiscence of the first chapter of Hebrews'.[96] Yet the pattern of striking parallels and possible allusions, but only limited verbal identity, means that it is difficult to exclude altogether the possibility that Clement and the author of the letter to the Hebrews might each have drawn on a common source or tradition. It may be best to conclude, as Paul Ellingworth demonstrates, that it is possible to affirm both the independence of Clement's thought from that of Hebrews at a number of critical points and also their independent indebtedness to a common tradition at others, yet not to question the general consensus of the literary dependence of *1 Clement* on Hebrews.[97]

The evidence may be set out as follows:

1 Clem. 36. 2–5	Heb. 1	LXX Psalms 103(104), 2 and 109(110).
ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ,	3 *ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς,*	
τοσούτῳ μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν.	4 *τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.*	Ps. 103(104). 4
3 *Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως,*	7 *καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει,*	

[95] *NTAF*, 44–6; Massaux, *Influence*, 53; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 112; Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 52–5, 391–8, esp. 396–8; other studies include P. Ellingworth, 'Hebrews and 1 Clement: Literary Dependence or Common Tradition?', *BZ* 23 (1979), 262–9.

[96] *NTAF*, 46.

[97] Ellingworth, 'Hebrews and 1 Clement', 269. Lona (*Erste Clemensbrief*) denies literary dependence. For a brief but telling critique of his position, see M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (London: SCM, 2000), 285 n. 511.

ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.	*ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα,*	*ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον*
4 *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης, Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε,*	5 *Τίνι γὰρ εἶπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων, Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε,*	Ps. 2. 7–8 *κύριος εἶπεν πρός με Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε,*
αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμου, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.		*αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμου, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς*
	καὶ πάλιν, Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.	Ps. 109(110). 1
5 *Καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.*	13 *πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκέν ποτε, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.*	*Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.*

Further allusions to Hebrews have also been detected at 36. 1–2 (cf. Heb. 9. 8, 10. 20) and elsewhere in the letter. Hagner discusses several more,[98] but those noted by the Oxford Committee are as follows: *1 Clem.* 17. 1 // Heb. 11. 37, 39; *1 Clem.* 17. 5 // Heb. 3. 2; cf. Num. 12. 7; *1 Clem.* 19. 2 // Heb. 12. 1; *1 Clem.* 21. 9 // Heb. 4. 12; *1 Clem.* 27. 1 // Heb. 10. 23, 11. 1; *1 Clem.* 27. 2 // Heb. 6. 18; *1 Clem.* 36. 1, 61. 3, 64 // Heb. 2. 18, 3. 1; *1 Clem.* 43. 1 // Heb. 3. 5; *1 Clem.* 56. 4 // Heb. 12. 6; cf. Prov. 3. 12.[99] None is convincing in itself, but they may have a certain cumulative value, and the very strong likelihood that *1 Clem.* 36. 2–5 depends on Hebrews strengthens the possibility that other parallels also reflect literary dependence. But, as Lindemann observes, even if Clement did use Hebrews 1, this need not mean that he was familiar with the rest of the letter, or that it had a special place at Rome, for he may have known this passage through an intermediary source.[100]

[98] Hagner, *Use*, 182–95. [99] *NTAF*, 46–8. [100] Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 122, 18–20.

OTHER LETTERS AND THE APOCALYPSE

Carlyle and the Oxford Committee found no evidence for classifying higher than 'd' any potential allusions to either non-Pauline letters[101] or the Apocalypse.[102] Hagner provides an extensive discussion of a range of parallels,[103] but none is sufficient to demonstrate that *1 Clement* may have depended on any of these texts.

CONCLUSION: *1 CLEMENT* AND THE WRITINGS THAT LATER FORMED THE NEW TESTAMENT

It seems certain on the basis of the internal evidence of his letter that the author of *1 Clement* used 1 Corinthians, and very likely indeed that he used Romans and Hebrews. He appears also to have drawn on Jesus traditions, but not in the form preserved in the synoptic gospels. Beyond this, no firm conclusions may be drawn on the basis of evidence from the text of *1 Clement*.

Yet to draw this conclusion is not to imply that the question as to which of the writings later included in the New Testament may have been available to the author of *1 Clement*, writing in Rome towards the end of the first century

[101] The potential parallels that he notes, some of which are unclassed, are (*NTAF*, 55–8): *1 Clem.* 29. 1 // 1 Tim. 2. 8; *1 Clem.* 7. 2, 4 // 1 Pet. 1. 18–19; *1 Clem.* 30. 1–2 // 1 Pet. 2. 1; 5. 5; cf. Jas. 4. 6; Prov. 3. 34; *1 Clem.* 49. 5 // 1 Pet. 4. 3; cf. Jas. 5. 20; Prov. 10. 12; *1 Clem.* 49. 2 // 1 Pet. 2. 9; cf. Col. 1. 12–13; *1 Clem.* sal. // 1 Pet. 1. 1–2; *1 Clem.* 2. 2 // 1 Pet. 4. 19; *1 Clem.* 2. 4 // 1 Pet. 2. 17; 5. 9; *1 Clem.* 49. 5; 50. 3 // 1 John 4. 18. The most striking are those with 1 Peter. John H. Elliott (*1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 37B (New York: Doubleday, 2000) supplies a full list of parallels, on the basis of which he claims that '1 Clement is in all probability the first writing attesting the existence and influence of 1 Peter'. But, as Elliott concedes, this claim rests only on 'numerous lexical and thematic affinities' (*1 Peter*, 138–40; quotation on p. 138). Many of these, it may be noted, are no more than single words. For an effective rebuttal of Elliott's claims, see E. Norelli, 'Au sujet de la première reception de 1 Pierre: Trois exemples', in J. Schlosser (ed.), *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition*, BETL 176 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 327–66, on pp. 328–34.

[102] The only parallel noted is *1 Clem.* 34. 3 // Rev. 22. 12; cf. Isa. 40. 10; 62. 11; Prov. 24. 12. The committee remarks on the 'noticeable' combination of phrases from Isaiah and Proverbs found in both *1 Clement* and Revelation, but observes that this 'may perhaps be accounted for by the hypothesis that it may have been made in some earlier apocalyptic work', and refers to *Barn.* 21. 3 (*NTAF*, 58).

[103] Hagner, *Use*, 238–71. As was the case in his summary of the evidence for Paul's letters, his final summary here (p. 271) appears to claim rather more than might be expected on the basis of his careful, detailed and patient discussions. Cf. Lona (*Erste Clemensbrief*, 56–7), who notes parallels with 1 Peter and with James, but attributes them to a common background.

or the beginning of the second,[104] is now closed. The internal evidence of *1 Clement* is an indispensable guide to the minimum number of such texts that its author may be shown to have used, but other avenues may also be explored. It would be foolish to preclude the possibility that new understandings of external evidence that is already extant, or even the discovery of new manuscripts, may offer good reason to believe that it is probable that this author may have *known* other texts even if that knowledge leaves no trace of their *use* in his letter. His extant literary *œuvre*, we should remember, consists of no more than a single occasional letter. Such possibilities may be illustrated by reference to recent discussion about the origins of Mark, of a collection of synoptic gospels, and of the Pauline corpus.

Were it possible to demonstrate that Mark was written in Rome, as early traditions claim,[105] then this would strongly suggest that Mark's gospel was known to the author of *1 Clement*. It would be almost impossible to believe that the gospel had dropped out of use in the city by the time that Clement wrote, and that a representative of the Roman church—even a church with such a history of fragmentation as appears to have been the case both before and after, and therefore probably during, the time at which the letter was written[106]—would be unfamiliar with this work. Therefore, such evidence, were it to be found persuasive, might indicate the probability that this author was familiar with Mark. It would remain the case that it is not possible to demonstrate the author's use of Mark from a close reading of his text, but this external evidence would be very suggestive, and an inability to find clear textual evidence of quotations from or allusions to Mark is hardly an anomaly in early Christian literature from the period before Irenaeus.[107] Unfortunately, there is little agreement on the question of where Mark was written,[108] and no clear signs that a consensus in favour of Rome will emerge.

[104] I have raised questions about its traditional date elsewhere. See A. Gregory, 'Disturbing Trajectories: *1 Clement*, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the Development of Early Roman Christianity', in P. Oakes (ed.), *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), 142–66, on pp. 144–9. Note also the important study by L. L. Welborn, 'On the Date of 1 Clement', *BR* 24 (1984), 34–54; repr. as 'The Preface to 1 Clement: The Rhetorical Situation and the Traditional Date', in C. Breytenbach and L. L. Welborn (eds.), *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement*, AGAJU 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 197–216.

[105] On the second-century evidence, see C. C. Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 77–191.

[106] See P. Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 359–65.

[107] Exceptions might be made for other evangelists (canonical or otherwise), but otherwise the earliest clear allusion to Mark in a later author may be Justin Martyr's reference in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, 106, to James and John as the Sons of Thunder. This term, which Justin appears to ascribe to Peter's *Memoirs* (ἀπομνημονευματα) is extant in surviving gospel tradition only at Mark 3. 17.

[108] For cautious and balanced assessments of the evidence, see the discussions of Raymond Brown in R. E. Brown and J. P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic*

Just as obscure is the question of when the synoptic gospels were first collected together, with or without the presence of John.[109] Martin Hengel's conjecture that the author of *1 Clement* may have had access to all three synoptics in a book-cupboard in Rome may not be excluded from consideration,[110] but there is little evidence to support it. Even if Justin Martyr, writing in Rome perhaps fifty years later, knew all three synoptic gospels, great problems remain in establishing if this is likely to have been the case at the time of *1 Clement*.

Such difficulties in drawing trajectories back from the middle to the beginning of the second century or to the end of the first are no less apparent in continuing debates about the formation of the Pauline corpus.[111] Our earliest manuscript evidence for a Pauline corpus is P^{46}, but it is difficult to know when such collections became established, or when individual letters ceased to circulate on their own. The probability that such a collection existed before Marcion seems increasingly to be accepted,[112] and there seems no doubt that one was in place by no later than mid-second century.[113] The suggestion that either Paul himself or one of his close followers initiated such a collection may favour a date in the late first century,[114] perhaps before the composition of *1 Clement*.[115] If it were possible to argue that Paul's letters

Christianity (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), 191–201; J. R. Donahue, 'The Quest for the Community of Mark's Gospel', in F. Van Segbroeck *et al.* (eds.), *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, BETL 100 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), ii. 817–38; C. C. Black, 'Was Mark a Roman Gospel?', *ExpTim* 105 (1994–5), 36–40. Donahue subsequently advocated a Roman origin: *idem*, 'Windows and Mirrors: The Setting of Mark's Gospel', *CBQ* 57 (1995), 1–26. Another recent advocate of a new variant of this hypothesis is Brian J. Incigneri (*The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel*, Biblical Interpretation Series, 65 (Leiden: Brill, 2003)), who claims that it was written in the autumn of 71 after Titus had returned there from Jerusalem. For a Syrian provenance, and a critique of the Rome hypothesis, see J. Marcus, 'The Jewish War and the Sitz im Leben of Mark', *JBL* 111 (1992), 441–2; *idem*, *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 30–7.

[109] For recent discussion and further bibliography, G. N. Stanton, 'The Fourfold Gospel', *NTS* 43 (1997) 317–46, on 341–6; repr. (with minor revisions) in *idem*, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Hengel, *Four Gospels*.

[110] Hengel, *Four Gospels*, 116–30, esp. 128–30.

[111] For a recent survey and further bibliography, S. E. Porter, 'When and How was the Pauline Canon Compiled? An Assessment of Theories', in *idem* (ed.), *The Pauline Canon*, Pauline Studies, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 95–127.

[112] J. J. Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Canon Attested by Marcion*, CBQMS 21 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 1–6; U. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der Marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe*, ANTF 25 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 310–11.

[113] Porter, 'When and How', 96–7, with supporting bibliography.

[114] Ibid. 109–13, 122–7.

[115] As Zahn (*Geschichte des neuetestamentliche Kanons*, i. 835) had argued, but on the basis of a theory of a gradual collection of Paul's letters. See Porter, 'When and How', 99–100, to which I owe this reference.

came to be transmitted mainly in a collection, rather than as individual writings, this might suggest that knowledge and use of even one letter in a later text could mean that its author had access to them all; but this argument is difficult to apply at an early date, when different churches may not yet have obtained such collections.[116] Thus the author of *1 Clement* may have known each of the letters that he appears to cite quite apart from such a collection: Romans, because it was written to the city where he lived; Hebrews, because of its association with Rome (although there is an element of circularity in this case), and 1 Corinthians because—as *1 Clement* shows—there were ongoing relationships between the churches in the imperial capital and in one of its major colonies. If so, questions might be asked as to whether Rome was likely to have had a copy of Paul's other correspondence with Corinth; but there is no need to assume—or to deny, though the hypothesis is unnecessary—that there was yet a larger collection of Pauline letters in its possession.[117]

As each of these three examples shows, internal evidence is not the only criterion on which to decide which of the writings later included in the New Testament may have been known to, and used by, the author of a text such as *1 Clement*. Yet the difficulties in assessing these wider questions and the meagre data available are themselves powerful reminders of the value of minimal but assured results such as those that can be achieved on the basis of methodologically rigorous close readings of particular texts such as are exemplified in the main part of this discussion of *1 Clement*. Both approaches have their place. Wider discussions notwithstanding, it seems certain on the basis of the internal evidence of his letter that the author of *1 Clement* used 1 Corinthians, and very likely indeed that he used Romans and Hebrews. He appears also to have drawn on Jesus traditions, but not in the form preserved in the synoptic gospels. Thus there are no substantial amendments to be made to the conclusions presented by Carlyle and the other members of the Oxford Committee in 1905.

[116] *Pace* Porter, 'When and How', 96.

[117] As C. F. D. Moule observes (*The Birth of the New Testament*, 3rd edn. (London: A. & C. Black, 1966), 260, a reference that I owe to Porter, 'When and How', 109): *1 Clement* shows some knowledge of Pauline letters, yet, 'even so, evidence for the knowledge of one or two Pauline Epistles is not evidence for the existence of a collection, a *corpus*'.

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7

The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

Paul Foster

INTRODUCTION

Discussion concerning the use of the various writings that now comprise the New Testament by Ignatius of Antioch has been overburdened with both theological and historical freight. Theologically, both the advocacy of a monarchical episcopacy[1] and many of the heightened christological claims made by Ignatius have impinged on decisions concerning the date and authenticity of these epistles. Historically, much has been made of Ignatius' location in Antioch,[2] and apparent links with Paul or the writer of the first gospel.[3] An issue that spans both theological and historical questions is the development of the NT canon, and the use by Ignatius of certain writings that were to become part of that grouping in order to establish some notion of a 'proto-canon' among 'orthodox' or 'proto-orthodox' Christians.[4]

[1] Lietzmann drew the conclusion that 'In Ignatius we already find that the monarchical episcopate is an accomplished fact and is applicable to both Syria and Western Asia Minor' (H. Lietzmann, *A History of the Early Church*, trans. B. L. Woolf (London: Lutterworth, 1961), i. 248. See also F. A. Sullivan, *From Apostles to Bishops: The Development of the Episcopacy in the Early Church* (New York/Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press, 2001), 103–25.

[2] For the argument of a discernible trajectory at Antioch from Peter to Matthew and on to Ignatius, see J. P. Meier, 'Part One: Antioch', in R. E. Brown and J. P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), 11–86.

[3] See W. R. Schoedel, 'Ignatius and the Reception of Matthew in Antioch', in D. L. Balch (ed.), *Social History of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 129–77.

[4] The terms 'orthodox' and 'proto-orthodox' are placed in inverted commas to acknowledge that in the first half of the second century they are anachronistic and are an artificial attempt to portray the theological positions of later Nicene and Chalcedonian formulations of Christianity as ancient truths from which schismatics and heretics deviated. Bauer's corrective to this line of thinking still needs to be heard (W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, BHT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1934; 2nd edn. 1964; Eng. trans. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1971;

This study seeks to distance itself from such theological and historical questions and to investigate the literary relationship between the seven epistles of Ignatius contained in the so-called middle recension and the body of writings that only later became known as the NT. Obviously, in broad terms the historical question is not irrelevant. The later one dates the Ignatian epistles, the more likely it becomes that the author knew the gospels, epistles, and other writings of the NT, although knowledge alone does not equate to use. Moreover, if the Ignatian epistles pre-date certain writings in the NT, then dependence on those writings is excluded.[5] Since, however, there is no uniform consensus concerning the date of either the NT documents or the Ignatian epistles, it is necessary to compare each of the parallels under consideration on a case-by-case basis, and then to see if a literary relationship can be established. Furthermore, it will need to be established whether a direction of dependence can be established. This will perhaps be easiest for material that is paralleled in the genuine Pauline epistles, since an extremely strong case can be made for the latter's priority. The other epistles contained in the NT are much harder to date, and thus complicate the issue of the direction of dependence. The synoptic gospel material throws up the added complication of having to determine which account may be the basis of the parallel, or even the possibility that the tradition is drawn from a pre-gospel source.

THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

When W. R. Inge undertook a similar task to this present study 100 years ago, he discussed 104 examples that showed varying degrees of affinity between the epistles of Ignatius and the text of the NT documents.[6] The decision taken

London: SCM, 1972)). Orthodoxy was not necessarily the original form of Christianity, from which heresy always deviated subsequently. Often two competing theological understandings developed together, with one finally supplanting the other, and with the successful form being deemed 'orthodox'.

[5] Of course, even these apparently self-evident statements need to be qualified. First, it is possible that a tradition that is earlier than both the Ignatian epistles and a later NT writing was independently incorporated by both. Thus, if a parallel were to exist between 2 Peter and Ignatius (which, incidentally, does not appear to be the case), and since many scholars date the writing of 2 Peter later than the composition of the Ignatian letters, it might be the case that an independent tradition stood behind both documents, rather than implying that 2 Peter was dependent on Ignatius. In this hypothetical case the epistle of Jude could be potentially the source of a parallel. Second, one needs to take seriously the possibility of textual interpolations in the Ignatian corpus. None of our manuscript evidence for the middle recension is particularly early; hence later scribes could have introduced the scriptural citations or, perhaps more likely, made what appear to be partial allusions conform more explicitly to texts that were later canonized by their faith communities.

[6] W. R. Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 61–83.

here to deal with far fewer readings is not due to the limitation of space, but rather reflects the fact that most of the parallels in 'class d' leave one bemused and pondering at what point the parallel actually occurs, and perhaps only modern scholars armed with critical tools such as a concordance and lexicon are able to find what was never seen by original or subsequent readers, nor ever intended by the author! Similarly, many of the parallels that form 'c-type' readings are very slight allusions to the NT text in question. There may exist either a couple of shared words, although not in the same syntactical order, or a conceptual similarity, but using differing terms. Perhaps such strictures may at first appear too harsh. If, however, the objective of this study is to be accomplished—namely, identifying which NT documents Ignatius made use of in his correspondence and which parts of the NT he quotes—then a harder line is necessary than that employed by Inge. In effect, this removes the nebulous category of 'allusion' altogether, but perhaps this is no bad thing, since one person's allusion often appears to be another's authorial creativity.[7]

It also needs to be noted that Ignatius does not maintain high levels of accuracy when he appears to be quoting earlier literary sources. This is neither an indictment of Ignatius, nor a suggestion that certain NT writings had not necessarily become fixed in form. Rather, this caveat is intended as a reminder of the historical circumstances surrounding the composition of the Ignatian epistles. It is highly unlikely that Ignatius had access to the texts he cited while being taken to Rome. One can then only be impressed at the number of scriptural quotations he makes, and draw from this the conclusion that many of the texts he cites had been deemed authoritative enough to be committed to memory. Although Inge does not comment on the circumstances surrounding the composition of the letters, he does comment on the memorization of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians by Ignatius.

> Ignatius must have known this epistle almost by heart. Although there are no *quotations* (in the strict sense, with mention of the source), echoes of its language and thought pervade the whole of his writings in such a manner as to leave no doubt that he was acquainted with the First Epistle to the Corinthians.[8]

Thus, Ignatius should not be deemed deficient when it comes to the levels of accuracy of citation; nor should this be seen as providing insight into the 'status' of the NT writings for Ignatius. Rather, inaccuracy of references is due to the pragmatic factors surrounding the composition of his epistles.

[7] Cf. the debate between C. M. Tuckett, 'Paul, Scripture and Ethics: Some Reflections', *NTS* 46 (2000), 403–24, and R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[8] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 67.

In this study parallels will be treated broadly in the same order as was set out by the contributors to the original volume. This means that the books of the NT are arranged into three classes A to C, indicating descending order of probability.[9] Within each of those classes the books are arranged in canonical order, except that, as in the original study, 'the Gospels are reserved for a section by themselves after the other writings'.[10] This was an eminently sensible decision, since the problems surrounding the gospels are different from those concerning other NT documents. This is due to the fact that it may not be possible to determine which gospel is being utilized in a triple or double tradition passage, or in fact if an underlying oral or written source is being incorporated. These problems could in theory arise with the epistles, such as the parallel material between Jude and 2 Peter, or if a no longer extant source lies behind the epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians.[11]

ANALYSIS OF THE PARALLELS

In citing passages from the documents that were to form part of the NT, Ignatius does not use introductory formulae as markers of quotations. This is in contrast to one citation from the OT that is prefaced with *γέγραπται γάρ*.[12]

Ign. *Eph.* 5. 3	Prov. 3. 34, LXX
γέγραπται γάρ· Ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται	*Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται*

One should, however, be cautious about concluding too much from this single example, such as Ignatius having different attitudes to the OT as Scripture in comparison with the writings that were later canonized as the NT. First, apart from the obvious deviation in word order, it needs to be noted that Prov. 3. 34 is quoted in the extant Christian sources prior to Ignatius on

[9] As discussed earlier, class D seems to be of little value for determining which parts of the NT were used by the various Apostolic Fathers.

[10] *NTAF*, p. iv.

[11] The theory of a common source lying behind Ephesians and Colossians was first suggested by H. J. Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe auf Grund einer Analyse ihres Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses* (Leipzig: Englemann, 1872). More recently, J. Muddiman, *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, BNTC (London and New York: Continuum, 2001) has argued that Ephesians is an expansion and redirection to Ephesus of Paul's letter to Laodiceans, which was similar to the (largely) genuine Colossians. Muddiman offers a reconstruction of Laodiceans in Appendix B (pp. 302–5) of his commentary. If his theory is correct, it would also problematize the discussion of the citation of Ephesians and Colossians by later writers, since such writers might still have had access to the no longer extant epistle to the Laodiceans.

[12] See Inge, 'Ignatius', example 1, *NTAF*, 63 and example 76, *NTAF*, 76.

at least three occasions. The references are Jas. 4. 6; 1 Pet. 5. 5; *1 Clem.* 30. 2. Inge correctly notes that, 'In all alike *Θεός* or *ὁ Θεός* takes the place of the *Κύριος* of the LXX; but Ignatius alone puts *ὑπερηφάνοις* first in the sentence.'[13] He does not explicitly state any conclusion from these data. One may, however, advance the idea that not only is it impossible to determine the specific source for the reference that Ignatius makes, but the fact that all three quotations of Prov. 3. 34 use *Θεός* or *ὁ Θεός* instead of *Κύριος* may well suggest that this proverbial saying had wide currency, at least among early Christians, without direct dependence on any literary text. Thus the *γέγραπται γάρ* may well denote a gnomic saying with wide circulation, rather than communicating anything about the authority of the OT.

Ignatius does refer to one figure and his literary corpus explicitly in his correspondence. In *Eph.* 12. 2 he exhorts the Ephesians to whom he writes to be imitators of Paul, and then he makes the following descriptive statement about the apostle's references to the Ephesians in his epistles: *Παύλου συμμύσται . . . ὅς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. The majority of commentators, if they have discussed the issue at all, have taken the statement that Paul remembers the Ephesians in every letter as mere 'hyperbole'.[14] Schoedel states that 'the whole passage is highly idealized and tends to make sweeping claims on the basis of a few instances'.[15] Similarly, Lightfoot mentions the various hermeneutical devices that have been attempted to remove the apparent difficulty, including the alteration by the person responsible for the longer recension, *ὅς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν*. Yet Lightfoot himself uses the term 'hyperbole' to describe Ignatius' claim.[16] The tension arises because Paul does not in fact mention the Ephesians 'in every letter', but refers to them in only four of the epistles that form the Pauline corpus.[17] These are 1 Corinthians,[18] Ephesians,[19]

[13] Ibid., example 76, *NTAF*, 76.

[14] W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 73 n. 7.

[15] Ibid. 73.

[16] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: Part 2, Ignatius and Polycarp* (London: Macmillan, 1889–90; repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1989), 65–6.

[17] Lightfoot sees references to the Ephesians contained also in Rom. 16. 5: *ἀσπάσασθε Ἐπαίνετον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου, ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς Χριστόν* and 2 Cor. 1. 8: *Οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*. These references to 'Asia' are obviously not explicitly mentioning the Ephesians, although, as Rev. 1–3 makes clear, Ephesus was undoubtedly considered part of the Roman province of Asia by Christian writers.

[18] In 1 Corinthians Ephesus is mentioned twice towards the end of the epistle: at 15. 32, where Paul mentions fighting with wild beasts; and at 16. 8, as a disclosure of the plan to remain in Ephesus until Pentecost.

[19] In Ephesians, Ephesus in mentioned in the majority of manuscripts in the opening verse, *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*; significantly, however, the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* are omitted in the

1 Timothy,[20] and 2 Timothy.[21] What has not been considered is that Ignatius might be correct in reporting the facts as he knows them: that is, that all of the Pauline epistles of which he had first-hand knowledge did in fact explicitly name the Ephesians or the city of Ephesus. This does not necessarily imply that he was referring to all four epistles mentioned above, but perhaps a subset of those epistles constituted his personal acquaintance with the writings of Paul. To test this hypothesis, it is necessary to look at the parallels that exist between the Ignatian epistles and the Pauline corpus.

Epistles and Acts

Category A: No Reasonable Doubt Concerning Knowledge of the Document

1 Corinthians

Texts of Type b: A High Level of Correspondence, But not Exact Quotation

Ign. *Eph.* 16. 1	1 Cor. 6. 9–10
μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μου. οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν·	*Ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἄδικοι θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν; μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε εἰδωλολάτραι οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται[10] οὔτε κλέπται οὔτε πλεονέκται, οὐ μέθυσοι, οὐ λοίδοροι, οὐχ ἅρπαγες βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν.*

Here it can be seen that Ignatius' form has six words in common with 1 Cor. 6. 9a. The syntactical arrangement differs; the addressees implied by Paul's second person plural verb form *οἴδατε* explicitly become *ἀδελφοί μου* in Ign. *Eph.* 16. 1; and the negatively depicted group in 1 Corinthians, *ἄδικοι*, are labelled by Ignatius as *οἱ οἰκοφθόροι*, with the latter term being a more specific reference to those who corrupt families or households. It may be the case that this last change was introduced to address a specific problem.[22] The

three earliest MSS which are extant for Eph 1. 1: P^{46}, $\aleph^*$, B, although later scribes inserted the reference to Ephesus into both $\aleph^2$ and B^2. Moreover, the *subscriptio* which is included after 6. 24 in many MSS, including the original hand of both ℵ and B describes the epistle as being *πρός Ἐφέσιους*.

[20] 1 Tim. 1. 3, Timothy being urged to remain in Ephesus.

[21] 2 Tim. 1. 18; 4. 12; and some forms of the *subscriptio* that occurs after 4. 22.

[22] It is not clear whether the 'corrupters of homes' who first did 'these things in the flesh' denote acts of adultery (see the discussion in Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 79, esp. n. 2), or whether Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 71) and Bauer (*BDAG*, 3rd edn.: *οἰκοφθόρος*, p. 700) are correct that the term *οἰκοφθόροι* refers to temple-destroyers.

nature of the parallel in Ign. *Eph.* 16. 1 can be described as a text with close thematic and verbal points of correspondence with 1 Cor. 6. 9–10, but not an exact quotation.

Ign. *Eph.* 18. 1	1 Cor. 1. 18, 20
. . . σταυροῦ, ὅ ἐστι σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητῆς; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν;	*ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σῳζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστιν . . .* [20]*ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου;*

The complicating issue here, as Inge points out, is that 1 Cor. 1. 20 is itself a quotation from the OT, of Isa. 33. 18. In this case, however, the reference to the cross in Ign. *Eph.* 18. 1, along with its contrasting significance for 'unbelievers' and the 'us' group, shows that the wider context depicted in 1 Cor. 1. 18 was in the mind of Ignatius. Thus the source of the second half of Ign. *Eph.* 18. 1 is almost certainly the material in 1 Cor. 1 and not that in Isaiah. Moreover, the term *σκάνδαλον* also occurs in the same context in Paul's letter to the Corinthians, *Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον* (1 Cor. 1. 23).[23] Hence, once again, there is an inexact quotation of material from 1 Corinthians, probably reflecting the fact that while being transported in Roman custody Ignatius did not have access to a copy of 1 Corinthians. None the less, he knew its contents well enough to paraphrase the epistle at certain points, at times with quite a high correspondence with its actual vocabulary.[24]

Ign. *Magn.* 10. 2[25]	1 Cor. 5. 7–8
ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐνοξίσασαν καὶ μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.	*ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα, καθώς ἐστε ἄζυμοι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός . . .* [8] *μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας*

It is also important to note that in 1 Cor. 5. 8 Paul adjusts the metaphor slightly as his train of thought progresses, and describes the leaven as *ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας*, which with regard to the first adjective gives a verbal

[23] As Schoedel observes, 'The decisive elements in 18.1 . . . are directly based on 1 Cor 1:19, 20, 23 (with an echo perhaps of Rom 3:27, "where is the boasting?")' (*Ignatius of Antioch*, 84).

[24] Lightfoot's conclusion is essentially the same. Commenting on the second half of Ign. *Eph.* 1. 18, he states: 'An inexact quotation from I Cor. I. 20 *ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*; which words themselves are a free paraphrase of Isaiah xxxiii. 18' (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 74).

[25] Inge cites this text as 'Magn. x. 3' ('Ignatius', *NTAF*, 65), but it is actually 10. 2, as given above.

match to Ignatius' phrase *τὴν κακὴν ζύμην*. Schoedel correctly sees both vv. 7 and 8 as forming the parallel behind Ign. *Magn.* 10. 2 (*contra* Inge); however, Schoedel's reference to Gal. 5. 9, *μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ*, is dubious.[26] Rather, the use of the leaven metaphor in Gal. 5. 9 is due to Paul applying similar language in another context and not a reflection of Ignatius drawing this language from two separate Pauline epistles.[27] This example furnishes further evidence of the pattern identified in the previous quotations. Ignatius presents a loose citation of a passage from 1 Corinthians with strong conceptual and terminological points of contact. There is little doubt that 1 Cor. 5. 7–8 is the source of the image, and the inexact type of quotation is what we would expect from a person using memory to recall passages from source material.

Ign. *Rom.* 5. 1	1 Cor. 4. 4
ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι	*ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι*

A very close parallel exists here, although spanning only five words.[28] Although only two of the words agree exactly, two more are modified only slightly due to the substitution of *παρά* for *ἐν*. This has resulted in the case change of the demonstrative from the dative to the accusative, and since *παρά* commences with a consonant, the longer form of the negative is no longer required. There can be little doubt that Ignatius is drawing, from memory, on the wording of 1 Corinthians.[29]

Texts of Type c: A Slight Level of Correspondence, Some Verbal Similarity

Ign. *Rom.* 9.2	1 Cor. 15. 8–10a
Ἐγὼ γάρ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι, ὢν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα, ἀλλ' ἠλέημαι τις εἶναι, ἐὰν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω	*ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὤφθη κἀμοί.* [9]*Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.* [10]*χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμι ὅ εἰμι*

[26] In fairness it must be said that Schoedel does not state that Gal. 5. 9 is a parallel or source for the imagery employed by Ignatius, but he does list it alongside 1 Cor. 5. 7–8 without any qualification (Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 126).

[27] Lightfoot implies that Gal. 5. 9 has no direct impact on Ignatius' thought at this juncture. He simply notes, 'On the metaphor [leaven] generally see note *Galatians* 5.9' (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 133).

[28] Ibid. 2. 2. 214.

[29] As Schoedel notes, 'Ignatius speaks of his justification in terms that are directly dependent on 1 Cor 4:4 (echoed again in *Tr.* 5:2)' (*Ignatius of Antioch*, 179).

This is the only example of a type-c text that will be discussed as a separate example. The reason for dealing with it explicitly is that Inge classified it as a type-b reading.[30] It is apparent that this parallel shows far less agreement between the two readings in terms of similarity in wording than previous examples. The verbal correspondence between the two texts occurs with the terms ἔσχατος and ἔκτρωμα agreeing apart from required case changes. There also appears to be a conceptual parallel between the clauses ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι and χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμι ὅ εἰμι, although only the verb εἰμι in different forms is shared. Ignatius' intention may be, as Schoedel suggests, to present himself 'in imitation of Paul (1 Cor 15:8–9) [when] he calls himself "last" of them (*Eph.* 21.2; *Tr.* 13.1; *Sm.* 11.1) and a "miscarriage" (a term which he takes in a purely negative sense)'.[31] While the first shared term, ἔσχατος, may suggest some sort of dependence, it should also be noted that it is a favourite of Ignatius, and not only here, but also in the three references listed by Schoedel, occurs in conjunction with words from the ἄξιός semantic group.[32] The term ἔκτρωμα, by contrast, is not as common in the NT, but has wider usage in the LXX,[33] other Greek writers,[34] and even in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea.[35] Despite the term being in common currency, in this instance it is more likely that Ignatius is drawing on Paul's self-deprecating description, although this 'borrowing' from 1 Corinthians is much less than the previous examples listed above.

One could add further examples of type-c texts, where the correspondence is light but, none the less, dependence is not improbable.[36] While these texts lend weight to a cumulative case for Ignatius' use of 1 Corinthians (citing that epistle from memory while *en route* to Rome), the first four examples of type-b texts are probably strong enough to establish with a high degree of probability that Ignatius knew and consciously quoted phrases and concepts from that writing.

30 Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 65.

31 Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 189.

32 Lightfoot notes the repeated use of such constructions by Ignatius (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 89).

33 LXX, Num. 12. 12; Job 3. 16; Eccl. 6. 3.

34 Arist. *Gen. an.* 4, 5, 4 (773b, 18); *P Teb* iii. 800, 30 (142 BC); Philo, *Leg.* 1, 76.

35 Euseb. *HE* 5. 1. 45.

36 The examples listed by Inge for 1 Corinthians are: Ign. *Eph.* 15. 3 // 1 Cor. 3. 16; Ign. *Trall.* 2. 3 // 1 Cor. 4. 1; Ign. *Trall.* 5. 1 // 1 Cor. 3. 1–2; Ign. *Trall.* 12. 3 // 1 Cor. 9. 27; Ign. *Rom.* 4. 3 // 1 Cor. 7. 22; Ign. *Rom.* 6. 1 // 1 Cor. 9. 15; Ign. *Phld.* 4.1 // 1 Cor. 10. 16–17; Ign. *Phld.* 7. 1 // 1 Cor. 2. 10; Ign. *Smyrn.* inscript. // 1 Cor. 1. 7.

Category B: a High Degree of Probability of Knowledge of the Document

Ephesians

The level of correspondence between passages in Ignatius' seven letters and the Pauline epistle to the Ephesians does not match the level of verbal parallels with 1 Corinthians. None the less, the repeated references to imagery and short verbal phrases that occur in the epistle to the Ephesians support the likelihood that Ignatius was intentionally, although perhaps from memory, drawing upon the contents of this epistle. Thus, as Inge suggests, 'Though the correspondences between Ignatius and this Epistle are not nearly so numerous as in the case of 1 Corinthians, it may be considered almost certain that they are not accidental.'[37] In fact, the first example given below, although not having long stretches of exactly corresponding material, has such a concatenation of images and terminology drawn from Eph. 1. 3–14 that any theory other than dependence of the text upon Ephesians would appear to be less likely.

Texts of Type b: A High Level of Correspondence, But not Exact Quotation

Ign. *Eph.* inscript.

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει, Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ προωρισμένῃ πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον ἄτρεπτον, ἡνωμένῃ καὶ ἐκλελεγμένῃ ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.

Eph. 1. 3–14

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ . . . ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ . . .[4] *καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς . . . πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναι ἡμᾶς . . . ἀμώμους . . .*[5] *προορίσας . . . κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος . . .*[7] *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ . . .*[10] *τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν . . .*[11] *προορισθέντες . . . κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ . . . εἰς*[14] *ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.*

The opening makarisms in the two passages share a number of similarities. Throughout there are a number of terms in common (with required changes for case or tense). Terms which are shared or modified from Ephesians include *εὐλογητός*, *θεός*, *πατήρ*, *ἐξελέξατο*, *πρό*, *καταβολῆς*, *ἀμώμους*, *προορίσας*, *θελήματος*, *πληρώματος*. While each of these terms occurs with different frequencies in wider Hellenistic literature, their occurrence in such close proximity in both passages makes literary dependence almost certain. As Lightfoot comments with respect to the opening to the Ignatian epistle, 'This opening contains several obvious reminiscences of Ephes. I. 3 sq. . . . the acquaintance of Ignatius with that epistle [Ephesians] appears from other passages beside this exordium.'[38] This passage may also contain parallels to

[37] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 69.

[38] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 23.

other material in Eph. 1 such as *ἐν μεγέθει* // *τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος* (1. 19) and *πληρώματι* // *τὸ πλήρωμα* (1. 23).[39]

Ign. *Pol.* 5. 1b	Eph. 5. 25
ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους, ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν	*ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*

Not only does this parallel show affinities in terminology between the two passages, but as the wider context in each epistle makes clear, both are addressed to husbands (or 'brothers' in the church), and both occur in the context of a wider household code. The deviations made by Ignatius from the Pauline form are not of great significance in counting against dependence. First, Ignatius does not repeat the verb *ἀγαπάω*; second, he changes *τὰς γυναῖκας* to the synonymous *τὰς συμβίους*; third, he reduces the double conjunction *καθὼς καί* to the simpler form *ὡς*; and fourth, he changes the christological title from *Χριστός* to *Κύριος*. Again, all these alterations should be attributed to the process of citing Eph. 5. 25 from memory. Lightfoot, unnecessarily, reduces the length of the quotation to the five words *ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*.[40] The preceding three words should also be included, however, since the same verb introduces the object of both clauses, which in turn consist of the accusative plural definite article with the chief deviation being in the use of different terms to denote the spouses of the husbands.[41]

Further parallels of a c-type text could be given for the epistles of Ignatius and the Pauline letter to the Ephesians. These would include Ign. *Eph.* 20. 1 // Eph. 2. 15 and 4. 24; Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 // Eph. 2. 16; Ign. *Pol.* 1. 2 // Eph. 4. 2.[42] The case for Ignatius' knowledge of Ephesians is compelling, and in many ways perhaps could have been placed in category A. The reason for this reluctance to do so is based not so much on any uncertainty about the use of Ephesians by Ignatius, but more on a desire to mark the qualitative distinction between the knowledge of Ephesians and the overwhelming use of 1 Corinthians demonstrated by Ignatius. To place Ephesians and 1 Corinthians in the same category might give rise to the misleading assumption that they are used to the same degree by Ignatius. Perhaps it would be better to designate 1 Corinthians as A* and Ephesians as A, for there can be little doubt that both were well known to Ignatius, and that he could cite large portions of each letter from memory.

[39] See Schoedel for a helpful table illustrating the similarities with Eph. 1. 3–23. He comments: 'The address to the Ephesian church contains a series of theses reminiscent of the opening of Ephesians in the NT (1:3–23)' (*Ignatius of Antioch*, 37).

[40] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 348.

[41] Lightfoot incorrectly gives the parallel as Eph. 5. 29 instead of 5. 25 (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 348).

[42] See Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 68, for a synoptic display of these parallels.

Inge places the other Pauline epistles[43] in either category C or D. Of those he lists in category C he gives four examples of possible allusions to Romans (three of text type c, one of d);[44] three for 2 Corinthians (all type d);[45] five for Galatians (one c, four d);[46] four for Philippians (two c, two d);[47] four for 1 Timothy, although the first text is alluded to in three places, so this is perhaps better enumerated as six allusions (in which case there are four of type c, two of type d);[48] five examples for 2 Timothy, although again the first text is alluded to in two Ignatian passages (in which case three of type c, three of type d);[49] and two for Titus (one of c, one of d).[50] The remaining Pauline epistles are placed in category D, all with d-type texts.[51] It should be noted that Inge is hesitant about classifying the allusions to the two epistles to Timothy as low as category C. He states: 'The reminiscences of 2 Timothy, as of 1 Timothy, are tolerably clear. Both Epistles are nearly in Class B.'[52] Moreover, in regard to the three passages (Ign. *Eph.* 14. 1, 20. 1; *Magn.* 8. 1) that are seen as having resemblance to 1 Tim. 1. 3–5, Inge notes,

If these three passages are compared with the opening sentences of 1 Timothy, it will be seen that the resemblance is very close, and that it lies in words and expressions which are not commonplaces. (See, however, Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 8. 3–5, for a list of virtues beginning with and ending with ἀγάπη.) It is also clear that, if literary dependence be admitted, it is on the side of Ignatius.[53]

Looking at the type-c parallels in Inge's list for both 1 and 2 Timothy, it appears that he was being over cautious in not classing these letters as

[43] Here the term 'Pauline epistle' does not prejudge the question of authorship. Rather, it is used to refer to the body of thirteen epistles traditionally attributed to Paul (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., Titus, Philem.) but not to the epistle to the Hebrews.

[44] Type c: Ign. *Eph.* 8. 2 // Rom. 8. 5, 8; Ign. *Eph.* 19. 3 // Rom. 6. 4; Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 // Rom. 1. 3, 4. Type d: Ign. *Eph.* inscript. // Rom. 15. 29.

[45] Type d: Ign. *Eph.* 15. 3 // 2 Cor. 6. 16; Ign. *Trall.* 9. 2 // 2 Cor. 4. 14; Ign. *Phld.* 6. 3 // 2 Cor. 1. 12; 11. 9; 12. 16.

[46] Type c: Ign. *Phld.* 1. 1 // Gal. 1. 1. Type d: Ign. *Eph.* 16. 1 // Gal. 5. 21; Ign. *Eph.* 18. 1 // Gal. 5. 11; Ign. *Trall.* 10. 1 // Gal. 2. 21; Ign. *Rom.* 7. 2 // Gal. 6. 14.

[47] Type c: Ign. *Smyrn.* 4. 2 // Phil. 4. 13; Ign. *Smyrn.* 11. 3 // Phil. 3. 15. Type d: Ign. *Rom.* 2 and 4 // Phil. 2. 17; Ign. *Phld.* 1. 1, 8. 2 // Phil. 2. 3, 5.

[48] Type c: Ign. *Eph.* 14. 1; 20. 1; Ign. *Magn.* 8. 1 // 1 Tim. 1. 3–5; Ign. *Pol.* 4. 3 // 1 Tim. 6. 2. Type d: Ign. *Rom.* 9. 2 // 1 Tim. 1. 13; Ign. *Smyrn.* 4. 2 // 1 Tim. 1. 12.

[49] Type c: Ign. *Eph.* 2.1; Ign. *Smyrn.* 10. 2 // 2 Tim. 1. 16; Ign. *Pol.* 6. 2 // 2 Tim. 2. 3. Type d: Ign. *Eph.* 17. 1 // 2 Tim. 3. 6; Ign. *Trall.* 7. 2 // 2 Tim. 1. 3; Ign. *Rom.* 2. 2 // 2 Tim. 4. 6.

[50] Type c: Ign. *Magn.* 8. 1 // Titus 1. 14; 3. 9. Type d: Ign. *Pol.* 6. 1 // Titus 1. 7.

[51] For Colossians there are seven very questionable allusions; two for 1 Thessalonians; one for 2 Thessalonians; and, one for Philemon. See Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 74.

[52] Ibid. 73.

[53] Ibid. 72.

category B, for they are closer to Ignatius' use of Ephesians than to the faint allusions listed for the other epistles in categories C and D.

Ign. *Eph.* 14. 1; 20. 1; Ign. *Magn.* 8. 1	1 Tim. 1. 3–5
a. *ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη.*	*Καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε προσμεῖναι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἵνα*
b. *προσδηλώσω ὑμῖν ἧς ἠρξάμην οἰκονομίας . . .*	*παραγγείλῃς τισὶν μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν* [4]*μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσιν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκονομίαν*
c. *μὴ πλανᾶσσθη ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύνασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάραν μὴ εἰληφέναι.*	*θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει.* [5]*τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου,*

The combination of numerous verbal similarities and lines of thought makes verbal dependence highly likely. In relation to Ign. *Eph.* 14. 1 Schoedel notes, 'A verbal parallel to part of the statement is provided in 1 Tim 1:5, "the end of our instruction is love" .'[54] Also discussing the term *ἑτεροδοξίαι* that occurs in Ign. *Magn.* 8. 1 he states, 'Such false views are characterized by Ignatius in language reminiscent of the Pastoral Epistles: they are "fables" that are "useless" (cf. 1 Tim 1:4; 4:7; Tit 1:14).'[55] Similar levels of correspondence could be noted for Inge's other type-c parallels from 1 and 2 Timothy. Hence it appears that these two epistles should be classed as Category B texts, demonstrating a high likelihood of literary dependence. The question remains as to the direction of that dependence. This is not as easily resolved as may at first appear to be the case. The dating of the Pastorals is notoriously difficult.[56] Arguments about the more primitive and complex forms of parallels are often easily reversed,[57] and discussions about theological developments fail to

[54] Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 76.

[55] Ibid. 118.

[56] The dating of the Pastorals is of course related to the question of authorship. For those who think that they are genuine epistles of the apostle Paul, dates in the 60s are usually suggested. Alternatively, for those who see them as products of a 'Pauline school', a date around the end of the first century or the beginning of the second is quite a common suggestion. For an early date see G. W. Knight III, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1992), 53–4; and L. T. Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986), 381–407. For a later date see H. Köster, *Introduction to the New Testament*, ii: *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), 297–308; R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 638–80.

[57] This point has been demonstrated by E. P. Sanders in relation to the synoptic gospels (*The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)).

recognize the pluriform and non-linear evolution of Christianity.[58] The issue cannot be treated in detail here; suffice it to note that the latest period suggested for the composition of the Pastorals, the early second century, overlaps with the traditional date of the martyrdom of Ignatius in the reign of Trajan. The dating of the Ignatian correspondence may not be as secure as is often supposed, and may itself come from a later period.[59] Perhaps all that can be concluded is that the balance of probability is in favour of Ignatius knowing 1 and 2 Timothy, rather than vice versa.[60]

Conclusion Concerning Ignatius' Use of the Pauline Epistles

The foregoing investigation has demonstrated that a reasonably secure determination of which epistles from the Pauline corpus were used by Ignatius identifies only four epistles with relative certainty. The methodology allows for the fact that deviations from the exact wording of the NT epistles are to be expected, due to the circumstances of composition and reliance on memory. Here the findings do not differ vastly from those of Inge, apart from the exclusion of many of the dubious parallels for epistles put in the C and D categories. The four epistles for which a strong case for Ignatius' usage can be supported are, in declining order of likelihood, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy, and 2 Timothy. Interestingly this result also gains support from Ignatius' own comment in Ign. *Eph.* 16. 2 that Paul *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. It is not necessary to agree with Lightfoot or Schoedel and dismiss this comment as hyperbole.[61] Rather, it appears to be an accurate comment in so far as Ignatius knew the Pauline corpus.

[58] For a detailed discussion of these issues see J. D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, 2nd edn. (London: SCM, 1990).

[59] R. M. Hübner, 'Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien', *ZAC* 1 (1997), 44–72. For further bibliography on the debate, see A. Brent, 'The Significance of the Ignatius–Polycarp Relations for the New Testament', ch. 16 in companion volume.

[60] One would be intrigued to know the basis for Inge's unsupported declaration, 'It is also clear that, if literary dependence be admitted, it is on the side of Ignatius' (Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 72).

[61] Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* 73 n. 7, and Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 65–6.

The Use of the Gospel Tradition by Ignatius

Since there is no strong basis for assuming that Ignatius made use of the non-Pauline epistles contained in the NT,[62] or Acts,[63] or Revelation,[64] the focus can now move on to his use of the gospel tradition. The gospels present methodological problems that are not encountered to the same degree in the epistolary literature. These unique problems are due to the parallel material within the gospels and the possibility of pre-gospel sources being the basis for the quotations in the correspondence of Ignatius, and not the gospels themselves.[65]

Matthew

Without doubt Matthew's gospel has attracted the greatest amount of scholarly investigation as a potential source in the writings of Ignatius. Although there have been numerous studies analysing the relationship between this first gospel and the writings of Ignatius, vastly different conclusions have been advanced. Such diversity often, in part, reflects different underlying methodological presuppositions. On the one hand, there are those such as Köster,[66] Smit Sibinga,[67] and Hagner[68] who feel that at no point can it be demonstrated that Ignatius is directly dependent upon Matthew. Bauckham argues that it is possible that Ignatius drew upon special M-material, rather than utilizing the canonical gospel.[69]Alternatively, Massaux[70] finds clear evidence of dependence. Köhler[71]

[62] Inge discusses two d-type allusions each for both Hebrews and 1 Peter. Neither of these is compelling. (See Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 75–6.)

[63] For Acts two weak parallels are discussed (type d). (See Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 73). C. K. Barrett considers three texts from the Ignatian corpus, first the two examples in common with Inge: Ign. *Magn.* 5. 1 // Acts 1. 25; Ign. *Smyrn.* 3. 3 // Acts 10. 41; and additionally Ign. *Phld.* 2. 1 f. // Acts 10. 28, 29. He concludes that '[t]here is no convincing evidence of literary connection' (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, i, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 36).

[64] No possible parallels to Revelation are suggested by Inge.

[65] See the discussion at the end of section 2 and n. 12 for the potential for such problems to surface with the epistles. Here, however, these problems did not materialize.

[66] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 24–61.

[67] J. Smit Sibinga, 'Ignatius and Matthew', *NovT* 8 (1966), 263–83.

[68] D. A. Hagner, 'The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr', in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels*, Gospel Perspectives, 5 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 233–68.

[69] R. Bauckham, 'The Study of Gospel Traditions Outside the Canonical Gospels: Problems and Prospects', in Wenham (ed.), *Jesus Tradition*, 369–403.

[70] É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990), esp. 85–122.

[71] W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987).

offers an intermediate position, but none the less comes down on the side of some knowledge of the first gospel by Ignatius. In her summarizing essay, Trevett[72] notes that although as many as thirty-six allusions have been posited by various scholars, a list of eighteen forms the core of the discussion. Many of those eighteen examples, however, are at best extremely faint allusions. Consequently, only the more widely supported parallels that are seen as displaying Ignatius' dependence on Matthew will be considered here.

This difficulty of determining a writer's dependence on one of the gospel writers, as opposed to one of the other evangelists who has a parallel account, is usually resolved by looking for evidence of redactional material in the later document. This is the principle that guided Köster in his work. He states: 'so hängt die Frage der Benutzung davon ab, ob sich in den angeführten Stücken Redaktionsarbeit eines Evangelisten findet.'[73] This more rigorous approach unfortunately excludes a number of potential parallels, but to include them would only lead to a lack of precision and results that would be indeterminate. While Köster's criterion is undoubtedly an important one, at times he appears to apply it in such an unbending manner that even what appears to be distinctively Matthean redactional work is excluded from discussion because it might in fact originate in a pre-Matthean source, or have come to Ignatius through an intermediate source.[74] Potentially, one of the most significant parallels occurs between Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 and Matt. 3. 15.

Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1	Matt. 3. 15
ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.	*οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.*

The significance of the parallel is not the result solely of the three shared words (although there are differences in the grammatical forms) but of the fact that the attempt by John to hinder Jesus coming for baptism is a Matthean redactional addition, as is the phrase *πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην*. It could be argued that at this point Matthew preserves the Q form more accurately, but a number of factors militate against this suggestion. First, the criterion of embarrassment serves to explain the introduction of this narrative aside, but it is much harder to explain why Luke would delete it if it stood in his Q account. Second, Matthew repeatedly introduces the word *δικαιοσύνη*[75] in Matthean single tradition as well as in other contexts.[76] This parallel appears to

[72] C. Trevett, 'Approaching Matthew from the Second Century: The Under-Used Ignatian Correspondence', *JSNT* 20 (1984), 59–67.

[73] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 3.

[74] See Köster's discussion of Ign. *Smyrn.* 1.1: ibid. 57–9.

[75] See the study on righteousness terminology in Matthew by B. Pryzylbylski, *Righteousness in Matthew*, SNTSMS 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[76] Markan or Q contexts: Matt. 3. 15; 5. 6, 10; 6. 1, 33; 21. 32. Matthean single tradition: Matt. 5. 20.

present an obvious case where a redactional word, δικαιοσύνη, that is favoured by the first evangelist, is taken up in the work of a later Christian writer, and hence demonstrates the dependence of the latter on the former.

Nevertheless, this conclusion is resisted by Köster. He does not doubt that the phrase ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ᾽ αὐτου in Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 is dependent on the parallel in Matt. 3. 15, but he claims, rather, that this Matthean terminology came to Ignatius not directly through his own reading of the first gospel, but instead via a circuitous route. Thus, he argues that the tradition reached Ignatius in a form (probably oral) that, while reflecting its original Matthean context, had none the less been freed from that initial context. Thus for Köster the answer to his own question, 'Hat Ign. also Mt gelesen?'[77] is dealt with by first noting that Ignatius has an interest in traditions pertaining to the baptism of Jesus.[78] From this observation Köster draws the following conclusion that is worth quoting at length.

> Ich möchte eher annehmen, daß Ign. den sich mit Mt. 3,15 berührenden Passus bereits innerhalb der von ihm Sm. 1,1 wiedergegebenen kergymatischen Formal übernahm. Der fragliche Passus wäre dann schon vor Ign. aus Mt. in diese Formal eingedrungen. Auch Sm. 1,1 könnte also die direckte Abhängigkeit des Ign. von Mt. nicht erweisen, setzt aber die Existenz des Mt. Evangeliums indirekt voraus.[79]

Such reasoning carries a number of implications for the whole endeavour of showing literary dependence between two authors. As Gregory notes, 'Koester's weakness may be that his criterion makes it virtually impossible to demonstrate any dependence on a Synoptic Gospel except in passages where the redactional activity of an evangelist may be readily identified.'[80] It may be added that even when redactional phrases are found to be in common, these can also be excluded, because it is possible to theorize other pathways by which such distinctive phraseology of the evangelist might have come to the later writer apart from that of direct literary dependence on one of the four canonical gospels. Specifically in relation to the parallel between Ign. *Smyr.* 1. 1 and Matt. 3. 15, Trevett makes the following observation about Köster's conclusion: 'Ignatius's direct dependence on the Gospel had therefore been excluded, although its existence prior to Ignatius was attested indirectly.'[81] While Köster's suggestion is certainly possible, its plausibility needs to be

[77] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 59.

[78] The only other instance cited by Köster is Ign. *Eph.* 18. 2 (ibid. 59). One may question whether two mentions of the incident of Jesus' baptism constitute 'an interest', in much the same vein as Köster himself would suggest that a couple of redactional phrases from the first gospel do not constitute dependence!

[79] Ibid. 59.

[80] See p. 71 above.

[81] Trevett, 'Approaching Matthew', 61.

assessed. Is it more likely that Ignatius knew and used Matthew's gospel directly, or that a Matthean tradition came to Ignatius through a now unknown indirect avenue? In fairness, neither possibility should be excluded a priori, and perhaps the most helpful way to decide between these two options is to investigate whether there are any other places in his correspondence where Ignatius may have used Matthew's gospel, and thereby to establish a cumulative case for literary dependence.

Before leaving the discussion of this highly significant example, it is worth noting the argument of Smit Sibinga. Apart from the two texts that have been discussed so far, he also notes the passage in the *Gospel of the Ebionites* that aligns with references in Matt. 3. 15 and Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1: ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα (Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 30. 13. 7–8). From this parallel Smit Sibinga suggests that, 'At this point it is Matthew who parts from the common source, not Ignatius or his credal formula'.[82] There are a number of moves here that are highly questionable. First, Smit Sibinga's discussion does not acknowledge that the 'text' of the *Gospel of the Ebionites* is itself a quotation of that document contained in the writings of Epiphanius. Second, he appears to take it for granted that the citation has been preserved accurately. Third, it is taken as axiomatic that *Ebionites* and Matthew share a common source, and the possibility that literary dependence exists between them is not considered. Fourth, the wider context of this text as presented in the *SQE*[83] appears to suggest that the passage from the *Panarion* is a composite of numerous gospel traditions concerning the baptism of Jesus. Fifth, his inference that 'the wording in Ignatius which uses the passive voice of πληροῦν is less likely to be secondary than that in Matthew, who employs the active voice', is not compelling. It is based on the notion that the common use of passive forms, but not identical forms, of πληροῦν places Ignatius and *Ebionites* in closer literary relationship than that between Ignatius and Matthew. Sixth, and finally, he does not give due weight to the fact that Ignatius and Matthew share the term δικαιοσύνη against *Ebionites.* The combination of these unresolved issues undermines the argument of a primitive credal affirmation that is better preserved by *Ebionites* and Ignatius than by Matthew, along with the consequent inference that Ignatius depends on this credal source. Köster's position is far stronger, for he at least acknowledges that the presence of Matthean redactional language in Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 means that Matthew stands behind Ignatius, even if it be at several stages removed.

[82] Smit Sibinga, 'Ignatius and Matthew', 277.

[83] K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 15th edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985), 27.

Ign. *Trall.* 11. 1 and Ign. *Phld.* 3. 1	Matt. 15. 13
οὗτοι γὰρ οὔκ εἰσιν φυτεία πατρός.	*ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται.*
ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἅστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτους φυτεὶαν πατρός.	

These two passages from the Ignatian corpus appear to echo Matt. 15. 13, a saying without any parallel in the canonical gospel tradition. Here, then, is a second potential case where Matthew's redactional work may have been used by Ignatius, thus showing dependence on the first gospel, rather than upon the synoptic tradition in general. Inge presents this parallel without any explanation or qualification, as a type-b level of text agreement.[84] The similarity between Matt. 15. 13 and Ign. *Trall.* 11. 1 is limited to two shared words (*φυτεία* and *πατήρ*) and a negative clause. These are precisely the same formal correspondences that Ign. *Phld.* 3. 1 shares with Matt. 15. 13, although it is a very different gnomic saying from that contained in Ign. *Trall.* 11. 1. While Matt. 15. 13 is unique among the canonical accounts to the first gospel, and hence might be classed as Matthean redactional work, it is of a different type from Matt. 3. 15. There *πληρῶσαι* and *δικαιοσύνην* were favourite Matthean vocabulary, while *φυτεία* and *πατρός* are not distinctively characteristic of the first evangelist. Moreover, Matt. 3. 15, when incorporated into Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1, still carries the same narrative setting, the baptism of Jesus, whereas Matt. 15. 13 represents a free-floating saying or redactional creation, inserted into a Markan context which is not reflected in either Ign. *Trall.* 11. 1 or Ign. *Phld.* 3. 1. Instead, the three passages all speak of plants that do not belong to the Father. It is quite plausible that this metaphor could have circulated in the oral tradition among the early Christian movement down to the time of Ignatius. Here it appears that Köster's explanation is the most plausible: 'Vielleicht stammt auch die Metaphor Mt. 15, 13 aus dem gnostischen Raum. Doch das ist unsicher; die etwa zugrunde liegende mythologische Vorstellung tritt jedenfalls bei Mt. bei weitem nicht mehr so lebendig zu Tage wie bei Ign.'[85] It needs to be noted that this reasoning stands in opposition to Massaux and Köhler[86] who find in this example strong evidence of dependence upon the first gospel. The former states, 'Together with most commentators, I believe this text is a reflection of and exhibits a literary dependence on Mt. 15:13 . . . Of the evangelists only Mt. recalls this saying of Christ.'[87] While the gospel saying is unique to Matthew, Massaux fails to persuade his readers that the two words constitute a strong case for

[84] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 76. [85] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 38.
[86] Köhler, *Rezeption*, 80. [87] Massaux, *Influence*, 88.

dependence, rather than the possibility that oral tradition, or perhaps even that non-canonical gospel sources, account for this parallel. Thus it appears best to conclude that the case for literary dependence cannot be established on the basis of this parallel, and that oral tradition or the phrase being part of early Christian homiletics is at least as likely an explanation for it surfacing in the writings of Ignatius.

Ign. *Pol.* 2. 2	Matt. 10. 16b
φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰς ἀεί ὡς ἡ περιστερά.	γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί.

This is an example of an apparent extended and close verbal similarity between Ignatius and a saying which among the synoptic gospels occurs only in Matthew. However, this case is complicated by the existence of a parallel that both exists in the Greek fragments of the *Gospel of Thomas* and is more fully evidenced in the later Coptic text discovered at Nag Hammadi. It must be acknowledged that the Greek text of *P Oxy.* 655 is extremely fragmentary. Aland presents the parallel in *SQE* to Matt. 10.16 as: ὑμεῖς] δὲ γίν[εσθε φρόνι]μοι ὡ[ς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστε]ρα[ί] The presence of the bracketing in the text reveals the extent of the lacunae.[88] Moreover, it is instructive to note that in their *editio princeps* Grenfeld and Hunt did not identify Matt. 10. 16b as a parallel to lines 47–9 of *P Oxy.* 655.[89] Therefore, it is only the discovery of the later Coptic version of the *Gospel of Thomas* that facilitated the identification of this fragmentary portion of Ign. *Pol.* with Matt. 10. 16b. The Coptic text of saying 39c reads: ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ ⲇⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛϩⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϭⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ. Hence the discovery of the fuller text enabled scholars to suggest the reconstruction of the Greek text that was no longer fully extant in *P Oxy.* 655. Saying 39 commences with material that parallels most closely Luke 11. 52 (= Q 11. 52; cf. Matt. 23. 13). Yet it is debated whether the *Gospel of Thomas* is combining free-floating pre-synoptic material,[90] or is dependent upon the canonical

[88] *SQE*, 141.

[89] B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904). The discussion of *P Oxy.* 655 is on pp. 22–8, with the relevant plate for the section under discussion being plate 2 (column 2 being seen at the top of the page of the book, just below to the right of the heading). The reconstruction of the relevant lines is:

ΔΕ ΓΕΙ[
ΜΟΙΩ[
ΚΕΡΑΙ[

[90] Among those who argue independence from the synoptic gospels and hence a mid-first century date for composition are S. J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1993), and H. Köster, 'Q and its Relatives', in J. E. Goehring, C. W. Hendrik, and J. T. Sanders (eds.), *Christian Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1993), 49–63.

gospels.[91] If the former is the case, then it is possible that Ignatius shows an awareness of a pre-gospel source; if the latter is true then it is more likely that that he is dependent on canonical Matthew for the parallel. But because this issue is hotly debated, a conclusion about Ignatius' literary or oral source for Ign. *Pol.* 2.2 cannot be drawn that will command widespread assent.

Inge gives a fourth example of a parallel that he cites as text type b. Here

Ign. *Smyrn.* 6.1	Matt. 19. 12d
ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω.	*ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρείτω.*

Ignatius shares three words with Matt. 19. 12d, two being exactly equivalent, the third being a participle rather than the infinitive form of Matthew.[92] A common meaning is suggested by Inge in the two contexts. 'The meaning of the phrase is the same in the two passages; it stamps the doctrine just stated as a difficult and mysterious one.'[93] This, however, is not as significant as Inge implies. The gnomic phrase itself demands that it be used in relation to a statement that is hard to accept. For Ignatius this hard knowledge is the universal judgement or condemnation of those who 'do not believe on the blood of Christ' (Ign. *Smyrn.* 6. 1). By contrast, in Matt. 19. 3–12 it is used to sum up the harsh words of Jesus about divorce (19. 3–9), remaining in an unmarried state (19. 10–11), and becoming eunuchs for the kingdom (19. 12). Ignatius shows no awareness that the saying was used in relation to these issues when he applies his variant form to the topic of universal judgement. While Massaux thinks that literary dependence is likely, he does acknowledge the difference in contexts.

> This proposition is, therefore, introduced by Ignatius in a very appropriate context and probably constitutes a literary reference to Mt. 19.12. It is hard to establish a definite literary contact, because the doctrine, which is difficult and mysterious to understand, is different in each of the two authors.[94]

While still being positive about dependence, Köhler is a little more circumspect in his discussion. He concludes: 'Daß Ignatius die Kenntnis dieses Satzes dem Mt verdankt, ist durchaus möglich.'[95] Yet on balance it appears that

[91] For the position that *Thomas* is a mid-second century document and shows a knowledge of the canonical gospel tradition, see K. Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, trans. R. McL. Wilson (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977), and C. M. Tuckett, 'Thomas and the Synoptics', *NovT* 30 (1988), 132–57.

[92] Smit Sibinga's observation that 'the form of the phrase in Ignatius is that of the Western addition to Mark iv 9' ('Ignatius and Matthew', 279) is not of great relevance because of the use of a different verb, *καὶ ὁ συνίων συνιέτω*.

[93] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 77.

[94] Massaux, *Influence*, 94.

[95] Köhler, *Rezeption*, 87.

Köster's rejection of dependence is justified for this extremely short phrase which could have had an independent currency in the preaching of the early church. 'Die Übereinstimmung von Ign. und Mt. beruht wohl auf dem von beiden befolgten Brauch, etwas schwer Faßbares durch diese homiletische Phrase zu charakterisieren.'[96] Thus it seems that a good case cannot be mounted for Ignatius intending a citation of Matt. 19. 12d when he penned Ign. *Smyrn.* 6. 1.

Numerous other possible parallels have been suggested between Matthew's gospel and the epistles of Ignatius. In addition to the four type-b examples, Inge offers three of type c (Ign. *Eph.* 5. 2 // Matt. 18. 19–20; Ign. *Eph.* 6. 1 // Matt. 10. 40; Ign. *Pol.* 1. 2–3 // Matt. 8. 17) and four type-d texts (Ign. *Eph.* 17. 1 // Matt. 26. 7; Ign. *Magn.* 5. 2 // Matt. 22. 19; Ign. *Magn.* 9. 3 // Matt. 27. 52; Ign. *Rom.* 9. 3 // Matt. 10. 40–1);[97] however, with the possible exception of the first example of type c, these appear totally unconvincing. Trevett notes that as many as thirty-six parallels have been suggested, but that 'eighteen are cited with the greatest regularity.'[98] She continues by noting that, 'In the case of a number of the 36 passages, however, it is difficult to escape the impression that we are faced with, at best, "hints" at tradition of Matthaean type and "echoes" of the evangelist's ideas.'[99] While the maximalist position of Massaux is helpful in drawing attention to similarities in language and concepts between Ignatius and Matthew, it does little to establish a rigorous case for literary dependence.[100] Its main value is in providing evidence for those who wish to mount a cumulative case. By contrast, Köster's treatment is much more methodologically sophisticated, and his attempt to identify places where redactional material has been used by later authors is important for mounting the case for dependence. Unfortunately, in the one example (Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 // Matt. 3. 15) where this seems highly plausible, Köster opts for a far less likely (but not impossible) explanation of indirect dependence.[101] This choice makes his work appear somewhat arbitrary and agenda-driven, rather than allowing the evidence to be taken at face value. A more balanced conclusion would be that Ignatius provides only one certain example, where it can be demonstrated that he knew and cited what is almost certainly Matthean redactional material. The most likely explanation is that he knew the version of the baptism story preserved in the first gospel, and probably

[96] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 35.
[97] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 77–9.
[98] Trevett, 'Approaching Matthew', 62.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Massaux identifies fourteen likely parallels, two of which occur in the Sermon on the Mount: *Influence*, 85–96.
[101] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 57–9.

knew this work directly and not by some circuitous route involving an unevidenced and no longer extant intermediary source. All other examples suggested show far fewer points of contact, but they are of value for building a cumulative case for Ignatius' use of Matthew's gospel.

Mark, Luke, and Other Synoptic Traditions

The case for Ignatius' knowledge of the gospels of Mark and Luke is extremely poor. Inge presents two type-d parallels for the former[102] and three for the latter,[103] none of which is convincing. There are, however, two places where Ignatius presents traditional synoptic gospel material where the source cannot be determined conclusively. Both of these passages come from the so-called double tradition material shared by Matthew and Luke; hence Ignatius may be quoting the Q source directly rather than either of the gospels into which that material has been incorporated. If, however, Ignatius is drawing upon one of the canonical gospels, the balance of probability would be in favour of Matthew, simply because he appears to know the first gospel elsewhere in his writings, whereas this is not the case for Luke.

Ign. *Eph.* 11. 1	Matt. 3. 7 and Luke 3. 7 (same wording)
ἢ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν	*γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;*

Here the points of contact are weak, consisting of a three-word phrase, *τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν* // *τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς*. If Ignatius is dependent on the gospel tradition at this point, it is impossible to identify his source, since the wording of Matthew and Luke is the same. Moreover, since the double tradition agrees, there is a strong case that this represents the original Q wording, so it is equally feasible that he was drawing upon that document as his source.[104]

Ign. *Eph.* 14. 2	Matt. 12. 33b and Luke 6. 44a
φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ	*ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται ἕκαστον γὰρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ γινώσκεται*

[102] Ign. *Eph.* 16. 1 // Mark 9. 43; Ign. *Smyrn.* 10. 2 // Mark. 8. 38. Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 79.

[103] Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 2 // Luke 23. 7–12; Ign. *Smyrn.* 3. 2 // Luke 24. 39; Ign. *Smyrn.* 10. 2 // Luke 9. 26. Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 79–80.

[104] This point is also recognized by Smit Sibinga: 'Matthew and Luke evidently reproduce their common source without changing anything. So it cannot be said whether Ignatius either knew one of the Gospels or their source' ('Ignatius and Matthew', 267).

Matthew and Luke are closer to one another than Ignatius is to either of them. They both share the verb γινώσκω, the preposition ἐκ, and the particle γάρ. Ign. *Eph.* 14. 2 has the definite article before δένδρον in common with Matthew, but places καρποῦ after the reference to 'tree', as does Luke, and also introduces αὐτοῦ which is loosely equivalent to Lucan τοῦ ἰδίου. This pattern of alternating similarities and deviations from Matthew and Luke suggests that Ignatius is dependent on a source shared with these two evangelists, most probably Q. Or if Inge is correct that 'the words have the look of a current saying of Christ',[105] then perhaps from oral tradition.

Gregory discusses the parallel between Ign. *Smyrn.* 3. 2–3 and Luke 24. 36–43 in some detail.[106] Both passages refer to the resurrection body of Jesus, but diverge greatly both in terms of shared vocabulary and specific details. Commenting on Ign. *Smyrn.* 3. 2–3, Lightfoot observed, '[t]he reference is plainly to the same incident which is related in Luke xxiv. 36 sq; . . . The words, however, in which it is told, are different.'[107] Gregory offers three possible explanations of this parallel: first, the proposal of Petersen, that Ignatius is a witness to the original reading in Luke 24. 36–43;[108] second, a variant of this proposal, that Ignatius is dependent on an alternative textual form, but not necessarily the original reading. Thus Gregory raises the possibility that in this case 'Ignatius would be a witness to a version of *Luke* which had 24:37 in a "western" form and 24:39 (probably) in an "Alexandrian" form, although he was prepared to modify the text to suit the context for which he used it.'[109] Third, the hypothesis preferred by Gregory is the possibility that 'Luke and Ignatius each drew independently on the same source or that each presents parallel but distinct tradition.'[110] While it may be impossible to choose conclusively between the two alternatives in the final option, the discrepancies between the two accounts may perhaps be better accounted for by the freedom in retelling stories that circulated in the oral tradition, rather than being dependent on redactional creativity with an earlier written source. This problem notwithstanding, it appears that Gregory's conclusion concerning the relationship between Ignatius and Luke is the most plausible explanation. He states, 'there is no compelling reason to suggest that Ignatius drew on *Luke*, and there are strong, if not compelling, reasons to suggest that he may not have done.'[111]

105 Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 80.

106 A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 69–75.

107 Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 294.

108 W. L. Petersen, 'What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?', in B. Aland and J. Delobel (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History: A Discussion of Methods*, CBET 7 (Kampen: Kok-Pharos, 1994), 144–5, 149–51.

109 Gregory, *Reception*, 72.

110 Ibid. 73.

111 Ibid. 74.

John's Gospel

Inge thought that the case for Ignatius' use of the Fourth Gospel was strong, and categorized John as class B literary dependence, 'the use of which, in the judgement of the editors, reaches a high degree of probability'.[112] His classification was based on seven parallels, two of text type b,[113] one of c (although the passage from John was seen to be paralleled at two places in the epistle to the Magnesians)[114] and four of type d.[115] The four type d parallels have only the lightest, if any, connection and, thus, are not helpful in establishing literary dependence. The type c case, according to Inge, 'is much strengthened by the *double* reminiscence'.[116] It may, however, be a misnomer to call this a double reminiscence, since Ign. *Magn.* 7. 1 parallels John 8. 28, and Ign. *Magn.* 8. 2 parallels John 8. 29 with no overlap. Both of these supposed parallels contain little in the way of shared vocabulary, and again do not present a strong case for literary dependence. The two remaining type b examples are worth considering in more detail, since there are definite points of verbal similarity, and some of the language has what may be described as 'a distinctively Johannine ring'.

Ign. *Rom.* 7. 2	John 4. 10b, 14
Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλον, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.	*σὺ ἂν ᾔτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν . . .*[14] *ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

Inge concludes that 'on the whole direct literary dependence seems much the most probable hypothesis'.[117] He adduces Lightfoot's comment that 'the whole passage is inspired by the Fourth Gospel',[118] as support for his own conclusion.[119] While the reference to 'living water' has a strikingly Johannine ring, as Schoedel points out, Ignatius' full reference to the 'living and speaking water' is also reminiscent of '*τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λαλοὺν* "the speaking water" of the *Odes of Solomon* (11. 6) which "came near my lips from the spring of life of the Lord in his abundance" '.[120] It therefore seems best to view Ign. *Rom.* 7. 2

[112] *NTAF*, p. iii.
[113] Ign. *Rom.* 7. 2 // John 4. 10, 14; Ign. *Phld.* 7. 1 // John 3. 8.
[114] Ign. *Magn.* 7. 1, 8. 2 // John 8. 28–9.
[115] Ign. *Eph.* 5. 2 and Ign. *Rom.* 7.3 // John 6. 33; Ign. Eph. 6. 1 // John 13. 20; Ign. Eph. 17. 1 // John 12. 1–8; Ign. *Phld.* 9. 1 // John 10. 9.
[116] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 82.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, 2. 2. 224.
[119] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 81.
[120] Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 185.

as a concatenation of imagery relating to water which Ignatius may have combined himself. Or perhaps this imagery had already been joined in the oral kerygma of early Christianity.

Ign. *Phld.* 7. 1	John 3. 8
τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὄν. οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.	τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει· οὕτως ἐστὶν πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος.

These parallel texts have greater verbal correspondence than the previous pair. The reference to τὸ πνεῦμα occurs in both, as does the verb οἶδα, and most striking is the shared extended phrase πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει. Yet, even Inge admits that the sense is so different that it gives pause to arguing for literary dependence, although in the end he dismisses this as being characteristic of Ignatius. 'The passage reads like an echo of the words in the Gospel, though the thought is quite different. This, however, is in Ignatius's manner.'[121] The main difference is that whereas John states that there is no constraint on the Spirit's movement, Ignatius says that the Spirit is not deceived or wandering, because it originates from God; he then uses the phrase πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει to declare the Spirit's self-knowledge of movement. This is markedly different from John 3. 8. Hence Schoedel is correct that, 'Here we have the strongest possibility in Ignatius of a dependence on the Fourth Gospel. Yet in the absence of other positive evidence of such dependence the question must be left open.'[122] It is not only the lack of corroborating parallels that makes the case for dependence on John's Gospel uncertain, but the way the phrase is used in a manner so different from the Johannine context. It is, then, quite possible that the phrase had become part of the oral language used to describe the Spirit, and that the original context was unknown to Ignatius. Thus, it is necessary to concur with Schoedel that Ignatius' use of the Fourth Gospel cannot be established with any degree of certainty.[123]

[121] Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 82.

[122] Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 206.

[123] In his recent study Charles Hill comes to strikingly different conclusions. See C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 421–43. He states categorically that 'Ignatius' knowledge of John can be taken as proved' (p. 442). First, it should be acknowledged that Hill is presenting an argument for 'knowledge of John' rather than use of John. The distinction may be fine, but it is significant, since Hill does not confine his argument to the textual evidence contained in the seven authentic epistles of Ignatius. Rather, his conclusion is based also on the locale and orthodox nature of the Johannine writings, as well as Ignatius' positive attitude towards the apostles. This study has intentionally not drawn upon such lines of argument. The disagreement surrounding the critical judgements that underpin those assessments would lessen the acceptance of the findings of this investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

Establishing literary dependence is difficult. Such problems may be exacerbated in the case of Ignatius in comparison with the other authors whose writings comprise the corpus known as the Apostolic Fathers. The composition of the seven letters that form the middle recension were not the products of measured literary reflection, but were produced while the writer was *en route* to his martyrdom (if the testimony of the epistles themselves is accepted as genuine). Such circumstances in all probability prevented Ignatius from consulting those texts which he might have had at his disposal in Antioch. Despite this, at a number of points he refers to passages from some of the documents that were later to constitute the New Testament. Among the Pauline corpus his knowledge of 1 Corinthians is assured, and he seems to be able to cite large portions of this text from memory. Here Inge's conclusion is correct, that 'Ignatius must have known this Epistle almost by heart'.[124] Among the other Pauline epistles a strong case can be made for Ignatius' use of Ephesians and 1 and 2 Timothy. These four epistles all make mention of Ephesus or the Ephesian church, and this corresponds remarkably well with Ignatius' own statement that in all his epistles (that Ignatius knew about) Paul makes mention of the Ephesians (Ign. *Eph.* 16. 2: [*Παῦλος*] *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*). No decisive case can be made for Ignatius' use of the other epistles of the New Testament.

In relation to the gospel material, on the basis of the parallel between Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1 and Matt. 3. 15 it is most likely that Ignatius knew Matthew's gospel, although Köster's counter-proposal that this material came to Ignatius indirectly is impossible to rule out.[125] The case for seeing the other cited examples as instances of Ignatius' dependence on Matthew is inconclusive when they are viewed in isolation. But perhaps the case may be strengthened somewhat if one concludes that Matt. 3. 15 has been cited in Ign. *Smyrn.* 1. 1. While it appears unlikely that Ignatius used either Mark's or Luke's gospel, the parallel between Ign. *Eph.* 14. 2 and the double tradition material contained in Matt. 12. 33b and Luke 6. 44a may well suggest that Ignatius used Q, or oral tradition that fed into that document. The case for Ignatius' use of the Fourth Gospel is more marginal. He may have cited John 3. 8 at Ign. *Phld.* 7. 1, but this is complicated by the way in which the sense in the Ignatian epistle differs from its original Johannine context.[126]

124 Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 67.
125 Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 59.
126 Inge, 'Ignatius', *NTAF*, 82.

While these findings may be meagre, it is hoped that as a result of the adoption of a fairly rigorous approach, the results will be widely accepted. To claim more would in many ways go beyond the evidence of Ignatius' own writings. Of course, Ignatius may have known more of the writings that were to form the New Testament than he used in his correspondence, but this must remain mere speculation and cannot be established with any degree of certainty. Moreover, some of the texts that have been dismissed as providing evidence of literary dependence may in fact have been in the back of Ignatius' mind, but the level of correspondence does not allow this to be verified. One must, therefore, be content with the conclusion that a strong case can be mounted for Ignatius' knowledge of four Pauline epistles and the Gospel of Matthew. An interesting 'canon' for those who wish to draw wider implications from these findings!

8

Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

Michael W. Holmes

INTRODUCTION

'No method in literary study', wrote E. J. Goodspeed in 1941, 'is more objective or more fruitful than the comparison of one work with another to determine the question of literary indebtedness—which one shows acquaintance with the other, use of it, and dependence upon it.'[1] One may perhaps grant him his point in theory, but scarcely in practice;[2] one does not have to be post-modern to recognize that the presuppositions (conscious or otherwise) one brings to the investigation and the question(s) one seeks to answer both shape one's analysis and conclusions.

For the present discussion the shaping focal question is relatively straightforward: is there any demonstrable evidence that Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians,[3] has made use of any of the writings that later formed the New Testament? The simplicity of the question masks, of course, substantial methodological and procedural difficulties. These have been well articulated by Andrew Gregory, whose general approach and perspective have been adopted.[4]

[1] E. J. Goodspeed, in the foreword to Albert E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. vii.

[2] For a striking example, see below the opening paragraph under the heading 'Johannine gospel tradition'.

[3] I am persuaded that the letter is more likely a unified document than a collocation of two separate letters, and that it was sent to Philippi around the time of the death of Ignatius of Antioch, which occurred sometime during the second or third decades of the second century. (If the letter is a composite document, the earlier letter comprises the prescript, 1. 1, and 13–14, and the second letter, 1. 2–12. 3, would have been sent within a year of the first.)

[4] Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 5–20.

As a matter of convenience, I will proceed through the documents in canonical order,[5] using the same four ratings categories as the 1905 Committee: A/a ('no reasonable doubt'), B/b ('high degree of probability'), C/c ('lower degree of probability'), and D/d (possibility only).

GOSPELS

Synoptic Tradition

The Oxford Committee categorized the few parallels to synoptic material in *Philippians* that it discussed as 'unclassified'.[6] Other investigations, however, have been far more confident of Polycarp's dependence on written gospel sources.[7]

The Methodological Implications of Phil. 6. 1

In *Phil.* 6. 1 (*NTAF* #82) Polycarp quotes a saying—'we are all debtors with respect to sin'—which he has introduced with the phrase εἰδότες ὅτι. He uses the same formula three other times (in 1. 3; 4. 1, and 5. 1) to introduce citations whose sources we can probably identify (Eph. 2.5, 8–9; 1 Tim. 6. 10; and Gal. 6. 7 respectively), and which Polycarp seemingly considered to be authoritative. This pattern of usage suggests that the saying in 6. 1 is likewise from a source considered authoritative by Polycarp, at least, and perhaps also his audience.[8]

[5] Since this represents a very different arrangement from the original 1905 study, I have whenever possible included below the original 'passage number' assigned to a particular text (in the form, '*NTAF* #').

[6] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 101–3.

[7] Cf., e.g., P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 285–8; É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus* (Louvain: Peeters; Macon, Ga.: Mercer, University Press, 1992 (French original 1950)), 11. 27–35; H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 112–23; K. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul: An Analysis of their Literary and Theological Relationship in Light of Polycarp's Use of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature*, VCSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Paul Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament: The Occasion, Rhetoric, Theme, and Unity of the Epistle to the Philippians and its Allusions to New Testament Literature*, WUNT 2.134 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

[8] A. Lindemann (*Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr

What is both interesting and methodologically consequential about this saying (the words of which 'rise above the ordinary level of Polycarp's own language'[9]) is that it 'does not occur elsewhere in early Christian sources;'[10] that is, 'there is . . . nothing to indicate the source from which the quotation (if such it be) is derived'.[11] This means that an a priori methodological bias in favour of known sources cannot be justified.[12] Such a bias is justified only if we have reason to believe that those were the only sources available to the writer in question. In the case of Polycarp, however, such an approach must be rejected, for two reasons: (1) the presence of this otherwise unknown saying in 6. 1 offers positive evidence that Polycarp almost certainly had available to him resources no longer extant; and (2) it assumes the answer to a question we seek to investigate: namely, whether Polycarp's use of documents that eventually came to be included in the New Testament can be demonstrated with any degree of certainty. Therefore, in the following discussions a decision in favour of a specific document as Polycarp's source will require positive evidence beyond mere similarity of wording, in order to rule out other option(s) that Polycarp is known to have had available to him.

The first two passages to be discussed are each found at *Phil.* 2. 3 (*NTAF* #75).

Siebeck, 1979), 225) thinks that Polycarp takes it for granted that the Philippians already know this saying.

[9] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 2: *S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1889), 2. 3. 324 (cf. *NTAF*, 104; W. R. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias* (Camden, NJ: Nelson, 1967), 22); Lindemann (*Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 225) notes that Polycarp does not appear to have composed the sentence *ad hoc*.

[10] D. K. Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches: The Development of the Use of Paul's Letters in Second-Century Christianity' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1981), 114.

[11] *NTAF*, 104.

[12] *Contra* Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 29; cf. in a similar vein Massaux, *Influence*, 2. 32 ('since the text of Mt. was within reach . . . Why then turn to an oral tradition or to a parent document of the gospels, whose existence is hypothetical?'), and B. Dehandschutter, 'Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians: An Early Example of "Reception" ', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity: La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitif*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1989), 288 ('Why suppose that Polycarp "assumes that a body of teaching, oral or written, similar to the Sermon on the Mount, was familiar to the Philippian church"?' (citing *NTAF*, 102)).

Phil. 2. 3a[13]	*1 Clem.* 13. 2[14]	Matt. 5. 7; 6. 14; 7. 1–2	Luke 6. 37–8
1) *μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε·*	e) *ὡς κρίνετε οὕτως κριθήσεσθε·*	7. 1–2a: *μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε . . .*	6. 37a: *καὶ μὴ κρίνετε καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε*
2) *ἀφίετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν·*	b) *ἀφίετε ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν·*	6. 14: *ἐάν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος·*	6. 37c: *ἀπολύετε καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε*
3) *ἐλεᾶτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·*	a) *ἐλεᾶτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·*	5. 7: *μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται·*	
4) *ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρδῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν·*	g) *ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν·*	7.2b: *καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν*	6. 38c: *ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν*
	c) *ὡς ποιεῖτε οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν·* d) *ὡς δίδοτε οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·* f) *ὡς χρηστεύεσθε οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν·*	*μετρηθησεται rell*] *αντιμετρηθησεται Θ* 0233 f^{13} *al* it vg^{cl}Cyr	

[13] The quotation formula that introduces the sayings in *Phil.* 2. 3, *μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων*, is similar to those found in *1 Clem.* 13. 1–2 (*μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων . . . οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν*), 46. 7–8 (*μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, εἶπεν γὰρ*), and Acts 20. 35 (*δεῖ . . . μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν*).

[14] Five of the following seven statements (a, b, c?, e, g) are paralleled in the Matthean account of the Sermon on the Mount, and four (c?, d, e, g) in Luke, including one (d) not found in Matthew. But none of them agrees verbatim with any of the gospel parallels; the order does not follow either Matthew or Luke; and at least one statement (f) is essentially without parallel (cf. Massaux, *Influence*, 1. 9–10; D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, NovTSup 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 137).

Here we must analyse not the relationship (if any) only between Polycarp and the gospels, but also between his text and *1 Clem.* 13, which, Gregory concludes, utilizes a collection of sayings that are independent of and earlier than the sayings of Jesus that are preserved also in Matthew and/or Luke.[15]

The relationship between *Phil.* 2. 3a and the other passages can be summarized as follows:

Polycarp	*1 Clement*	Matthew	Luke
1	cf. e	= 7. 1	cf. 6. 37a
2	≈ b	cf. 6. 14 (and Mark 11. 25b)	
3	= a	cf. 5. 7	—
4	≈ g	cf. 7. 2b	= 6.a 38c

The complexity of the evidence has resulted in numerous proposals to explain the interrelationships between these texts; at the risk of over-simplification, they may be arranged into four categories.

1. Direct dependence upon *1 Clement*: the similarities between the sayings and the introductory formulae, and Polycarp's undoubted knowledge of *1 Clement*, have led Lightfoot and others to argue that Polycarp was directly dependent upon that document.[16]

2a. Direct dependence upon *1 Clement*, corrected against written gospels: Köster suggests that Polycarp, who knew the gospels of Matthew and Luke, copied the quotation formula and 2. 3a from *1 Clem.* 13. 1–2, but corrected the wording of the sayings to agree with the text of the written gospels from which he drew his other gospel sayings (cf. 2. 3b; 7. 2; 12. 3).[17]

2b. Citation of *1 Clement* from memory, with the wording certainly affected by Matthew and possibly by Luke.[18]

[15] A. Gregory, Ch. 6 above, p. 133.

[16] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 52, 2. 3. 325 ('it can hardly be doubted from his manner of introducing the quotation ... that he had this passsage of Clement in his mind and does not quote independently'); W. Bauer, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief*, HNT; Die Apostolischen Väter, 2 (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1920), 286.

[17] Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990), 19–20, summarizing *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 115–18. Similarly J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, KAV 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 28, 44–5; cf. earlier Harrison (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 286–7), who explains Polycarp's omission of three of Clement's seven sayings (i.e., c, d, f) as due to their lack of any gospel equivalent (cf. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 117). But this point is not persuasive (cf. Hagner, *Use*, 141 n. 1), since only one of the three omissions (f) lacks any gospel parallel; (d) is at least partially paralleled by Luke 6. 38a, and (c) is, according to Köster (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, 116) and Massaux (*Influence*, i. 9), paralleled by the golden rule (Matt. 7. 12, Luke 6. 31).

[18] Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 12; similarly Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 56–7 ('Polycarp is aware of *1 Clement* ... but corrects the *form* of the text toward the written gospels,' or under the influence of oral tradition).

3a. Use of a later finished stage of a primitive catechism whose point of departure was the Matthean form of the Sermon on the Mount, and which in an intermediate form was the source of *1 Clement*, which Polycarp also knew and which influenced his wording here.[19]

3b. Use of a written document, similar to Q, originally written in Aramaic, and known to Polycarp, Justin, and the authors of Matthew, Luke, *1 Clement*, and the *Didache*, among others.[20]

4. Dependence upon oral tradition parallel to (and probably earlier than) the synoptic gospels, by both the author of *1 Clement* and Polycarp: so Hagner, for whom the differences in wording, order, and number of sayings rule out direct dependence of *Philippians* on either written gospels or *1 Clement*.[21]

Each of these proposals is possible; more could be proposed;[22] none is without difficulties. For example, against (2a) stands the question of why, if Polycarp copied from *1 Clement*, he copied only partially (omitting c, d, f) and in such an odd order (e, b, a, g)[23]—an objection which (2b) seems

[19] Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 29–30; cf. p. 31: 'In the whole of verse 3, Polycarp refers to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, being at the same time under the influence of a catechism which he knows represents the substance of the Sermon.' Further, 'the text of Polycarp is too removed from Mt. and Lk., especially from a stylistic viewpoint, to allow the conjecture of a direct reference to one or the other' (p. 29). Cf. *NTAF*, 102.

[20] R. Glover, 'Patristic Quotations and Gospel Sources', *NTS* 31 (1985), 234–51; similarly R. Bauckham ('The Study of Gospel Traditions Outside the Canonical Gospels: Problems and Prospects', in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels*, Gospel Perspectives, 5 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 378), who does not, however, indicate whether the 'blocks' of tradition (i.e., a connected series of logia) which he posits were in written or oral form. W. Sanday (*The Gospels in the Second Century: An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work Entitled 'Supernatural Religion'* (London: Macmillan, 1876, 86) thinks that at least two factors were at work: viz., memory and a written tradition different from the canonical gospels.

[21] D. A. Hagner, 'The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr', in Wenham (ed.), *Jesus Tradition*, 236; *idem, Use*, 279, 141–3; cf. Gregory, Ch. 6 above, p. 133. See also L. E. Wright, *Alterations of the Words of Jesus as Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century*, Harvard Historical Monographs, 25 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 78; J. Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 143; W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 108. The modifications which Köster takes as evidence of correction according to the written text of Matthew and Luke could reflect 'mutants of oral tradition that were either caused by, or taken up in, the written Gospels' (Hagner, 'Sayings', 261 n. 8). E.g., the only evidence of Lucan redaction in Polycarp—the presence of *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται* in place of *μετρηθήσεται*—involves one of the less stable elements of the textual tradition, as compound and simplex verb forms are often subject to variation.

[22] E.g., dependence on *1 Clement*, corrected on the basis of a memorized, orally transmitted form of the teachings of Jesus also preserved in the Matthean and Lucan 'sermons'.

[23] Cf. the conclusion of the Oxford Committee (*NTAF*, 102): he 'may have been influenced by Clement. Polycarp does not, however, quote Clement directly, as he omits some of Clement's most characteristic phrases.' H. Paulsen (*Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Brief des*

formulated to meet. But with respect to (2b), how might one decide between a *memoriter* citation of *1 Clement* affected by Matthew versus a *memoriter* citation of Matthew affected by *1 Clement*, particularly in an environment in which written and oral forms of the tradition both circulated, each affecting the form of the other?[24] Rather than multiply options or continue to list the difficulties of each, we should instead confront the primary difficulty we face in assessing any of these proposals: we simply lack evidence of the sort that would enable us to differentiate between them. Clearly both Polycarp and *1 Clement* partake of a similar stream of tradition, but it does not seem possible, in view of the current state of the evidence, to indicate the relationship or connections any more precisely.

The situation in 2. 3b, which combines a pair of synoptic beatitudes,[25] is only somewhat less complex than that of 2. 3a.

Phil. 2. 3b	Matt. 5. 3, 10	Luke 6. 20
[μνημονεύοντες . . .] καὶ		
ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ	5. 3: μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν·	μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί,
και οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης,	5. 10: μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης,	
ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοϋ θεοῦ.	ὅτι αὐτων ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.	ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστίν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

The omission of 'in spirit' parallels the text of Luke 6. 20 (rather than Matt. 5. 10 and 5. 3), as does the substitution of 'God' for 'heaven' (but these details are precisely the sort of elements often subject to variation in transmission[26]). 'Those who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness', on the other hand,

Polykarp von Smyrna, zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage der Auslegung von Walter Bauer, Die Apostolischen Väter, 2; HNT 18 (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1985), 114), who otherwise follows Köster on this point, also demurs regarding the possibility of proving direct dependence.

[24] A point already raised by Köster (*Synoptische Überlieferung*) and now worked out in substantial detail by J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 205–54, who reminds us that 'Jesus tradition did not cease to circulate in oral form simply because it had been written down . . . the written text was still fluid, still living tradition' (249–50).

[25] That only these two beatitudes include the promise of the kingdom likely generated their linkage (Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 326). Whether Polycarp linked them himself or received them already joined cannot be determined (the only other mention of the kingdom in Polycarp is in 5.3, in a quotation of 1 Cor. 6. 9). The claim that he created the combination as a summary of all the Beatitudes (so Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 31) goes far beyond any evidence.

[26] Cf. Dehandschutter, 'Polycarp's Epistle', 288 n. 57.

parallels only Matthew among the canonical gospels (though with a present tense in place of the perfect), and for that reason, many see here clear evidence of knowledge of that gospel.[27] But given that we are dealing with 'Sermon' material, which almost certainly circulated in oral form, and keeping the implications of 6. 1 in mind, it is difficult to be so certain: knowledge of Matthew and Luke is possible, but not demonstrable.

Phil. 6. 2a	Matt. 6. 12	Luke 11. 4
[μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατά τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας.] εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι.	*καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.*	*καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν.*

Three further passages ought to be discussed. The first is *Phil.* 6. 2 (*NTAF* #76). The language of 6. 2a clearly calls to mind the Lord's Prayer. Over against the widely held opinion that the use of 'such common liturgical material as this rules out any decision on literary dependence',[28] Berding contends that Polycarp is dependent on 'not just the Lord's Prayer in general, but probably the Lord's Prayer as recorded by Matthew' (a 'probable allusion'), on the basis that only in Matthew is the request for forgiveness (6. 12) juxtaposed with the condition that we should also forgive each other to receive forgiveness (6. 14–15).[29] But his point is not a strong one. First, whereas Matthew is the only gospel to juxtapose the two concepts, it is not the only one to include both, inasmuch as Mark 11. 25 parallels Matt. 6. 14 (and in many MSS of Mark (including A (C D) *Θ* ($f^{1.13}$ 33) *Maj* lat), Matt. 6. 15 is paralleled as well). Second, even if one were to grant Berding's point, it would link Polycarp only to the Sermon on the Mount, which, as Benecke points out, 'would not necessarily imply a knowledge of our Matthew'.[30] In short, we lack any probative evidence that would justify identifying any one of our possible sources as the probable source.

The next parallel to synoptic tradition occurs at *Phil.* 7. 2 (*NTAF* #77).

[27] e.g., Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 326; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 31; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 118; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 12; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 99–100.

[28] Hagner, 'Sayings', 240; cf. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 120; *NTAF*, 102; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 32 (who notices, but dismisses as too weak to be significant, the numerous Matthean parallels—5. 22; 6. 19; 7. 1–2—in the immediate context); also Köhler, *Rezeption*, 102–3.

[29] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 84–5, whose general line of argument is similar to that of Dehandschutter, 'Polycarp's Epistle', 288; cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 33; Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 287; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 22.

[30] *NTAF*, 102.

Phil. 7. 2	Matt. 6. 13 = Luke 11.4	Mark 14. 38
δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι		
τὸν παντεπόπτην θεὸν		
μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς	καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς	
εἰς πειρασμόν,	ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν . . .	
	Matt. 26. 41:	
	γρηγορεῖτε καὶ	γρηγορεῖτε καὶ
	προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ	προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ
καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ κύριος·	εἰσέλθετε εἰς πειρασμόν·	ἔλθετε εἰς πειρασμόν·
Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα	τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα	τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα
πρόθυμον,	πρόθυμον,	πρόθυμον,
ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.	ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.	ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.
		ελθετε ℵ* B f13 2427 *pc* q] εισελθετε *rell*

The request of God 'not to lead us into temptation' is nearly identical with phrases from the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6. 13a = Luke 11. 4b) and the Gethsemane episode (Matt. 26. 41a = Mark 14. 38a (most MSS)), while the reason given for making such a request ('the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak') agrees verbatim with Matt. 26. 41b = Mark 14. 38b. Whether this indicates that Polycarp cited or is dependent upon the gospel of Matthew,[31] or some other source, written or oral,[32] continues to be debated. Those arguing for dependence on Matthew typically bring forward two points in support of this claim. One is that dependence on Matthew in *Phil.* 6. 2 increases the probability of dependence here in 7. 2. But as we have seen in the discussion of 6. 2, the probability of dependence upon Matthew there has been overstated, and is insufficient to justify a presumption in favour of Matthew here.

The other point brought forward is the observation that the two phrases in *Phil.* 7. 2 are found together in only one of the known possible sources: namely,

[31] That Polycarp demonstrates dependence on or knowledge of Matthew is the conclusion of Massaux (*Influence*, ii. 31–2); Köster (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, 114–15), followed by Schoedel (*Polycarp*, 26) and Paulsen (*Die Briefe*, 121); Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 93–4; 198: 'probable source'); Harrison (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 287); and Dehandschutter ('Polycarp's Epistle', 288), followed by Hartog (*Polycarp*, 183). Köhler (*Rezeption*, 103) is less certain, placing it in his 'quite possible' (rather than 'probable') category.

[32] The agnostic view of the Oxford Committee ('But this quotation might well be due to oral tradition; or it might be from a document akin to our Gospels, though not necessarily those Gospels themselves' (*NTAF*, 103)) anticipates the conclusions of Hagner ('Despite the fact that the words preceding this saying are also attributed to Jesus in the Synoptics, Polycarp inserts the introductory formula καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ κύριος which suggests the possibility of an independent source for the saying, perhaps in oral tradition. On the other hand, the insertion may be of no special significance whatever' (*Use*, 279); 'The saying is again brief and pithy, however, and may thus derive equally well from oral tradition as from the written Gospels' ('Sayings', 240)).

the Gospel of Matthew. But there is nothing about Polycarp's text that requires dependence on Matthew to explain it; as Berding observes, Polycarp 'merely makes explicit the connection which is implicit' in Mark as well as Matthew.[33]

How one resolves the matter will be determined largely by the question one seeks to answer. If the goal is to assess which of the many possible sources available to Polycarp is the more likely source, then there is perhaps a slim basis for favouring the Gospel of Matthew.[34] If, however, one is seeking to determine whether or not Polycarp used a specific document, a different answer must be returned, in view of the absence of any necessary link between Polycarp and any of his possible sources, only some of which are known to us (cf. the discussion of *Phil.* 6. 1 above).

The final parallel to synoptic tradition that I shall discuss occurs at *Phil.* 12. 3 (*NTAF* 78).

Phil. 12. 3	Matt. 5. 44, 48	Luke 6. 27
pro omnibus sanctis orate. orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus atque pro persequentibus et odientibus vos et pro inimicis crucis, ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus, ut sitis in illo perfecti.	*ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.* 48 *ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.*	*ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.*

και . . . των ℵ B f^1 *pc* k *sy*$^{s.c}$. *sa*? *bo*^{pt} *Ir*^{lat} *Or Cyp*] *ευλογειτε τους καταρωμενους υμας, καλως ποιειτε τοις μισουσιν υμας και προσευχεσθε υπερ των επηρεαζοντον υμας και* (D) *L* (*W*) *Θ* f^{13} *Byz* lat *sy*$^{(p)h}$ *mae* (*Cl*) (*Eus*)

Köster lists this as another instance of Polycarp drawing upon written gospels in *Philippians*, Matthew being the primary source (due to the juxtapositon of language echoing both 5. 44 and 5. 48), with possible influence from Luke 6. 27.[35]

[33] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 93.

[34] But one must avoid assuming what one seeks to prove; cf. Dehandschutter (who claims that Polycarp 'is aware of the connection present in the Gospel itself' ('Polycarp's Epistle', 288)), or Massaux ('since the text of Mt. was within reach . . .' (*Influence*, ii. 32)).

[35] Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 20; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 119–20 (followed by Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 37); cf. Köhler (*Rezeption*, 100–2), who thinks dependence on Matthew is 'probable'. Hartog (*Polycarp*, 184) repeats Koester's arguments, as does Berding, who none the

But it is unlikely that the details can be sorted out quite so confidently with regard to which gospel Polycarp echoes, or that we can even be sure he is dependent on a written gospel, for at least three reasons. First, the presence of significant variation in the textual tradition of Matt. 5. 44 means that we cannot be certain what Polycarp's text of Matthew (assuming he had one) was. Second, that *Phil.* 12. 3 is extant only in a Latin translation adds a further level of complication, inasmuch as the translator may have assimilated the text of *Philippians* to the text of the gospels as he knew them (as in fact happened at *Phil.* 2. 3b[36]). Third, the many instances of subtly different forms of the basic command to 'pray for one's enemies' in early Christian writings[37] alert us to the possibility that the sayings in view here took on (or perhaps even continued to have) a life of their own even after being incorporated into written gospel texts, increasing the possibility that Polycarp may be echoing a source other than the known gospel texts (cf., again, *Phil.* 6. 1).

In short, we can do no more than follow the lead of the Oxford Committee and Massaux, and note the similarities without drawing any conclusions, due to the uncertainty of the evidence.[38]

Conclusion: Evidence for the Use of the Synoptic Gospels in Philippians

Other instances of parallels between *Philippians* and the synoptics may be noted;[39] none, however, adds any clearer evidence than that examined above to indicate that Polycarp drew on any of the synoptic gospels as we now know them. It is possible that Polycarp made use of one or more of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and/or Luke; but there is no evidence to demonstrate that he did, nor is it possible to demonstrate that he did not know or use any of these three writings.

Johannine Gospel Tradition

Opinion continues to be sharply divided as to whether *Philippians* offers any evidence that Polycarp knew the Fourth Gospel: whereas Hartog states that

less sees dependence here as no more than a 'possibility' (*Polycarp and Paul*, 123). Dehandschutter likewise follows Koester, but limits dependence to Matthew alone ('Polycarp's Epistle', 289).

36 There the Latin reads *pauperes in spiritu* for οἱ πτωχοί, and *regnum caelorum* instead of βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

37 See, e.g., *Did.* 1. 3; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 15. 9, 14. 3; *idem, Dial.* 133. 6, 96. 3; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 11. 2; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 3. 14; *Ap Const.* 1. 2. 2; *P Oxy.* 1224.

38 *NTAF*, 103; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 33; cf. Gregory, *Reception*, 135.

39 Parallels noted by the Oxford Committee or others but not discussed below (due to their very low level of probability) include 5. 2 // Mark 9. 35; Matt. 20. 28 (*NTAF* #73); 11. 2 // Matt. 18. 17 (*NTAF* #74); 1. 3 // Matt. 13. 17 (*NTAF* #79); 4. 3 // Luke 2. 37 (noted by Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 71, 199).

'Polycarp does not appear to use the Gospel of John', Hill contends that the letter offers 'reasonable assurance that Polycarp indeed knew and valued the Fourth Gospel'.[40] This sharp divergence of opinion is somewhat surprising in view of the small amount of evidence with which to work: the Oxford Committee mentioned only two passages, and rated only one, *Phil.* 5. 2 (*NATF* # 80), *giving it only a 'c' evaluation.*[41]

Phil. 5. 2	John 5. 21, 6. 44
Καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν	5. 21: *ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ ζῳοποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζῳοποιεῖ.*
	6. 44: *κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.*

'No such promise is given in the synoptic Gospels,' observes Benecke, 'whereas it is put plainly in John'—'three times in the space of fifteen verses' (6. 40, 44, 54; cf. 5. 21, 6. 39), notes Hill, who contends that 'Polycarp's reference to such a promise on the part of Jesus may well reflect a knowledge of the Fourth Gospel'.[42] This evidence, in conjunction with the indirect evidence Hill finds in *Phil.* 7. 1, offers, he claims, 'reasonable assurance that Polycarp indeed knew and valued the Fourth Gospel'.[43]

Upon examination, however, Hill's case collapses. First, his effort to bolster his claim by drawing 7. 1 into the discussion is unpersuasive. His argument is that the sources of Polycarp's allusions in 7. 1—1 John and perhaps 2 John—for their part probably allude in turn to the gospel of John, which opens the possibility that at least some of Polycarp's words 'are somewhat more likely to reflect knowledge of the Fourth Gospel' than of the Johannine letters.[44] But an

[40] Hartog, *Polycarp*, 186; C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 420. T. Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert*, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte, 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), does not mention *Philippians* in his survey.

[41] *NTAF*, 104. The other passage mentioned is *Phil.* 12. 3 // John 15. 16 (*NTAF* #81, nicely discussed by Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 123–4); also mentioned occasionally is *Phil.* 10. 1 // John 13. 34 (noted by Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 418). The contact in the first instance amounts to only a single word, and the second instance is more likely dependent on (if anything) 1 Pet. 2. 17 or 3. 8 (cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 102).

[42] *NTAF*, 104; Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 420. Hill's predecessors include E. Jacquier, *Le nouveau testament dans l'église chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gabalda, 1911, 1913), i. 55, who sees here a possible allusion to John 6. 44, which R. M. Grant ('Polycarp of Smyrna', *ATR* 28 (1946), 137–48, at p. 142) takes as an indication that 'Polycarp could have quoted from the gospel' but chose not to. Cf. also J. A. Fischer, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, 6th edn. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), 255 n. 65; H. Lohmann, *Drohung und Verheissung: Exegetische Untersuchungen zur Eschatologie bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, BZNW 55 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1989), 186.

[43] Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 420.

[44] Ibid. 419–20, on p. 420.

argument composed by compounding possibilities—e.g., 'the phrase "of the devil"... *may* be dependent upon 1 John 3. 8... But both it and the final clause... *may* on the other hand be dependent upon... John 8. 44'—is simply not compelling.[45]

Second, even if one were to grant, for the sake of argument, Hill's contention regarding 7. 1, the evidence would still be grossly insufficient to make his point, in view of the methodological consequences of Irenaeus's testimony (in *Haer.* 3. 3. 4) that Polycarp was acquainted with the apostle John. When person A is personally acquainted with person B, it takes a much higher standard of evidence to demonstrate that person A acquired an idea from person B's writings rather than from person B directly than it does when A does not know B. In short, the connection between John and Polycarp reported by Irenaeus requires that one demonstrate positive evidence of dependence not merely on Johannine teaching, but on the written gospel specifically—and that sort of evidence is lacking in this instance.

In short, given that there are in *Philippians* no more than a very few *possible* references to the Fourth Gospel, Benecke's conclusion—'The reference seems certainly to be to a Johannine tradition, though it need not necessarily be to our Fourth Gospel'—remains a fair assessment of what can be said about the matter.[46] There is no evidence that Polycarp did not know the gospel of John, but neither is there evidence to demonstrate that he did.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The only passage that requires extended discussion in relation to Acts is *Phil.* 1. 2 (*NTAF* # 59).

Phil. 1. 2	Acts 2. 24
[...Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν...]	[...Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον...]
ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεός,	ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν
λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾅδου.	λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου...
	θανατου p74^{vid} ℵ A B C E 33 1739 *Byz* sy^{h} cop^{sa} Eus Ath *rell*] *ᾳδου* D latt sy^{p} mae bo Ir^{lat}

[45] Ibid. 419, emphasis added. One may also observe how the nuanced language of possibility on pp. 418–20 (e.g., 'seems', 'may', 'possible traces') has become, in his concluding paragraph (p. 420), something rather more certain ('there are indeed several "traces" ').

[46] *NTAF*, 104; Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 75), contrary to his usual tendency, is even more sceptical than Benecke.

Opinion continues to be divided as to whether Polycarp is here dependent on Acts. The key phrase is λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας, an apparent allusion to Ps. 18(17). 6 (or perhaps 116(114). 3), whose distinctive form, however, is not found in the Septuagint (which in both Pss. 17 and 114 mistranslates the Hebrew).[47] In Berding's estimation, the phrase 'seems clearly to have been dependent on Acts... The verbal similarities are obvious,'[48] the replacement of ἀνέστησεν by the synonymous ἤγειρεν perhaps reflecting the influence of Acts 3. 15 and 4. 10. Gregory, however, while granting that 'it is certainly unlikely' that Luke and Polycarp would have independently adopted this unusual form, observes that 'the possibility that each drew on an earlier source (probably a testimony book) renders the argument that Polycarp drew on *Acts* unnecessary, although of course it remains possible'.[49]

How one reconciles these differing perspectives depends a great deal upon how one approaches the question and/or the outcome one seeks. If the goal is to establish a 'critically assured' foundation of indisputable data, then one must side with Gregory: dependence on Acts cannot be demonstrated, though it is clearly possible—a 'd' rating, on the Committee's scale, in other words. If one is, by way of contrast, more concerned to assess which of the two possibilities is the more likely, then a different conclusion may be reached: in view of the conceptual and distinctive verbal similarities between Acts and Polycarp, 'it seems probable that Polycarp is dependent on Acts,' in the words of Benecke, who immediately adds, however, that both authors may have followed an earlier writer—hence the committee's 'c' rating.[50]

As for other possible instances of the use of Acts in *Philippians*, Berding suggests that the language of Acts 10. 42 (κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν) may be

[47] The question of whether Polycarp gives evidence of a 'Western' textual variant is complicated by the continuing uncertainty regarding the origin(s) and date of the 'Western' textual tradition of Acts: Polycarp is chronologically early enough that it is possible that he is a source of, rather than a witness to, a 'Western' variant. Indeed, Polycarp has even been credited with creating a 'pre-recensional' form of the text now found in Codex Bezae (C.-B. Amphoux, in his revision of L. Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 95, 98).

[48] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 39 (cf. p. 199: an 'almost certain loose citation'); earlier, J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 41; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 8; Grant, 'Polycarp', 142–3; all echoing the arguments of T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909 (German original 1906–7)), ii. 186; also Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 288–290; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 323. Less certainty (sometimes much less) is expressed by Hagner, 'Sayings', 240, 263 n. 38; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 222; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 34–5.

[49] Gregory, *Reception*, 314; earlier, C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, i, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 36, 143–4; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 6, 7; similarly Dehandschutter, 'Polycarp's Epistle', 283 n. 39.

[50] *NTAF*, 98.

reflected in *Phil.* 2. 1 (*NTAF* #60), but even he acknowledges that the conventional phrase is (in Hartog's words) 'rather common kerygmatic fare' with parallels elsewhere.[51] Other possible instances are even more ambiguous.[52] In short, the use of Acts in *Philippians* cannot be demonstrated; at the same time, knowledge of Acts on the part of Polycarp cannot be excluded.[53]

LETTERS ATTRIBUTED TO PAUL

In the case of the letters attributed to Paul,[54] we have a different set of circumstances than in the case of the other documents we have been examining. Not only does Polycarp mention Paul by name four times (at 3. 2, 9. 1, 11. 2, 3), he also knows that he wrote 'letters'[55] to the Philippian congrega-

[51] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 47 (cf. p. 199), mentioning 2 Tim. 4. 1; 1 Pet. 4. 5; *2 Clem.* 1. 1 (cf. also *Barn.* 7. 2); Hartog, *Polycarp*, 185; similarly Barrett, *Acts*, i. 36; Haenchen, *Acts*, 5, 6 ('a very old kerygmatic formula'); Lightfoot, on the other hand, signals the reference typographically as a quotation (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 324–5).

[52] These include *Phil.* 2. 3 // Acts 20. 35 (*NTAF* #61); *Phil.* 3. 2 // Acts 16. 12–40; *Phil.* 6. 3 // Acts 7. 52 (*NTAF* #62); *Phil.* 12.2 // Acts 26. 18 (*NTAF* #63). A more optimistic assessment of each instance is offered by Harrison (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 290–1).

[53] Similarly Gregory, *Reception*, 314.

[54] Surveys include Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*; *idem*, 'Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 25–45; also *idem*, 'Der Apostel Paulus im 2. Jahrhundert', in Sevrin (ed.), *New Testament in Early Christianity*, 39–67; Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches'; and Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*.

[55] The plural 'letters' is unexpected and awkward. In classical and later usage, as Lightfoot pointed out, the plural could refer to a single letter (J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 6th edn. (London: Macmillan, 1881), 140–2, with numerous examples; additional examples in M. L. Stirewalt, Jun., *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography*, SBLSBS 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 77; see also Euseb. *HE* 6. 43. 3.). While granting that this is a linguistic possibility, Paulsen (*Die Briefe*, 116) rejects this solution, pointing out that in 13. 2 Polycarp clearly distinguishes the singular from the plural; see also *BDAG*, s.v. ἐπιστολή ('In all probability the plur. in our lit.—even Ac 9. 2; Pol. 3. 2—always means more than one letter, not a single one'). If this is a true plural, (a) it may be 'no more than an imprecision arising from familiarity with Pauline phraseology' (Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 15, with reference to 2 Cor. 10. 11); (b) he may simply have assumed that the Philippians possessed two or more letters (Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 327); (c) he knows that the Philippians possessed two or more letters (Philip Sellew, '*Laodiceans* and the Philippians Fragments Hypothesis', *HTR* 87 (1994), 17–28); (d) he may have read it out of Phil. 3. 1 (Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 14); or (e) 'What Polycarp means is that Paul's letters, no matter to which community they were originally written, can strengthen all Christians and every Christian community in the present. In this light, he can speak of all of the letters as "written to you," that is, to the Philippians of his own day' (Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings', 41–2)—a statement which may reflect Polycarp's attitude towards apostolic literature, but which seriously overstates what may be deduced from the plural here. More options are catalogued by Schoedel (*Polycarp*, 14–15) and Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 62–3), to which may be added the view of Stephanus Le Moyne, *Varia Sacra*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Daniel à Gaesbeeck,

tion, and commends these documents as a proper object of study (3. 2).[56] This last point would imply that Polycarp assumed that the Philippians had available to them copies of the documents in question—as he himself apparently did.[57] We immediately wonder, of course: which ones? Unless we assume that Polycarp used in *Philippians* every Pauline letter he possessed (or that use of one implies possession of a corpus of letters)—assumptions we have no basis for making—we cannot answer that question.[58] Instead, we can only pursue the clues which *Philippians* offers as to which documents Polycarp used in the composition of that particular and circumstantial document, always remembering that absence of use does not mean lack of knowledge.

Romans

Benecke places Romans in the Committee's 'B' category, and Berding finds one 'almost certain' citation and two 'probable' allusions. Yet the actual evidence of use of Romans is rather thin.[59] The most likely instance, in *Phil.* 6. 2 (NTAF # 21), is not without its ambiguities.

Phil. 6. 2	Rom. 14. 10, 12	2 Cor. 5. 10
πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι.	πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἄρα οὖν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ θεῷ.	τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς

1685), ii. 343, as reported by V. Koperski, 'The Early History of the Dissection of Philippians', *JTS* 44 (1993), 599–600, who suggested that a single letter to the Philippians might later have been divided into two segments, which were then mistaken for two separate letters. Paulsen (*Die Briefe*, 116) favours either (d) or (e); I lean towards either (a) or (b) or the two in combination; Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 63) thinks the problem is unresolvable.

[56] The verb ἐγκύπτειν occurs in early Christian literature only here and in *1 Clem.* 40. 1; 45. 2; 53. 1; 62. 3, where the objects of the verb are, respectively, 'divine knowledge', the 'scriptures', 'the oracles of God', and 'the oracles of the teaching of God'.

[57] On *Phil.* 3. 2 see further the discussion below under Philippians.

[58] As Lindemann ('Paul in the Writings', 25) reminds us, the Pauline corpus was not known to every Christian who happened to mention Paul or quote one or two of his letters.

[59] Two passages listed by the Oxford Committee under Romans, #22 and #24, are discussed under 2 Corinthians and 1 Timothy, respectively; for Rom. 12. 17, see *NTAF* #28; for Rom. 4. 16, see the discussion of *Phil.* 3. 3 under Gal. 4. 26 below. Additional passages mentioned as possibilities by Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 199) include 9. 2 (cf. Rom. 8. 17) and 10. 2–3 (cf. Rom. 2. 24).

θεου ℵ* A B C* DFG 1506.1739 *pc* lat co] Χριστου ℵ^{c}C^{2} Ψ 048 0209 33 1881 Byz sy τῳ θεῳ ℵ A C D Ψ 0209 33 *Byz* lat sy co] *omit* B FG 6 1739 1881 *pc* Cyp	ἃ ἔπραξεν εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον.

The wording of the second clause is verbally similar to Rom. 14. 12; the first clause has similarities to both Rom. 14. 10 and 2 Cor. 5. 10,[60] and opinions about its origin vary widely.[61] In view of the differences between Polycarp's statement and either of the putative sources, and given the formulaic or traditional nature of some of the phrases,[62] it is unwarranted to label this a 'citation';[63] it seems, rather, a classic case of allusion.[64] That both clauses of 6. 2 are paralleled in close context (separated only by a scriptural citation) in Romans, but that only one of them is paralleled in 2 Corinthians, is reason to think that the former is the more probable source. The existence of two, difficult-to-differentiate sources, however, suggests no more than a 'c' rating is in order here.

Berding labels two passages as 'probable reminiscences' of Romans, 3. 3 and 10. 1, to both of which, however, the Oxford Committee gives only a 'd' rating. In 3. 3 (*NTAF* #23), the conjunction of the double command to love God and neighbour and the idea of 'fulfilment' (προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἐὰν γάρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ᾖ, πεπλήρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης) suggests a link to Paul (Rom. 13. 8–10;

[60] Like 2 Cor. 5 is the use of the δεῖ + infinitive construction and the reference to Christ; like Rom. 14 is the use of 'stand' instead of 'appear' and a dative construction rather than a preposition + genitive for the phrase 'before the judgement seat'.

[61] Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 333) thinks that in the first clause 'we have here a combination of both passages' (i.e., Rom. 14. 10 and 2 Cor. 5. 10), as does J. B. Bauer (*Polykarpbriefe*, 56). The Oxford Committee (*NTAF*, 91, 89) attributes it 'primarily' to Rom. 14, allowing only that Polycarp may have 'unconsciously been influenced by 2 Cor 5. 10 also;' cf. Lohmann (*Drohung und Verheissung*, 187). Rensberger (*As the Apostle Teaches*, 113) does not even mention 2 Cor. 5. 10. On the other hand, Lindemann ('Paul in the Writings', 43; *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 225–6; followed by Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 119) is of the firm opinion that this is a 'quotation' of 2 Cor. 5. 10. Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 85–6) finds here 'probable influence' of the form of 2 Cor. 5. 10 on an 'almost certain loose citation' of Rom. 14. 10.

[62] e.g., παραστῆναι as a technical term (*BDAG*, s.v. παρίστημι, 1.e and 2.a. α), or λόγον δοῦναι as a standard accounting phrase (*BDAG*, s.v. λόγος, 2.a–b), which in this instance carries forward the metaphor of 'debtors' from 6. 1. For λόγον δοῦναι τῷ θεῷ, see *NewDocs* 3. 136.

[63] As do, e.g., Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 86, 199; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 226.

[64] See on this point the important work of F. M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 119–39.

Gal. 5. 14) rather than to the Jesus tradition[65]—though it is curious that whereas Rom. 13. 8–10 and Gal. 5. 14 (as also Jas. 2. 8) present only the second half of the 'greatest commandment', Polycarp presents both halves, and, with the juxtaposition of 'God and Christ', in a very distinctive form. In any case, if the source is Pauline, it is indeterminable: love as the fulfilment of the law is mentioned in both passages, and Polycarp's language could be derived from either.[66] The only reason that either the Committee or Berding favour Romans slightly—that it has the 'more fully developed passage'[67]—is hardly firm grounds for a decision. The Committee's 'd' rating is to be affirmed.

The other passage to which Berding draws attention is *Phil.* 10. 1 (*NTAF* #25), where, following Lightfoot (as does the Oxford Committee), Berding finds a double 'probable reminiscence' of Rom. 12. 10.[68]

Phil. 10. 1	Rom. 12. 10
... fraternitatis amatores, diligentes invicem, in veritate sociati, mansuetudine Domini alterutri praestolantes, nullum despicientes.	τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι.

'Probable', however, seems much too confident. The passage survives only in Latin translation; so any reconstruction of the Greek is only a conjecture[69] and, in the case of the second phrase, one which rests on a particular interpretation of an ambiguous Latin verb.[70] Moreover, the phrases in question are only short snippets of traditional paraenetic elements, which have parallels elsewhere in the letter and in other Christian writings from the same general period.[71] In short, there is nothing in the way of evidence to raise this

[65] So Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 66. Polycarp's reference to 'the commandment of righteousness' (rather than the 'law') no doubt reflects his immediate concern with this topic.

[66] Berding (ibid. 199) admits as much (despite giving a 'probable' rating) when he describes the referent of 3. 3 as 'Rom 13:8–10 and/or Gal 5:14'; methodologically, if it can be either passage, it counts as evidence for neither (the same problem encountered in dealing with double or triple tradition material in the gospels).

[67] *NTAF*, 90; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 66.

[68] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 339; *NTAF*, 90; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 102–3.

[69] In this regard it is worth noting that Zahn's retroversion here differs from that of Lightfoot.

[70] I.e., *praestolantes*; cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 339; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 102–3.

[71] For 'loving the brotherhood', cf. *Phil.* 3. 3a; 1 Pet. 3. 8, 2. 17 (or perhaps Rom. 12. 10, especially if, as Lightfoot suggests (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 339; cf. Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 122), one connects this phrase with the following one (i.e., 'devoted to one another with brotherly affection'); Schoedel (*Polycarp*, 30), probably correctly, prefers to separate the two). For 'cherishing one another', cf. 4. 2; Rom. 12. 10 (John 13. 34; 15. 12, 17). For 'giving way to one another in the gentleness of the Lord', cf. *Phil.* 2. 3; Rom 12. 10; 2 Cor. 10. 1 (so Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 339) and Schoedel (*Polycarp*, 30); cf. Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 122–3); Ignatius, *Phld.* 1. 2.

instance beyond the level of possibility. Once again, the Committee's 'd' rating is appropriate.

1 Corinthians

This is one of two documents whose use by Polycarp the Oxford Committee considered as 'beyond reasonable doubt'. The first passage to be discussed is *Phil.* 5. 3 (*NTAF* #1).

Phil. 5. 3	1 Cor. 6. 9–10
οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα.	*ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἄδικοι θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν; μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε εἰδωλολάτραι οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται* 10 *οὔτε κλέπται οὔτε πλεονέκται, οὐ μέθυσοι, οὐ λοίδοροι, οὐχ ἅρπαγες βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν.*

Though Benecke did not discern any 'fixed principle' guiding the omission of seven of Paul's ten terms,[72] context suggests that Polycarp's main focus in 5. 3—a concern for the sexual purity of the young men—controls his selection of just three terms from Paul's list.[73] The resulting statement is verbally identical, and lists the selected items in the same order as Paul's declaration in 1 Corinthians, and the concluding generalized reference to *οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα*, which functions in essentially the same way as the inclusive *ἄδικοι* in 6. 9a, suggests that Polycarp was consciously abbreviating.[74] There is widespread agreement that 1 Corinthians is Polycarp's source,[75] with slight hesitation arising only on the part of some who wonder if Paul himself may be relying on traditional materials.[76] The Oxford Committee's 'a' rating is not without its reasons.

The second passage of note is *Phil.* 11. 2 (*NTAF* #2).

Phil. 11. 2	1 Cor. 6. 2
aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum iudicabunt, sicut Paulus docet?	*ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινοῦσιν;*

72 *NTAF*, 85.

73 The only sexual category not mentioned is 'adulterers', probably because most if not all of the young men Polycarp addresses were, at least in his estimation, not yet likely to be married (similarly Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 225).

74 Benecke, *NTAF*, 85; similarly Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 225.

75 E.g., Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 331; Bauer, *Die Briefe*, 289 ('unverkennbar'); Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 176; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 78–9.

76 Cf. Rensberger, *As the Apostle Teaches*, 113; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 225 (less hesitantly in 'Paul in the Writings', 43: 'of course').

The mention of Paul by name, suggests Benecke, 'makes Polycarp's use of 1 Corinthians practically certain', though the fact that this passage survives only in the Latin version means, as Lindemann points out, that 'it is not impossible' that the reference to Paul 'was inserted by the Latin translator'.[77] On the other hand, the introductory 'or do we not know' 'seems to indicate Polycarp's supposition that his readers are acquainted with the quoted sentence, just as he is': in short, he assumes, apparently, that his readers also know 1 Corinthians.[78] The usual reservations engendered by the Latin translation might suggest a 'b' rating overall, though there is otherwise little to quarrel with regarding to the Committee's 'a' ranking.

The third passage of interest is *Phil.* 3. 2–3 (*NTAF* #3).

Phil. 3. 2–3	1 Cor. 13. 13
τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν, . . . ³ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς θεὸν καὶ χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον.	*νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα· μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.*

The traditional triad of 'faith, hope, and love' occurs not infrequently in Pauline and other writings, in two sequences: faith/love/hope (1 Thess. 1. 3; 5. 8; Col. 1. 4–5), and faith/hope/love (Rom. 5. 1–5; 1 Cor. 13. 13; Gal. 5. 5–6; Heb. 10. 22–4; 1 Pet. 1. 21–2), as in *Phil.* 3. 2–3. There is some uncertainty, however, regarding the logical sequence of Polycarp's triad: does *προαγούσης* indicate that love leads both other terms (i.e., love/faith/hope), that it leads just the preceding term, hope (i.e., faith/love/hope), or is it a paraphrastic rendering of *μείζων δὲ τούτων*?[79] If the third option is adopted,[80] then there is some basis for preferring, as does the Oxford Committee, 1 Cor. 13 as the most likely source, and for its 'c' rating here. Otherwise, the source is essentially indeterminate, and a 'd' rating would be appropriate.[81]

[77] *NTAF*, 85; Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings', 42; *idem*, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 90, 228.

[78] Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings', 42; *idem*, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 90.

[79] For the first option see Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 117; for the second, Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 3. 327; for the third, Schoedel, *Polycarp and Paul*, 15.

[80] Polycarp's reference to love specifically 'for God and Christ and for our neighbour' clearly echoes Jesus' teaching about the 'greatest commandment'—a slight reason, perhaps, to prefer the third option.

[81] Benecke (*NTAF*, 85–6) lists five additional sets of weak parallels (## 4–8), all of which he places in the 'd' category (no more than a possibility). Surprisingly, Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 199–200) in his summary does not mention two of these (##4, 8), and rates the other three (## 5, 6, 7) as 'probable'. In each instance, however, it is a matter of multiple potential sources for very short phrases; Benecke's rating is much to be preferred.

Benecke's concluding observation bears repetition: 'In view of the fact that Polycarp's use of 1 Corinthians may be regarded as certain, the small amount of verifiable influence from 1 Corinthians is worth noting.'[82]

2 Corinthians

Two passages call for discussion.[83] Unexpectedly, the Oxford Committee and Berding each rate higher the passage that the other rates lower. The first is *Phil.* 4. 1 (*NTAF* #22).

Phil. 4. 1	Rom. 13. 12, 6. 13	2 Cor. 6. 7
ὁπλισώμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης.	*ἐνδυσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός.* 6. 13: *ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης.*	*διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης.*

With regard to the mention of 'weapons of righteousness' in *Phil.* 4. 1, it is widely agreed that a Pauline metaphor has 'certainly influenced' the passage.[84] But which one? The verb, a vivid military metaphor, occurs in early Christian literature only here and in 1 Pet. 4. 1, but Rom. 13. 12 certainly echoes the concept (cf. also Eph. 6. 13). The specific noun + genitive construction occurs in the three instances set out above, but again the concept is more widespread, in Christian writings (cf. Eph. 6. 13; Ign. *Pol.* 6.2) and secular authors (e.g., Pseudo-Crates, *Ep.* 16 (1–2 *c*.CE), where the Cynic's cloak and wallet are 'the weapons of the gods'). In short, the phrase is sufficiently common that Polycarp's rather generic formulation of it cannot be taken as evidence of knowledge of any particular document. The Oxford Committee rightly assigns a 'd' rating here.[85]

The second passage is *Phil.* 2. 2 (*NTAF* #26).

Phil. 2. 2	2 Cor. 4. 14
ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ.	*εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ.*

82 *NTAF*, 86.

83 *Re Phil.* 6. 2 (*NTAF* #27), where Berding finds 'probable' influence of 2 Cor. 5. 10, see the discussion of Rom. 14. 10 above; even the 'c' rating assigned by the Oxford Committee (*NTAF*, 91) for the possible parallel between 6. 2 and 2 Cor. 5. 10 seems unduly optimistic. The three additional passages given a 'd' rating (*Phil.* 5. 2 // 2 Cor. 8. 21 and others (*NTAF* #28); *Phil.* 11. 3 // 2 Cor. 3. 2 (*NTAF* #29); *Phil.* 3. 2 // 2 Cor. 10. 1 (*NTAF* #30)) need no discussion. Additional passages mentioned as possibilities by Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 200) include 9. 2 (cf. 2 Cor. 10. 1) and 10. 1 (cf. 2 Cor. 10. 1).

84 So *NTAF*, 90; cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 68–9.

85 In contrast to Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 68–69), who finds here a 'probable' allusion to 2 Cor. 6. 7.

Lightfoot considered 2. 2 a 'loose quotation' of 2 Cor. 4. 14; the Oxford Committee, acknowledging that 'the idea contained in' these two passages 'may have become a Christian commonplace',[86] none the less found it 'difficult to resist the conclusion that we have here a reminiscence of 2 Corinthians'—primarily on the strength of the phrase *καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ*—and assigned a 'b' rating.[87] But such a conclusion overlooks the extent to which this portion of 2.2 (a) merely repeats the language and thought of *Phil.* 2. 1 (likely derived from 1 Peter); (b) lacks any of the distinctive verbal features of 2 Cor. 4. 14;[88] and (c) has parallels with other texts (e.g. 1 Cor. 6. 14; Rom. 8. 11). This text does not demonstrate that Polycarp knew 2 Corinthians; an allusion to 2 Corinthians is, as Berding concludes, no more than a possibility.[89]

Galatians

Two passages offer the primary evidence for Galatians in Philippians.[90] The first is *Phil.* 5. 1 (*NTAF* #31).

Phil. 5. 1	Gal 6. 7
εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται.	*μὴ πλανᾶσθε· θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται.*

The introductory formula leaves little doubt that the proverbial[91] statement is a quotation. Because (1) the wording matches Gal. 6. 7 exactly, and (2) the saying does not appear to be otherwise attested in antiquity,[92] this instance is

[86] So also Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 227; cf. Grant, 'Polycarp', 143.

[87] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 325 (similarly Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 173; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 35–6; Schoedel, *Polycarp and Paul*, 11); *NTAF*, 91.

[88] On this point see especially Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 49.

[89] Ibid. 51, 200.

[90] In regard to other possible connections, Berding's alleged 'probable' allusion in *Phil.* 3. 3 to Gal. 5. 14 (*NTAF* #33) is in fact indeterminable (a point Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 199, 200) as much as admits when he describes the referent of 3. 3 as 'Rom 13: 8–10 and/or Gal 5:14'; methodologically, if it can be either passage, it counts as evidence for neither). We may set aside the other two 'd' passages the Committee noticed (*Phil.* 5. 3 // Gal. 5. 17 (*NTAF* #34); *Phil.* 9. 2 // Gal. 2. 2 (*NTAF* #35)); for the latter, see the discussion of Phil 2. 16 below. Additional passages mentioned as possibilities by Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 200) include *Phil.* 12. 2 (cf. Gal. 1. 1).

[91] Note the very concise sentence structure, the anarthous *θεός* (cf. BDF §254), and the gnomic present. See E. Burton, *Galatians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), 340–1, and H. D. Betz, *Galatians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 306–7; so also Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches', 114.

[92] So Betz, *Galatians*, 306 n. 148; but cf. Prov. 1. 30; Ezek. 8. 17; and *1 Clem.* 39. 1 for conceptually similar material.

widely viewed as a virtually certain citation of Galatians by Polycarp.[93] But as Betz notes, 'the fact that it is not widely attested could be accidental', and in any case, 'the idea of God expressed in the "proverb" was common in antiquity'.[94] Moreover, as Benecke observes, 'the possibility cannot be excluded that the words may be a quotation in Galatians also' (note the introductory *μὴ πλανᾶσθε*), and that Paul and Polycarp made independent use of a familiar saying. Thus the Oxford Committee assigned a 'b' rating, indicating high probability rather than certainty;[95] a 'c' rating would not seem unreasonable.

The second passage is *Phil.* 3. 3 (*NTAF* #32).

Phil. 3. 3	Gal. 4. 26	Rom. 4. 16
. . . πίστιν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν	*ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν.*	*. . . πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὅς ἐστιν πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν*
	μητηρ p^{46} ℵ* B C DFG 33 1739 1881 *pc* lat sy$^{p.hmg}$ co Marcion^{T} Ir^{arm} Or]+ *παντων* ℵ^{2}A C^{3} 0261^{vid}*Byz* a b t sy^{h} Ir^{lat}	

The imagery of Jerusalem (or Zion) as 'our mother' is well established in Jewish writings (cf. Isa. 49. 14–21; 50. 1; 51. 18; 54. 1; 60. 4; Jer. 50 (LXX 27). 12; Hos. 4. 5); in second-century Christian writings we find faith as 'mother'.[96] Paul's allegory in Galatians 4 may represent the transition from the one image to the other. But is it the source of Polycarp's text? The form is similar, but the context is different, observes Berding, who then notes the thematic similarity with Rom. 4. 16, which is also very similar in form.[97] If the logic behind Polycarp's expression were known, it might reveal a material connection between Polycarp and Galatians, in addition to the formal similarities of

[93] e.g., Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 73; J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 53; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 224 (followed by Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 118); Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 292–3; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 330.

[94] Betz, *Galatians*, 307.

[95] *NTAF*, 92; similarly Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 176.

[96] e.g., *Martyrdom of Justin and Companions*, 4. 8, 'our true father is Christ, and faith in him our mother' (the phrase occurs in Recension B only; see Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 51); Hermas, *Vis.* 3. 8. 3–7 (16. 3–7), where 'Faith' is the 'mother' (directly or at some remove) of self-control, sincerity, innocence, reverence, knowledge, and love.

[97] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 64; cf. J. C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), 19, who suggests that the reference in Rom. 4. 16 to the 'faith of Abraham . . . the father of us all' generated by analogy Polycarp's phrase here in 3. 3.

wording.[98] Absent that information, the Oxford Committee's 'b' rating seems perhaps a bit generous; I would prefer a 'c' classification.

Ephesians

The first passage, to be discussed here is *Phil.* 12. 1 (*NTAF* #37).

Phil. 12. 1	Eph. 4. 26	Ps. 4. 5 (LXX)
Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, irascimini et nolite peccare, et sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.	ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν.	ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε·

In view of how the two statements in *Phil.* 12. 1 are essentially 'framed' by the two 'expressions of confidence' that open and close the section ('I am convinced that you are all well-trained...' and 'blessed is the one who remembers this, which I believe to be the case with you'), and given the introductory formula (*ut his scripturis dictum est*), there can be little question that we are dealing here with explicit quotations. The first agrees essentially verbatim with the LXX of Ps. 4. 5, which is quoted verbatim in Eph. 4. 26a; and the second is an essentially verbatim quotation of 4. 26b (which has Septuagintal antecedents; cf. Deut. 24. 13, 15; Jer. 15. 9).

For many scholars, the question of greater interest is not whether Polycarp here makes use of Ephesians but whether he refers to Ephesians as 'Scripture'.[99] The key issue for the moment, however, is whether Polycarp independently combined the two sayings found together in Eph. 4. 26, or whether

[98] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 223; cf. Schoedel's suggestion (*Polycarp and Paul*, 15), that 'Abraham, the "father of us all," is originator of Christians through Sarah—that is, faith—who is, therefore, the mother of us all'.

[99] The latter question is basically unanswerable (similarly Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 228; Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 125), in view of the state of the evidence: e.g., the references first to *sacris literis* and then to *scripturis*, which Schoedel (*Polycarp*, 35) renders as 'writings' and 'scriptures' respectively. Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 344, in agreement with Zahn) gives *γραφαῖς* as the retroversion of both *literis* and *scripturis*, but W. Bauer (*Die Briefe*, 296) wonders if the first reference might reflect the *ἱερὰ γράμματα* ('sacred writings') of 2 Tim. 3. 15. Do the different Latin terms accurately reflect differences in the underlying Greek text of Polycarp (and if so, what were they?), or do they reflect the translation technique of the Latin translator? Lacking answers to such basic questions, it is difficult if not impossible to decide whether Polycarp (simply to list the major options) (1) cited both sayings as 'scripture', thinking that both were from the LXX; (2) intended the introductory formula to apply only to the first quotation, the *et* separating rather than linking the two; (3a) cited both as 'scripture', thinking that the first was from Psalms and the second from Ephesians; (3b) cited both as 'scripture', and derived both from Ephesians. For discussion and a slightly different arrangement of the options, see Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 118–19.

their collocation here in *Philippians* testifies to Polycarp's use of Ephesians. One possibility—namely, 'that St. Paul and Polycarp are quoting a common proverb . . . seems to be excluded by *his scripturis*', notes Benecke. Further, the close verbal similarity between 12. 1 and Eph. 4. 26b, where the two sayings are already associated, strongly suggests (to quote Benecke again) that 'the collocation of the two passages in Polycarp is almost certainly due to Ephesians'.[100] For once, I would rate this example higher than the Oxford Committee: 'a' instead of 'b.'

The second passage is *Phil.* 1. 3 (*NTAF* #36).

Phil. 1. 3	Eph. 2. 5, 8–9
εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	[5]*χάριτί ἐστε σεσῳσμένοι . . .*[8] *τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσῳσμένοι διὰ πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον·* [9]*οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων*

While granting that 'in 1. 3, there appears to be a quotation of Ephesians 2. 8–9', Lindemann notes that 'it is possible, however, that Polycarp is not citing the "Pauline" text directly but rather is making use of a tradition that we may suppose to have been of Pauline origin'.[101] But in view of (1) the extent (quantity) and degree (quality) of verbal similarity between the two passages, (2) the remarkably similar structure of the two passages,[102] and (3) the near certainty, on the basis of *Phil.* 12. 1, that Polycarp knows Ephesians, this instance is certainly worthy of at least the 'b' rating the Oxford Committee assigned it.[103]

Philippians

In *Phil.* 3. 2 (*NTAF* #40) Polycarp reminds the Philippians that 'when [Paul] was absent he wrote you letters'. Regardless of how the problematic plural

[100] *NTAF*, 93. Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 119, following Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 69–71), concludes that the first citation is primarily dependent on Ps. 4. 5a, rather than Ephesians; in view of the verbal identity between the two, it is unclear how one might demonstrate this.

[101] Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings', 43; fuller discussion in *Paulus in ältesten Christentum*, 222–3.

[102] Eph. 2. 8–9, (a) saved by grace, (b) through faith, (c) not by works, (d) gift of God, (e) created in Christ Jesus, (f) for good works; *Philippians*, (a) saved by grace, (b) [believe, 1.3a], (c) not works, (d) will of God, (e) through Jesus Christ, (f) therefore serve God [2. 1].

[103] *NTAF*, 92–3; Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 44, 200) rates it as 'almost certain'. Passages not discussed include *Phil.* 11. 2 // Eph. 5. 5; Col. 3. 5 (*NTAF* #38; the 'c' rating overstates the case, inasmuch as the passage survives only in Latin, which makes distinguishing between nearly identical material in Ephesians and Colossians impossible) and *Phil.* 12. 3 // Eph 6. 18 (*NTAF* #39, 'd'). Additional passages mentioned as possibilities by Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 200) include 2. 1 (cf. Eph. 6. 14) and 10. 2 (cf. Eph. 5. 21; 1 Pet. 5. 5).

'letters' is to be interpreted,[104] many see here virtual proof that Polycarp knew Paul's letter to the Philippians.[105] Strictly speaking, however, all this reference reveals is that Polycarp knew of a letter (or letters) to the Philippians; it does not prove that he knew the letter itself.[106] Consequently, it is still necessary to examine the evidence for usage of the document.

Three passages will be discussed. The first is *Phil.* 9. 2 (*NTAF* #41).

Phil. 9. 2	Phil. 2. 16	Gal. 2. 2
ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον.	*ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον.*	*μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον.*

The relative rarity of the phrase *εἰς κενὸν τρεχειν* (used here in the aorist, *ἔδραμον*) increases the probability that Polycarp is alluding to one of the other two texts.[107] While the language of both Phil. 2. 16 and Gal. 2. 2 is similar, their respective contexts are rather different, and it is the context of Philippians that Polycarp echoes more closely. Berding's conclusion of a 'probable' connection (which I take to be roughly equivalent to a 'c' rating) is not unjustified.[108]

The second passage is *Phil.* 2. 1 (*NTAF* #42; cf. #8).

Phil. 2. 1	Phil. 2. 10	1 Cor. 15. 28
ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια, . . . οὗ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ.	*ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονών.* 3. 21: *ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.*	*ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.*

Benecke's primary reason for issuing a 'c' rating—that the context of the passage 'shows clearly' that it refers to Christ[109]—is, in fact, not so clear, as the antecedent of the pronoun *ᾧ* is grammatically and contextually ambiguous, and the verb employed in the following clause (*λατρεύει*) is elsewhere used

[104] See n. 55 above.

[105] E.g., Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 63 ('almost certain'); Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 36 (knowledge of Philippians is 'infinitely probable'); *NTAF*, 94 ('highly probable'); Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 142.

[106] Similarly Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 229; 'Paul in the Writings', 44.

[107] A *TLG* search of centuries 1 BCE–2 CE for the sequences *–κεν–* and either *–τρεχ–* or *–δραμ–* within five words of each other, in either order, produced only four hits: the three cited above, and a quotation of *Phil.* 9 in the Martyrdom of Ignatius.

[108] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 98–9; rating it somewhat higher are *NTAF*, 94 ('b'); Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 177 ('highly probable'); cf. Grant, 'Polycarp', 143 n. 68. Somewhat more sceptical (without, however, giving any reasons) are Lindemann (*Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 228) and Rensberger (*As the Apostle Teaches*, 114).

[109] *NTAF*, 94.

uniformly with God as object of service.[110] Moreover, the parallel phrases are short, the language not uncommon, and the potential sources multiple: more than enough reasons to list this, as does Berding, as no more than a 'possible' allusion.[111]

The third passage is *Phil.* 12. 3 (*NTAF* # 43).

Phil. 12. 3	Phil. 3. 18
ei pro inimicis crucis	τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

'The expression is sufficiently striking to make it probable that Polycarp is thinking of the passage in Philippians,' notes the Oxford Committee, which assigned a 'c' rating.[112] The phrase does not occur elsewhere in Greek Christian literature of the first and second centuries CE.[113]

Colossians

The evidence for use of Colossians is exceedingly tenuous. The Oxford Committee listed four possible instances, giving 'd' ratings in every case: in one the verbal connection involves a single word, and in the other three (which survive only in the Latin translation, always a problematic circumstance) there are multiple potential sources.[114] Polycarp may have known Colossians, or not: *Philippians* offers no evidence in either direction.

1 Thessalonians

The evidence for use of 1 Thessalonians is even less than that for Colossians. In *Phil.* 11. 1, Polycarp's *abstinete vos ab omni malo* has similarities with 1 Thess. 5. 22, ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε. Absent the Greek text, however, and given the brevity of the phrase and the conventionality of the

[110] See *BDAG*, s.v. λατρεύω.

[111] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 48, 201 (though his discussion on p. 47 seems rather more optimistic than his conclusion).

[112] *NTAF*, 94; similarly Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 123; J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 73; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 37; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 181; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 346; Grant ('Polycarp', 143) is 'doubtless'.

[113] A *TLG* search of centuries 1 BCE–2 CE produced, in addition to the two passages cited above, only three other instances, all in the pseudo-Ignatian correspondence.

[114] The passages are *Phil.* 1. 2 // Col. 1. 5, 6 (*NTAF* #69); *Phil.* 10. 1 // Col. 1. 23, 1 Cor. 15. 58 (*NTAF* #70 = #6); *Phil.* 11. 2 // Col. 3. 5; Eph. 5. 5 (*NTAF* #71 = #38; cf. on Ephesians above); and *Phil.* 12. 2 // Col. 1. 12; Acts 2. 5 (*NTAF* #72 = #63). Passages not discussed, to which the

concept, a connection is not demonstrable.[115] See further, however, the conclusion to the discussion of 2 Thessalonians below.

2 Thessalonians

Two passages require discussion here. The first is *Phil.* 11. 3. (*NTAF* #46).

Phil. 11. 3	2 Thess. 1. 4
ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio epistulae eius: de vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis	*ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυχασθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Some degree of verbal similarity (assuming, of course, that the Latin is a fair approximation of the Greek) is evident—sufficient, perhaps, to justify a 'c' rating, though not the 'b' awarded by Benecke.[116] For some, however, the circumstance that Polycarp addresses to the Philippians words originally addressed to the Thessalonians raises rather more doubt about whether he is really drawing on 2 Thessalonians here.[117] A reference to 2 Thessalonians is certainly possible; given the uncertainties about the reliability of the Latin and about Polycarp's state of mind with respect to what he thought he was doing, raising this to a level of probability seems unwarranted. I would rate this in the 'd' category.

The second passage is *Phil.* 11. 4 (*NTAF* #47).

Phil. 11. 4	2 Thess. 3. 15
et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate.	*και μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.*

Committee gave a 'd' rating, include *Phil.* 1. 1 // Phil. 2. 17 (*NTAF* #44; see the discussion of 2 Thess. 1. 4 (*NTAF* #46) below) and *Phil.* 5. 2 // Phil. 1. 27; *1 Clem.* 21. 1 (*NTAF* #45; in this case, Berding's rating of this essentially indeterminable allusion—the connections with 1 Clement are as strong as those to Phil. 1. 27—as a 'probable' allusion to Philippians (*Polycarp and Paul*, 75–6, 77, 200) seems unduly enthusiastic). Additional passages mentioned as possibilities by Berding (ibid. 200–1) include: 1. 2 (Paul's commendation of the Philippian church); 3. 2 (cf. Phil. 1. 27); 4. 3 (cf. Phil. 2. 17; 4. 18); 9. 1 (cf. Phil. 1. 29–30); 11. 3 (cf. Phil. 4. 15; 2 Cor. 3. 2).

[115] Cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 108.

[116] *NTAF*, 95; cf., e.g., Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 113, 201; J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 66; Massaux, *Influence*, 40; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 178–9; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 343.

[117] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 90; Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 124. For discussions of the various problems raised by this circumstance (along with proposed solutions), see Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 112–13; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 33–4. For related problems associated with the preceding clause (*qui estis in principio epistulae eius*), see Michael W. Holmes, 'A Note on the Text of Polycarp *Philippians* 11.3', *VC* 51 (1997), 207–10.

Benecke observes that 'Polycarp's words sound as though he had purposely adapted the expression of 2 Thessalonians for his own object', and gives this parallel a 'c' rating—i.e., not a 'high degree' of probability, but still probable rather than merely possible.[118] It seems a rather short phrase, however, to raise to the level of probability in the absence of additional evidence. The possible (my evaluation) or probable (Benecke's evaluation) evidence for Polycarp's use of 2 Thessalonians, such as it is, is not without implications for his knowledge of 1 Thessalonians; it would seem unlikely (not impossible, of course, but unlikely) that he knew the second letter without also knowing the first.

1 Timothy

Only one passage will be discussed in detail here: *Phil.* 4. 1 (*NTAF* #48).

Phil. 4. 1	1 Tim. 6. 7, 10
ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία. εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν.	*οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα.* 6. 10: *ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία.*

The thoughts expressed by the two maxims Polycarp quotes[119] at this point—'But the beginning of all troubles is the love of money', and 'we brought nothing into the world, nor can we take anything out'—are well known in Greek, Jewish, and Hellenistic-Jewish literature.[120] The first is similar to 1 Tim. 6. 10, and the second is virtually identical to 1 Tim. 6. 7. Indeed, so close are the similarities that a relationship between the two documents is widely assumed; the precise nature of this relationship, however, is much disputed.

[118] *NTAF*, 95; cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 114, 201; Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches', 114 ('very probable'); Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 40; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 179–80; Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 293; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 343.

[119] Note the introductory formula that precedes the second maxim.

[120] For examples consult M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 84–6; C. Spicq, *Saint Paul: Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 2 vols., EB, 4th edn. (Paris: Gabalda, 1969), i. 564–5; and I. H. Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 645–53.

Suggestions include (1) independent use of well-known and widely attested sayings;[121] (2) identity of authorship;[122] (3) shared use of the same or similar tradition(s);[123] (4) quotation of Polycarp by 1 Timothy;[124] and (5) quotation of 1 Timothy by Polycarp.[125] It is of course quite true that both maxims are commonplace, and if taken separately (as do Dibelius and Conzelmann), they need demonstrate nothing about a relationship. But (a) they do in fact occur together in *Philippians*, not separately, which is quite unusual,[126] and (b) the wording of the saying in 1 Tim. 6. 7 is virtually identical with 4. 1—and quite different from the idea anywhere else it occurs. These considerations leave options (3) and (5) as the more likely possibilities. While acknowledging the difficulty of disproving (3), none the less, (i) the use of 'knowing that' to introduce the saying also found in 1 Tim. 6. 7 (the same introductory phrase which in 1. 3 and 5. 1 introduces apparent citations), and (ii) the presence of *ἀλλά* in 4. 1 instead of the very difficult *ὅτι* of 1 Tim. 6. 7 strongly suggest (5), quotation of 1 Timothy by Polycarp, as the more probable explanation. Benecke's 'b' rating is, if anything, too low.

[121] Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 85, 86; W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 224; Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 117.

[122] H. von Campenhausen, 'Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe', in SHAW.P-H Jahrgang 1951 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 1951) 5–51; repr. in *idem, Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1963), 197–252. Against this view see Rensberger ('As the Apostle Teaches', 120–2), who calls attention to, among other points, the differences in literary style and quality, in introductory formulae, in the offices and positions addressed, and in the instructions given to the various offices. Cf. also Schoedel (*Polycarp*, 5, 16).

[123] The author of 1 Timothy, if not actually Polycarp himself, 'must at least have been intimately connected with Polycarp' (H. von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 181; cf. *idem*, 'Polykarp von Smyrna', 250–2); Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 86 n. 19; W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 224; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 183 ('The parallels that Harnack insists show that Polycarp used the Pastorals may as easily be allowed to show the latter's use of Polycarp but are more properly, perhaps, to be understood in terms of their common use of paranesis').

[124] W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, 224; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 182–3. The very difficult *ὅτι* in 1 Tim. 6. 7 (a difficulty evidenced by widespread textual variation; for discussion, see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; New York: UBS, 1994), 576), for which *Phil.* 4. 1 smoothly reads *ἀλλά*, would appear to render this suggestion quite unlikely.

[125] Adolf von Harnack, *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926), 72 n. 4; D. Völter, *Polykarp und Ignatius und die ihnen zugeschriebenen Briefe*, Die Apostolischen Väter, 2.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1910), 36–7; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 16; Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches', 124–5; *NTAF*, 95–6; Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings', 43 (cf. *idem, Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 223–4); Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 295.

[126] Philo expresses both ideas in *De specialibus legibus*, but one is in 1. 294–5 and the other in 4. 65; both occur in Pseudo-Phocylides, but some distance apart (42, 109–10).

There are four passages to which Benecke gives a 'c' rating, signalling a 'lesser degreee of probability'; in each case, however, it appears that a 'd' rating might be more in order. Two of his cases—4. 3 // 1 Tim. 5. 5 (*NTAF* #49) and 5. 2 // 1 Tim. 3. 8 (*NTAF* #50), dealing respectively with widows and deacons—fall within the so-called *Haustafel* ('household code') sections of the two letters. In *Phil.* 4. 1–6. 2, Polycarp sets out what is more properly termed a *Gemeindetafel*, a 'congregational code'; similar codes are found in 1 Timothy, Titus, Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Peter, and similar material is embedded in *1 Clement* and the *Didache.*[127] A comparison of the similarities as well as the differences indicates that Polycarp partakes of a common milieu, but does not stand in a close literary relationship with any of these other examples.[128] In the case of *Phil.* 8. 1 // 1 Tim. 1. 1 (*NTAF* #51), Polycarp's statement is a pastiche of Pauline ideas and phraseology, but the individual short phrases—in this instance, the idea of Christ Jesus as the object of hope—cannot be linked to a single source text to the exclusion of others, and Berding is right to list it only as a possibility.[129] The fourth case, *Phil.* 12. 3 // 1 Tim. 2. 1–2 (*NTAF* #52), involves a phrase so short and generic ('pray also for kings') that probability of dependence upon a specific source is difficult to demonstrate.[130]

2 Timothy

Two passages will be discussed here. The first is *Phil.* 9. 2 (*NTAF* #55).

Phil. 9. 2	2 Tim. 4. 10
οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα.	*ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα.*

The way in which Polycarp 'reverses' the phrase to make his point—in contrast to Demas, who deserted Paul because he 'loved the present world', the subjects of Polycarp's statement (a whole roster of faithful heroes) did '*not* love the present world'—gives it every appearance of a classic allusion. The circumstance that the idea of 'loving the present world' is surprisingly

[127] Cf. 1 Tim. 2. 1–6. 1; Titus 1. 5–9; 2. 1–10; Eph. 5. 21–6. 9; Col. 3. 18–4. 1; 1 Pet. 2. 18–3. 7; *1 Clem.* 1. 3; 21. 6–8; *Did.* 4. 9–11.

[128] Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 69–70, 201), on the other hand, thinks that *Philippians* betrays a 'probable general dependence upon the *Haustafeln* of 1 Timothy'—a conclusion which reflects inadequate attention to the differences between the two documents.

[129] Ibid. 94.

[130] Passages not discussed, to which the committee gave a 'd' rating, include *Phil.* 11. 2 // 1 Tim. 3. 5 (*NTAF* #53) and *Phil.* 12. 3 // 1 Tim 4. 15 (*NTAF* #54). Additional passages mentioned as possibilities by Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 74, 201) include *Phil.* 5. 2 // 1 Tim. 6. 17 (cf. 2 Tim. 4. 10; Titus 2. 12; cf. ibid. 74 n. 144) and 6. 1 // 1 Tim. 5. 19.

uncommon in Greek literature—it occurs in only these two instances among surviving texts of centuries 1 BCE–2 CE[131]—lends weight to the probability that Polycarp is here dependent on 2 Timothy. The 'b' rating assigned by the Oxford Committee is not unjustified.[132]

The second passage is *Phil.* 5. 2 (*NTAF* #56; cf. #24).

Phil. 5. 2	2 Tim. 2. 11–12
καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν, εἴγε πιστεύομεν.	πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν καὶ συζήσομεν,[12] εἰ ὑπομένομεν καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν.

The Oxford Committee placed this instance in its 'c' category, while Berding rates it somewhat more positively.[133] The key verb (συμβασιλεύειν) occurs in early Christian literature only in 1 Cor. 4. 8; 2 Tim. 2. 12; and here. The last two texts also share conceptual affinities,[134] but as 2 Tim. 2. 12 is one of the 'faithful sayings' (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος)—in this case, a quotation of unknown origin, probably from a hymn[135]—the similarities may well be due to common use of traditional material, rather than direct dependence.[136] No more than a 'd' rating seems warranted.

With regard to *Phil.* 11. 4 // 2 Tim. 2. 25 (*NTAF* #57), the other passage to which Benecke gives a 'c' rating, Berding (uncharacteristically) rates it less positively. Noting that the verbal connections 'are fairly conventional', he rightly places this instance in the 'possibility' category (the Oxford Committee's 'd' category, where they place *Phil.* 12. 1 // 2 Tim. 1. 5 (*NTAF* #58)).[137]

Titus and Philemon

There appears to be no plausible evidence for the use of either Titus or Philemon. This silence, of course, proves nothing as to whether Polycarp did or did not know these documents.

131 More precisely, Greek literature included in the *TLG* data base.

132 *NTAF*, 97; Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 100) essentially repeats Benecke's arguments, yet rates it a bit more confidently ('almost certain').

133 *NTAF*, 97; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 76–7 (a 'probable' allusion).

134 2 Tim. 2. 12, 'if we endure' (εἰ ὑπομένομεν); *Phil.* 5. 2, 'if we prove to be worthy citizens' (ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθη ἀξίως).

135 Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 109.

136 *NTAF*, 97; Campenhausen, 'Polykarp von Smyrna', 225.

137 *NTAF*, 97–8; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 113.

HEBREWS, THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES, AND THE APOCALYPSE

Hebrews

The principal passage of relevance here is *Phil.* 6. 3 (*NTAF* #64).

Phil. 6. 3	Heb. 12. 28	Ps. 2. 11 (LXX)
δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας.	λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους.	δουλεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ.

Two words (δουλεύω, φόβος) link Philippians and Psalm 2 (cf. *Phil.* 2. 1), while only the term εὐλαβείας (Septuagintal: Josh. 22. 24; Prov. 28. 14; Wisd. 17. 8) links it with Heb. 12;[138] moreover, the αὐτῷ in *Philippians* likely refers to Christ (the nearest and most natural antecedent), not θεῷ, as in Hebrews.[139] In short, Benecke's assignment of a 'c' rating seems a bit gratuitous, especially as he recognizes that 'the reference seems to be a general one to the tenour of the O.T. as well as the Gospel'. A link between Polycarp and Hebrews here is a possibility, but no more than that.[140]

Another instance where Benecke assigns a 'c' rating involves *Phil.* 12. 2 // Heb. 4. 14; 6. 20; 7. 3 (*NTAF* #65). The linkage of 'high priest' and 'son of God' in 12. 2 'render it not improbable' that Polycarp depends on Hebrews: in 4. 14, Jesus is called both ἀρχιερέα and υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ; in 6. 20, ἀρχιερεύς; and just four verses later, in 7. 3, υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ and ἱερεύς.[141] But Berding, noting that none of the 'pastiche of early Christian expressions' in 12. 2 'can be definitively connected with any particular text', classifies it as only a 'possible' allusion.[142] The linkage of priesthood and sonship that is distinctive of Hebrews is not, however, exclusive to Hebrews: cf. *1 Clement* (a document very well known to Polycarp[143]), where in 36. 1 Jesus is termed 'High Priest of our offerings' and shortly thereafter (in a direct continuation of the writer's line of thought) 'son' of God (36. 4—citing Heb. 1!). A connection is surely

[138] Nor do any of the textual variants in Heb. 12. 28 move the text any closer to that of *Philippians.*

[139] Cf. R. Bultmann, 'εὐλαβής, etc.', *TDNT* ii (1964), 753; against W. Bauer, *Die Briefe*, 290; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 22; Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 119; J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 56.

[140] So also Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 86–7, esp. n. 189.

[141] *NTAF*, 99–100.

[142] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 120, 201.

[143] For comparative texts and lists of parallels, consult J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 28–30; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 202.

possible, but cannot, in view of the multiple possible sources, be deemed probable.[144]

1 Peter

Three passages will be discussed here. The first is *Phil.* 1. 3 (*NTAF* # 9, 16).

Phil. 1. 3	1 Pet. 1. 8, 12
[. . . Χριστόν . . .] εις ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε	1. 8: [. . . Χριστοῦ . . .] ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε
χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ	χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ . . .
εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν.	1. 12: εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι

Benecke's opinion ('1 Peter is almost certainly presupposed by Polycarp here') and rating ('a') is widely echoed.[145] The circumstance that the combination of χαρά, ἀνεκλάλητος, and δοξάζω apparently occurs only in *Philippians* and 1 Peter in extant Greek literature of centuries 2 BCE–3 CE considerably increases the probability that Polycarp is here dependent on 1 Peter.[146]

With regard to possible dependence on 1 Pet. 1. 12, Benecke (who awards only a 'd' rating) allows that 'Polycarp may possibly be influenced by I Peter here, as his words follow immediately the certain quotation (9), while the words in I Peter follow the words cited from that Epistle under (9) after a short interval'.[147] On the same basis Berding is more optimistic, rating this instance as a 'probable allusion';[148] even those who think the content of *Phil.* 1. 3 is reminiscent of Matt. 25. 21, 23 (cf. 13. 17 // Luke 10. 2) acknowledge that the form reflects 1 Peter.[149]

The second is *Phil.* 8. 1 (*NTAF* # 10).

Phil. 8. 1–2	1 Pet. 2. 21–4; 4. 16	Cf. Isa. 53. 4a, 9b, 12b *[Rahlfs]*.
. . . ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν	[21] . . . εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε,	[4a] οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει . . .

144 Rated in the 'd' category and not discussed is *Phil.* 9. 1 // Heb. 5. 13 (*NTAF* #66).

145 *NTAF*, 86; similarly, e.g., Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 9; Massaux (*Influence*, ii. 42: 'The literary contact is definite: the idea is absolutely similar, the terms are practically identical; Polycarp simply omitted a few'), followed by Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 41); J. H. Elliott, *1 Peter*, AB 37B (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 342–3; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 323.

146 These results are based on searches of the *TLG* 'E' database.

147 *NTAF*, 88.

148 Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 41–2; cf. earlier Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 42 ('most probably').

149 E.g., Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 9; J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 41–2; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 323.

οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ,	*ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ . . .*	[9b]*ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.* . . .
πάντα ὑπέμεινεν.	[22]*ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ*	
[2]*μιματαὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς [αὐτοῦ], καὶ ἐὰν πάσχομεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.*	*ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, . . .*[24] *ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν . . .* 4. 16: *εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός [πάσχει], μὴ ἀισχυνέσθω, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ.*	[12b]*καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.*

Several phrases in 8. 1–2 are couched in language that closely echoes 1 Pet. 2. 21–4.[150] The phrase 'who bore our sins in his own body upon the tree' is very similar to 1 Pet. 2. 24a; Polycarp has *ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον* (preposition + article + accusative), a combination which occurs in the NT only at 2. 24a (cf. *Barn.* 8. 5), instead of the expression more commonly found in the NT: namely, *ἐπὶ ξύλου* (preposition + genitive, as in Acts 5. 30, 10. 39; Gal. 3. 13; cf. *Barn.* 5. 13). The following phrase ('who committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth') is verbally identical to 1 Pet. 2. 22, which is in turn a quotation of Isa. 53. 9b. Polycarp's dependence on 1 Peter (rather than Isaiah, or *1 Clem.* 16. 10, which cites the Isaiah passage without alteration) is confirmed by the presence in Polycarp's text of two modifications of Isa. 53. 9b (LXX) found in the text of 1 Peter: the substitutions of *ὅς* for *ὅτι* and *ἁμαρτίαν* for *ἀνομίαν*.

In these two instances we have, therefore, positive evidence upon which to base a conclusion: 'where I Peter is dependent on Isaiah . . . Polycarp seems clearly to be dependent on I Peter.'[151] It appears virtually certain that here *Philippians* offers clear evidence of the use of 1 Peter.

A third phrase, 'that we might live in him', is similar to 1 John 4. 9 (*ἵνα ζήσωμεν δι 'αὐτοῦ*), but in light of the strong link to 1 Peter already evident in this section, an echo of 1 Pet. 2. 24 is much more probable. The response Polycarp envisions—that of 'becoming an imitator' (cf. *1 Clem.* 17. 1) of

[150] The passage in 1 Peter is itself likely a midrash on Isa. 53. 4–12; see J. R. Michaels, *1 Peter*, WBC 49 (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1988), 136–7, 144–52; and Elliott, *1 Peter*, 543–8.

[151] *NTAF*, 87.

Christ's ὑπομονή[152]—is expressed in language that continues to echo both the content ('following in his footsteps') and vocabulary (ὑπογραμμός) of 1 Pet. 2. 21.[153] Additional likely echoes may be noted: Polycarp writes, 'if we should suffer' (cf. 1 Pet. 3. 14) while following this path, that in turn should result in doxology ('let us glorify him'; cf. 1 Pet. 4. 16). In brief, the 'a' rating the Oxford Committee assigns to this passage is well justified.[154]

The third passage is *Phil.* 10. 2 (*NTAF* #11).

Phil. 10. 2	*[Lightfoot's Greek retroversion]*	1 Pet. 2. 12
... conversationem vestram irreprehensibilem habentes in gentibus, ut ex bonis operibus vestris et vos laudem accipiatis et dominus in vobis non blasphemetur.	*... τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀνεπίλημπτον ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔπαινον λάβητε καὶ ὁ κύριος μὴ βλασφημῆται ἐν ὑμῖν*	*τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρα ἐπισκοπῆς.*

If the Latin translation may be trusted, this portion of 10. 2 echoes closely 1 Pet. 2. 12.[155] Moreover, in the LXX and Christian literature of the first two centuries CE, the conjunction of ἀναστροφή and ἔθνη apparently occurs only in 1 Peter, *Philippians*, and texts explicitly citing 1 Peter. At the same time, in *Philippians* a key point is strikingly different: whereas in 1 Peter the point of doing good deeds is to provoke outsiders to glorify God, in Polycarp the motivation is to win praise for the community and avoid becoming a cause of blasphemy against the Lord.

The Oxford Committee's 'a' rating reflects Benecke's opinion that here there 'seems to be a certain quotation from I Peter', an opinion widely

[152] See also 9. 1; 12. 2; 13. 2; and for the verb, 1. 2; 8. 1; 9. 1.

[153] In the Greek Bible only at 2 Macc. 2. 28 (the earliest occurrence of the word) and 1 Pet. 2. 21; in the Apostolic Fathers also at *1 Clem.* 16. 17; 33. 8 (of Christ); 5. 7 (of Paul).

[154] *NTAF*, 87; cf. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 549: 'No precise hymnic or creedal parallel to the entire text of 1 Pet 2:21–24 (25) is extant. The parallels that have been cited involve only isolated formulas or debatable thematic affinities... rather than complete correspondences and similarly structured texts. The similarity between 1 Pet 2:21–25 and the later text of *Phil.* 8:1–2 is quite close, but the different structure and content of these similar texts argues against any common use of a fixed hymnic source and for the direct influence of 1 Peter upon Polycarp.' Cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 94–7; Massaux, *Influence*, 43–4; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 336.

[155] The italicized portions of this translation of 1 Pet. 2. 12 indicate the extent of verbal agreement: '*maintaining your* good *standard of conduct among the Gentiles, so that* in case they malign you as wrongdoers they may, seeing [your] *good deeds*, glorify God on the day of visitation.' There is also the conceptual link between 1 Peter's 'malign you as wrongdoers' and Polycarp's reference to blasphemy. Cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 106.

echoed.[156] If viewed in isolation, one might wish, especially as Polycarp's text is extant only in Latin (always of uncertain reliability with respect to details), to rank it as probable ('b') rather than nearly certain. But in the context of the first two passages examined above, this caution is probably not required; as the Committee observes, 'These three passages (9) (10) (11), taken together, strengthen each other, and justify the inclusion of all three in the first class.'[157]

To summarize: on the basis of the three passages examined, it appears virtually certain that Polycarp made relatively extensive use of 1 Peter (an opinion already expressed by Eusebius).[158]

In view of this finding there is no need, for the purposes of this essay, to examine additional passages, which will, therefore, merely be listed, grouped according to the categories in which the Oxford Committee placed them.

A 'b' rating is assigned to four parallels between *Philippians* and 1 Peter. These are *Phil.* 2. 1 // 1 Pet. 1. 13; 1. 21 (NTAF #12); *Phil.* 2. 2 // 1 Pet. 3. 9 (*NTAF* # 13); *Phil.* 5. 3 // 1 Pet. 2. 11; cf. Gal. 5. 17 (*NTAF* #14); and *Phil.* 7. 2 // 1 Pet. 4. 7 (*NTAF* #15). Berding gives essentially the same rating to three of these instances; the other (*NTAF* #13) he classifies as an 'almost certain true citation'.[159]

A 'd' rating has been assigned to five passages where a connection with 1 Peter is thought to be possible. One of these (*Phil.* 1. 3 // 1 Pet. 1. 12 (*NTAF* #16)) has been discussed above; the other four are *Phil.* 6. 1 // 1 Pet. 2. 25; Ezek. 34. 4 (*NTAF* #17); *Phil.* 6. 3 // 1 Pet. 3. 13; Titus 2. 14 (*NTAF* #18); *Phil.* 12. 2 // 1 Pet. 1. 21; Rom. 4. 24, and others (*NTAF* #19); and *Phil.* 5. 2; 6. 1 // 1 Pet. 3. 8; Eph. 4. 32 (*NTAF* #20).[160]

1 and 2 John

Only one passage will be discussed here: *Phil.* 7. 1 (*NTAF* #67).

Phil. 7. 1	1 John 4. 2–3; 3. 8	2 John 7
πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ	*πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ*	*ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι*

[156] *NTAF*, 87; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 106 ('almost certainly a loose, compressed [*sic*] citation'); cf. J. B. Bauer, *Polykarpbriefe*, 64; Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 123; Schoedel, *Polycarp and Paul*, 31; Massaux, *Influence*, 44 ('very probable'); Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 339.

[157] *NTAF*, 87.

[158] Euseb. *HE* 4. 14. 9 (Loeb 1. 338–9): 'Polycarp, in his above-mentioned letter to the Philippians, which is still extant, has made some quotations from the first Epistle of Peter.'

[159] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 50–1, 202.

[160] Berding (ibid. 102–3, 202) does not include in his summary list any of these four passages; he does add one passage not mentioned by Benecke: *Phil.* 10. 1 // 1 Pet. 2. 17 or 3. 8.

ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἀντίχριστος ἐστιν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῃ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστιν.	*Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐστιν · καὶ τοῦτο ἐστιν τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου . . .* 3. 8: *ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστιν.*	*ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί · οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος.*

The epithet ‘an antichrist’ (which occurs in early Christian literature only in *Phil.* 7. 1; 1 John 2. 18, 22; 4. 3; and 2 John 7) is used generically (as in 1 John 2. 18c) rather than as a title (cf. 1 John 2. 18b). The phrase ‘For everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is antichrist’ is ‘the most important early parallel to the Johannine Epistles’, being ‘uniquely close’[161] to 1 John 4. 2–3 and 2 John 7. Most take it for granted that Polycarp, if not actually citing, is at least directly dependent on 1 and/or 2 John,[162] though there are those who demu.[163] In this instance, the character of the verbal similarities (quality) and the length of the alleged citation (quantity) render it very probable that Philippians is here dependent on 1 John (and not 2 John 7);[164] the ‘c’ rating of the Oxford Committee is surprisingly low. At the same time, the connection between John and Polycarp reported by Irenaeus

[161] R. E. Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB 30 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 8.

[162] So W. von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert*, BZNW 13 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1932), 23; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 334; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 34 (‘A literary contact with these texts is beyond doubt: Polycarp cites them almost literally’); W. Bauer, *Die Briefe*, 291; Paulsen, *Die Briefe*, 120; Harrison, *Polycarp’s Two Epistles*, 300, 173; Dehandschutter, ‘Polycarp’s Epistle’, 284. Brown (*Epistles of John*, 8, 492) is initially cautious (‘it is still very difficult to be certain’ that Polycarp ‘had the text of a Johannine Epistle before him’), but later writes that he ‘quoted’ 1 John 4. 2–3. That Polycarp uses the term ‘antichrist’ to establish internal boundaries rather than to attack outside threats (G. C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth*, BZNW 59 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991), 352) strengthens (but does not prove) the case for dependence on 1 John.

[163] Campenhausen (‘Polykarp von Smyrna’, 240) considers it only a piece of typical ecclesiastical anti-Gnostic polemic; F. X. Gokey (*The Terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers*, Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, 93 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 92) suggests that ‘the terms of John which are re-echoed in *Poly.* 7.1 may have been those of liturgical and common Christian usage’; cf. Fischer (*Apostolischen Väter*, 239; cf. pp. 257, 236), who raises the possibility of ‘early confessional formulas’ (‘frühe Glaubensformeln’).

[164] In addition to *ἀντίχριστος*, note *ὁμολογέω*, the phrase *Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκί*, the use of the perfect tense of *ἔρχομαι*, and the *πᾶς* + relative pronoun construction. The corresponding lack of similarity in detail with 2 John 7 (or, to put it differently, the difference between the two) makes dependence on that text unlikely (cf. Hartog, *Polycarp*, 189: ‘the use of 2 John 7 is possible but not necessary’).

(see above, under 'Johannine Gospel Tradition') raises the possibility of dependence on Johannine teaching rather than a Johannine writing; for this reason, one cannot advance it to an 'a' rating (i.e., 'no reasonable doubt').[165] A 'b' rating therefore seems appropriate in this instance.

The phrase 'is of the devil' matches verbatim 1 John 3. 8 (cf. 1 John 3. 10; John 8. 44). The phrase was likely a traditional early Christian epithet, whose use in isolation can only suggest (but not demonstrate) the possibility of a literary relationship.[166] Its occurrence in conjunction with the reference to 'antichrist', however, increases the odds that Polycarp here also utilized 1 John.[167] A 'c' rating appears appropriate.[168]

OTHER DOCUMENTS

Hartog catalogs alleged claims of parallels to James, Jude, 3 John, and 2 Peter;[169] but these scarcely rise above the level of remote possibilities, and none requires discussion here. There is no indication of any use of the Apocalypse.

CONCLUSION

My conclusion is in two parts. The first is a summary of the results achieved above; the second addresses the question of whether *Philippians* offers evidence of the existence of a Pauline corpus or collection of letters.

[165] As does, e.g., Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 91, 202), who describes dependence as 'almost certain'.

[166] Cf. Campenhausen ('Polykarp von Smyrna', 240), who sees it as nothing more than 'a typical ecclesiastical slogan in the struggle against Gnosis in Asia Minor'; Jenks (*Antichrist Myth*, 352), who thinks it 'is drawn from the general Jewish-Christian tradition'; or Norbert Brox ('Häresie', *RAC* 13 (1986), 248–97, at p. 265), who characterizes it as an 'obligatory *topos*'.

[167] Dehandschutter ('Polycarp's Epistle', 284) puts the matter a bit more forcefully: he thinks the conjunction of texts here 'constitutes . . . a strong presumption'.

[168] Benecke lists one reference in the 'd' category: *Phil.* 1. 1 // 1 John 4. 8, 16 (*NTAF* #68). *Re* 1 John 4. 9, see on *Phil.* 8. 1, under 1 Peter (*NTAF* #10). Berding (*Polycarp and Paul*, 202) adds, as possible reminiscences in *Phil.* 7. 1, 1 John 3. 12 and 5. 6–9.

[169] Hartog, *Polycarp*, 190. The claims of Harrison (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 285–310) are perhaps the most egregious: he claims to find evidence of every book of the NT, except for 2 Peter and the Apocalypse.

Summary: *Philippians* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

We may set out our findings using the same four categories as the Oxford Committee. If the present rating of a document differs from the Committee's, a symbol in parentheses follows the document's name: (+) indicates one level higher; (−) or (—) indicates, respectively, one or two levels lower; absence of a symbol signals that the rating is effectively the same.[170]

A: 1 Corinthians, Ephesians (+), 1 Peter

B: 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, 1 John (+).

C: Romans (−), Galatians (−), Philippians (−).

D: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John (—), Acts (−), 2 Corinthians (−), Colossians, 2 Thessalonians (–), Hebrews (−), 2 John.

No evidence: 1 Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, James, 2 Peter, 3 John, Jude, Apocalypse.

In general, there is an observable tendency of the present study to be somewhat more sceptical than the Oxford Committee. In large part, this may be a result of the more specific focus of the question being asked. On the whole, the Oxford Committee's work has stood the test of time well.

Polycarp and the Pauline Corpus

In view of Polycarp's virtually certain or highly probable use in *Philippians* of at least four documents (1 Corinthians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy), and probable use of three others (Romans, Galatians, and Philippians—the last of which he apparently knew about, quite apart from the question of whether he knew or used its contents) that comprise part of the Pauline corpus as we know it today, the question arises as to whether *Philippians* offers evidence of the existence of a Pauline corpus or collection of letters.[171] Clearly, Polycarp knows something of the contents of, and apparently has access to, multiple letters: do they comprise a circumstantial accumulation of documents, or do they represent something more—a deliberate collection, or perhaps even a defined corpus?[172] And with regard to any of these possibilities, do the letters

[170] E.g., the synoptic parallels that the committee left unclassified are here given a 'd' rating, but there is no meaningful difference between the two evaluations of these passages.

[171] On this point cf. the brief discussions of Hartog, *Polycarp*, 232–5, and especially Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 187–9 (both with bibliography).

[172] My intentional use here of three different terms ('circumstantial accumulation', 'deliberate collection', 'defined corpus') is an attempt to make explicit two aspects associated with the

used represent all or only part of that accumulation/collection/corpus? On the basis of the evidence of *Philippians* alone, these questions cannot be answered: on the one hand, the use of some letters may imply, but certainly does not prove, possession of others; while on the other hand, absence of use of a letter does not mean lack of knowledge of it.

Furthermore, to attempt to answer any of these questions on some other basis—e.g., a particular view of the formation of the Pauline corpus itself—amounts to little more than an attempt to explain the unknown by the uncertain, given our present state of knowledge regarding the latter subject.[173]

In short, we do know that Polycarp used a number of documents that are now part of the Pauline corpus; we do not know, however, the answers to the further questions this knowledge raises.

formation of a group of documents that are often simply assumed or not discussed: (a) the degree of intentionality involved and (b) whether the collection is considered to be 'open' or 'closed' (or whether that question has even been asked). Each term may be thought of as representing a point on a graph with two axes, one indicating the degree of intentionality involved in the formation of a group of documents, and the other indicating the degree to which the group is considered to be open or closed to further additions.

[173] For a recent survey of the Pauline corpus in general (with extensive bibliography), see S. E. Porter, 'When and How was the Pauline Canon Compiled? An Assessment of Theories', in *idem* (ed.), *The Pauline Canon*, Pauline Studies 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 95–127; *idem* with E. R. Richards, 'The Codex and the Early Collection of Paul's Letters', *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 8 (1998), 151–66; and H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 58–66.

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9

The *Epistle of Barnabas* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

James Carleton-Paget

INTRODUCTION

The *Epistle of Barnabas* can be dated any time between the mid-90s CE and the 130s CE. Its attribution to Barnabas, the companion of Paul, is clearly false, and may in fact have been made after the letter was written in circumstances which are no longer reconstructable (to call it a pseudepigraph might, therefore, be wrong). Its provenance is probably Alexandrian, although certainty on this point is not attainable.

Like *1 Clement*, *Barnabas* is much concerned with direct citation of what Christians came to call the Old Testament, but which *Barnabas* simply refers to as 'scripture'.[1] With a variety of introductory formulae, he cites from a broad swathe of OT books, with varying degrees of accuracy, and usually quoting from what appears to be a Greek *Vorlage*. How extensive his personal knowledge of the OT was is unclear, some attributing much of it to testimony books or school tradition.[2] Indeed, beginning with Windisch in 1920, and continuing like a crimson thread through mainly German scholarship on *Barnabas*, the epistle's author has been seen as the uncreative tradent of sources.[3] This has affected scholarship on the epistle in a variety of ways, not least attempts to assess its purpose and audience.

[1] ἡ γραφή is used six times to introduce the estimated ninety-nine citations in *Barnabas* (see 4. 7, 11a; 5. 4; 6. 12a; 13. 2; 16. 5). For other terms used to introduce scriptural citations see R. 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 Siebeck, 1996), 108–9.

[2] For the most recent discussion of this complex subject, see F. Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, KAV 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 90–7.

[3] In recent times the work of R. Kraft ('The Epistle of Barnabas', in *idem*, *The Apostolic Fathers*, iii: *Didache and Barnabas* (New York: Nelson, 1965); *idem*, 'The Epistle of Barnabas: Its Quotations and Sources' (unpub. Harvard diss., 1961)) and K. Wengst ('Barnabasbrief', in *idem*, *Schriften des Urchristentums: Didache, Barnabasbriefe, zweiter Klemensbrief, Schriften an Diognet*

In contradistinction to *Barnabas*' use of the Old Testament, where *formulae citandi* followed by quotations allow us to assume some degree of knowledge of that body of literature on the part of the author, however mediated, the position with regard to the same author's knowledge of texts which came to be associated with the New Testament is an altogether more complicated business (as is the case with nearly all of the so-called Apostolic Fathers). Except in one disputed case, we lack any introductory formulae to what might appear to be quotations from the NT, and in the vast majority of cases which might be taken to betray knowledge of the NT, we are dealing with allusions. Moreover, even where we may feel that the author shows knowledge of some part of the NT, it will never be unambiguously clear whether he acquired such knowledge from an actual reading of the NT document in which the relevant related passage is found or from knowledge of a source.

I do not wish to rehearse many of the more general difficulties we have in espying knowledge of NT books in early non-canonical Christian texts. The co-editors' introductory essay to this volume,[4] and Andrew Gregory's larger book on the use of Luke–Acts in the second century,[5] give more than adequate expression to these problems, and some of them will emerge in discussions of specific passages. It has been the tendency of this recent discussion as it relates to *Barnabas* to arrive at negative conclusions.[6] Self-evidently, one's conclusions on this matter will be determined by, amongst other things, the kinds of criteria one adopts in seeking clear evidence of the usage of NT texts. The editors have admitted as much in their introductory remarks, where, in discussing the issue of the use of the synoptics, they contrast the more stringent position of Köster with that of the much less stringent Massaux and the moderately stringent Köhler. Significant in this context will be the assumptions one has about questions relating to the distribution of source material which either helped to generate or was generated by material in the New Testament about none of which one can be certain. Given the conventional dating of the gospels, for instance, we can at least be certain about the fact that texts looking like our Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were doing the rounds by 120, but that, of course, is not to say anything about how widespread knowledge of them was. To assume that it was widespread is

(Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984); *idem*, *Tradition und Theologie des Barnabasbriefes*, AKG 42 (Berlin, 1971)) has done much to promote this viewpoint.

[4] Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett, Ch. 4 above pp. 61–82.

[5] A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[6] For the most recent of such assessments see Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 97, written after no separate and detailed analysis of the question: 'Alle Versuche, im Barn die Verwendung neutestamentlicher Literatur nachzuweisen, dürfen als gescheitert gelten.'

already to answer a question that the present volume wishes to address. But, equally, we have to be careful about all too easily accepting that where material in an Apostolic Father or another early Christian source appears to reflect the words found in an individual gospel or epistle, an explanation deriving from dependence on oral tradition or independent gospel-like written traditions is the best one.[7] Significance will also have to be attached to altogether more complex questions about the absorption and appropriation of sources in the early period of Christian history. To what extent is it the case that when Christians used a source in this period they felt the need to betray such usage by exact copying? In all of this we should note that the influence of books can be expressed in a variety of ways, not all of which should be seen to involve literal borrowing. And how important is the question of the knowledge of context in the use of a source, or the related question of right understanding (has our mooted quoter always got to understand the source he may be quoting in the manner in which it was used in his supposed source?). And in this same context we need also to note that a writer may use a source because he wishes to oppose it, not just because he wishes to endorse it.[8] We may, of course, be inclined to think that a writer like the author of *Barnabas*, who is so keen on citing OT books, would adopt the same approach in citing NT material. But can we be certain about this, given the probably non-canonical status of the New Testament at the time he was writing? And if we discount this as an explanation, to what extent should our understanding of the purpose of the epistle play a role?[9] All of these questions give voice to what the editors have already made plain in their prefatory remarks: namely, that certitude (and it is precisely this which we appear to be seeking) on the question of the use of the New Testament by the

[7] For a sensible analysis of this issue and a helpful critique of Köster's position, see J. A. Kelhoffer, *Miracles and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark*, WUNT 2.112 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 124 f.

[8] Note that some of these points are made by C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 67–71. He attacks what he takes to be the over-literal approach of some scholars to the question of citation amongst early Christians. He draws attention to the work on citation by some classical scholars. One of these, John Whittaker, who has worked on the *Didaskalois* or *Epitome* of Plato's doctrines, written by Alcinous in the first or second century CE, notes that in this book 'many of the quotations were not only brief but also out of context . . . and . . . the vast majority of these borrowings diverged to a greater or lesser degree from the wording of their original'. Hill goes on to assert that such features are quite common in material from the epoch in which he was working, concluding that '[w]e have to reckon with the fact that, in the second century, literary customs of borrowing or citation demanded neither the exact reproduction of texts, nor the explicit acknowledgement of the author of the borrowed text' (p. 70).

[9] E.g., Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 315–16, in explaining Justin's failure in the *Dialogue* to present detailed arguments about NT texts, notes that this would not have been compatible with his aim in the *Dialogue*, where he wished to argue his case with Trypho on the basis of texts whose authority they both agreed upon (*Dial.* 120. 5).

Apostolic Fathers will never be arrived at, and all comments must remain provisional and tentative.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND JOHN

Barnabas and the Synoptics

We shall begin with *Barn* 4. 14: προσέχωμεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὑρεθῶμεν.

There are a number of things to note about this passage. First, it is introduced by a *formula citandi* (γέγραπται)[10] which is normally reserved for citations from OT texts. But the closest text we have to this one comes not from the OT but from the NT, namely, Matt. 22. 14 (πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί). If the author of *Barnabas* were in fact quoting from the NT, this would be the earliest example of a citation of the NT as scripture.[11] But, given the uniqueness of this occurrence (all other citations introduced by *formulae citandi* come from the OT, or very occasionally from apocryphal sources), a number of scholars have sought alternative explanations. So, for instance, some, citing passages from 4 Ezra which bears a reasonably close relationship to the citation at *Barn.* 4. 14 (4 Ezra 8. 3 and 9. 15[12]) have argued that the author of *Barnabas* may be quoting an unknown apocalypse which contained the citation in the form we find it in his epistle and Matthew. The use of a *formula citandi* would be entirely compatible with the use of such a formula at 4. 3, 16. 5, and 12. 1, where he appears to be quoting from apocryphal texts.[13] Others have argued that the author may have mistaken the text concerned as coming from the OT. But

[10] γέγραπται appears at 5. 2; 14. 6; 15. 1; and 16. 6. For γραφή see 4. 7, 11; 5. 4; 6. 12; 13. 2; 16. 5.

[11] P. F. Beatrice, 'Une citation de l'Évangile de Matthieu dans l'Épître de Barnabé', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 231–45. T. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1888–92), 847 f., also made this assertion. For another positive judgement, see É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, Book 1: *The First Ecclesiastical Writers*, ed. A. J. Bellinzoni (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1990), 65–6.

[12] 4 Ezra 8. 3 reads: 'Many are created but few are saved'; and 9. 15 reads: 'More are of the lost than of the redeemed.'

[13] *Barn.* 4. 3 is directly attributed by the author to Enoch (ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει), and is thought by some to be taken from *1 Enoch* 85–90, specifically 89. 61–4 and 90. 17 f. Certitude on this point *cannot be arrived at*, and H. Windisch, 'Der Barnabasbrief', in *Die Apostolischen Väter*, iii HNT. Ergänzungsband (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920), 219–413, on p. 318, posited the view that *Barnabas* was referring to an unknown source. For a full discussion, see Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 197–8 n. 19. *Barn.* 12. 1 is unattributed, but seems certain to come from some apocryphal work; and 16. 5 is also unattributed and thought by some to come from *1 Enoch.*

that is simply based upon the assumption that he could not quote a text from the NT as scripture even if he was writing as late as the 130s.[14] Here, however, it is worth noting Köster's observation that the term *εὐαγγέλιον* when referred to in *Barnabas* (cf. 5. 9; 8. 3) seems to bear no relationship to written texts.[15] But the force of this observation depends upon when you think the gospels received their present titles. It is not, of course, out of the question that the quotation could have done the rounds independent of Matthew, a possibility that is suggested by the gnomic character of the sentiment, and by the appearance of a similar sentiment at Matt. 20. 16[16] and in the passages from 4 Ezra already referred to, although here in slightly different contexts. But in spite of all of these arguments, it still remains the case that the closest existing text to *Barn.* 4. 14 in all known literature is Matt. 22. 14, and one senses that attempts to argue for independence from Matthew are partly motivated by a desire to avoid the implication of the *formula citandi* which introduces the relevant words: namely, that the author of *Barnabas* regarded Matthew as scriptural. We should also note Beatrice's attempts to argue for reliance on Matthew not only by reference to verbal similarities but also by reference to the apparently similar theological contexts of both passages.[17] In both we see a mixture of anti-Jewish polemic (the covenant has now passed to Christians) with a concomitant warning against what one might call an over-realized eschatology and moral complacency on behalf of the new people of God. Of course, one could argue that precisely the similarity of context makes the very different ways in which these two writers have presented their cases more striking.

Certitude, then, cannot be arrived at, but Köhler's judgement that the possibilities of this going back to Matthew are 'gut möglich' is not unreasonable.[18]

The next passage, *Barn.* 5. 9 f., reads: *ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρταλούς.*

[14] See Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 113.

[15] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 6, 126; *idem, Ancient Christian Gospels*, 16.

[16] The actual text of Matt. 20. 16 reads: *οὕτως ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι*. But some texts (C D W Q *f*) add words from Matt. 22. 14, indicating that the scribe concerned saw the connection between both verses and that the gnomic phrase may have been transmitted independently of the passage to which it is attached in Matthew. We should also note that the verse itself does not straightforwardly make sense of the pericope to which it is attached, for there only one person is chosen, not many. W. D. Davies and D. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew*, iii (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 206–7, argue that we should regard it as a conclusion to both parables, including the parable of the wedding feast. Even if this is true, it may still indicate that the phrase had an independent existence.

[17] Beatrice, 'Une citation', 236.

[18] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 113.

For some scholars the passage in *Barnabas* shows clear knowledge of Matthew's gospel, not only because the words cited are similar to what we read in Matt. 9. 13 (οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς), although we should note that the words are attributed to Jesus in Matthew and not reported of him, but also because of the order in which Jesus' ministry is described—*Barn.* 5. 8 f. speaks of Jesus' teaching and healing and then calling his disciples, which conforms to the order of events in Matt. 5–9. But the sentiment could be taken as general synoptic tradition, not least because the order ascribed to Matthew is equally witnessed in Mark 1–2, and the saying appears in more or less the same form in that gospel.[19] Some have argued that the reference to proclaiming the gospel (κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) in the previous part of the verse betrays an understanding of the gospel as the earthly teaching of Jesus, an understanding found only in Matthew. But the phrase itself is witnessed in Mark (1. 14; 13. 10; 14. 9), and in Matthew, of the four times the phrase appears, three appear with the term 'Gospel of the kingdom' (4. 23; 9. 35; 24. 14), not witnessed here.

But certainty cannot be arrived at on this point. If, as was implied in my discussion of *Barn.* 4. 14, it is the case that the author of *Barnabas* did know Matthew, then does it make sense to state that a series of Greek words which come very close to words found in Matthew go back to a tradition independent of that gospel? Answers to this question will, to a certain extent, depend upon whether one sees the author of *Barnabas* as a copier of tradition or a creative writer engaging with tradition.

It should be noted that some scholars have wanted to see *Barnabas*' interesting observation in an earlier part of the verse that Jesus chose (ἐξελέξατο) those who were lawless beyond all sin (ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους) as deriving from a reading of Mark's gospel, in which the disciples are represented in a notably negative light. This seems unlikely.[20] Interestingly, Origen, in the midst of a defence of the apparently disreputable character of the disciples, quotes these words from *Barnabas* (*c. Cels.* 1. 63), assuming, it would seem, that Celsus has picked up his negative view of Jesus' followers from there, rather than from a gospel. It could have been the case that by the time *Barnabas* was written the sinfulness of the disciples was widely known and need not have been derived from a close reading of the gospels.

The next passage to be considered is *Barn.* 5. 12. Here *Barnabas* shares a citation of Zech. 13. 7 with Matt. 26. 31 and Mark 14. 27, with some variants

[19] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 114.

[20] See Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 142–3; and our discussion of 1 Tim. 1. 12 f. below.

in common against the LXX reading. So, for instance, all three refer to a single shepherd (*τὸν ποιμένα*) rather than the *ποιμένας* of the LXX, and all three refer to *τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης* rather than to the unqualified *πρόβατα* of the LXX. It should be noted that Matthew and Mark share more variants from the LXX in common than either one does with *Barnabas*, and that *Barnabas* uses the passage differently from the synoptics (in *Barnabas* the consequences of Jesus' death for the Jews are in sight; in the synoptics the consequences for Jesus' disciples are to the fore). Moreover, in *Barnabas* God speaks these words; in the synoptics they are placed on the lips of Jesus. However, quite reasonably Köhler notes that in relation to the last two points we should not exclude the possibility of a reinterpretation of the passage on the part of the author of *Barnabas*, even if he betrays no clear knowledge of the synoptic context in which the passage appears.[21]

1 turn next to *Barn.* 7. 3–5: *ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποτίζετο ὄξει καὶ χολῇ* (cf. also 7. 5: *ἐμὲ . . . μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους*).

While gall is mentioned by Matthew as something that Jesus was given to drink before his crucifixion (Matt. 27. 34—this appears as an addition to Mark 15. 23), and vinegar as something he was given during his crucifixion (Matt. 27. 48; Mark 15. 36), they do not, as they do in *Barnabas*, appear together in the gospel tradition. A number of possible explanations of this phenomenon are available. One lies in arguing that the author of *Barnabas* has extracted his information from a combination of material in the synoptics, in particular Matthew. Against this, Bartlet pointed out that it was easier to see the combination as emerging from Ps. 68. 22, where both *χολή* and *ὄξος* are mentioned together with *ποτίζειν*.[22] The further possibility that the combination of vinegar and gall emerges from something other than knowledge of the synoptics might be supported by the *Gospel of Peter*, where at v. 16 we read: *καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν· ποτίσατε αὐτὸν μετὰ ὄξους*. It is unlikely that the *Gospel of Peter* is dependent at this point on *Barnabas*, and possible that he gives voice to a known tradition, broadly based on Ps. 68. 22 (LXX) which was widely associated with the passion.[23] But again, certainty cannot be arrived at.

The next passage to be considered is *Barn.* 7. 9b:

ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδήρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Οὐχ οὗτος ἐστιν, ὅν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες, ἀληθῶς οὗτος ἦν, ὁ τότε λέγων, ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι.

[21] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 116–17.

[22] Ps. 68. 22 (LXX) reads: *καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν δψαν μου ἐπότισάν ὄξος.*

[23] In this respect take note of Melito, *Peri Pascha* 79, 80, and 93; and Irenaeus, *Dem.* 82. Origen, *c. Cels.* 2. 37, quotes Celsus' Jew as criticizing Jesus for rushing greedily to drink 'vinegar

This comes from a section of *Barnabas* in which the author draws a parallel between the two appearances of Jesus, one in suffering at his passion and one in glory at his parousia, and the two goats on the Day of Atonement. In the passage under discussion *Barnabas* is referring to the Jesus who returns in triumph and who is recognized by those who executed him. The fact that *Barn.* 7. 9b emerges from a passage which betrays knowledge of extra-biblical sources to do with the Day of Atonement and develops a typological relationship not explicitly referred to in the gospels,[24] should make us somewhat suspicious of assuming that its author is drawing directly on this material. Certainly one can point to the presence of some shared words,[25] but the connections do not reflect a particular gospel's account of the passion; thus, in so far as one wants to posit any knowledge of the gospels, this probably results from knowledge of shared traditions connected with the passion, a point which receives support from the fact that Tertullian, in a passage which has close similarities to *Barn.* 7 but appears to be independent of it, shares some details with *Barnabas.*[26]

There remain only two further passages to be considered. The first is *Barn.* 12. 10. There are no good grounds for thinking that the use of Ps. 109. 1 (LXX) at this point in *Barnabas* goes back to any of the synoptic gospels. We should first note that *Barnabas* does not share in common with Matthew and Mark their one variant from the LXX (both read ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου rather than the LXX's ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, which is *Barnabas*'s reading), but secondly we should note that the psalm was widely used in a christological context,[27] making it likely that *Barnabas*'s use of it is the result of knowledge of a common Christian tradition rather than direct use of the gospels.

The final possible parallel with the synoptic tradition comes at *Barn.* 15. 9: ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς.

and gall', claiming, interestingly, that he has taken this out of the gospel text (ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου . . . λέξεις). But in the same paragraph he goes on to mention Ps. 68. 22.

[24] Although we should note Matt. 22. 39, where a two-advent view of Christ might be hinted at. See J. Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background*, WUNT 2.64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 136–40, where the relationship of the two goats typology is shown to have similarities to passages from *m. Yoma* 6; Justin, *Dial.* 40. 4 ff.; and Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3. 7. 8. See also Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 310 f.

[25] For ἐμπτύσατε see Mark 14. 65 (// Matt. 26. 67). See also Mark 15. 19 and *Gospel of Peter* 3. 9. For κατακεντήσατε see John 19. 34 f. and Apoc. 1. 7. κόκκινον in the phrase τὸν ποδήρη τὸν κόκκινον is witnessed at Matt. 27. 28, but here the garment is referred to as a χλαμύδα.

[26] See Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3. 7. 7, where the goat is referred to as 'consputus et convulsus et compunctus'.

[27] In the New Testament see Acts 2. 34 and Heb. 12. 10 f. On all of this see Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 145–6. He posits the origin of its use as lying in Christian circles opposed to a Davidic understanding of Jesus' messiahship.

On this verse Bartlet states that it seems extraordinary that the author of *Barnabas* should have used such ambiguous language if he had known 'any of our synoptics'—unless it were Luke, before Acts had come into his hands.[28] Köhler disagrees, stating that the Greek need not imply what Bartlet thinks.[29] In fact, Bartlet prefaces his comments on *Barnabas* and the synoptics with a discussion of this verse stating that the difficulty he has outlined 'must be borne in mind in estimating the final effect of the positive evidence adduced below'—that is, positive evidence in favour of knowledge of the synoptics. Independent of the fact that Bartlet misconstrues the potential importance of this passage, he also arrives at a possibly faulty conclusion in logic: that is, that knowledge of particular sources implies consistent agreement with them. In fact, it seems clear that in his understanding of the relationship of the resurrection and the ascension, *Barnabas* comes closest to Luke 24. 50 f., even if there are no verbal parallels to speak of.[30]

Barnabas and John

The subject of *Barnabas*'s relationship to John has been much debated, but with no agreed-upon conclusion.[31] Certainly there are very few places where we can speak of a direct literary relationship. I shall list the passages that have been discussed in this context below.

On a number of occasions *Barnabas* uses the phrase 'live forever' (*ζῆν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*): 6. 3; 8. 5; 9. 2; 11. 10. The phrase occurs once in John (6. 51), here in connection with the eating of Christ's flesh. The same phrase occurs in the influential Gen. 3. 22 and again in *Pss. Sol.* 14. 2 and Sir. 37. 26. Bartlet is probably right to suspect that Johannine influence is difficult to espy here, not only because the phrase occurs elsewhere, but also because in John the phrase is clearly connected with the bread of life, which remains unmentioned by *Barnabas* (the reference to eating and living forever in 11. 10 is connected with the trees of paradise).

Both *Barn.* 12. 7 and John 3. 14 refer to the story of Moses being commanded to make a poisonous serpent, and place it on a pole so that those Israelites who had been bitten might look at it and live (Num. 21. 7, 8). Both

[28] J. Bartlet 'The Epistle of Barnabas', *NTAF*, 1–23, on p. 17.
[29] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 121.
[30] On all of this, see Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 147–8.
[31] See Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 225–30, for a recent discussion and a presentation of relevant secondary material. Interestingly, Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, who takes a maximalist position on the question of knowledge of John in the second century, does not consider *Barnabas* worthy of discussion.

see the snake as a type of the Christ who brings life through his death. But in John there is no citation of the relevant passage from Num. 21, and there is an attempt through the use of the ambiguous verb ὑψωθῆναι to point forward to both Jesus' death and exaltation. Absence of any reference to this distinctive Johannine verb or to any other features of the Johannine passage except the basic typology seem to point away from any idea of literary dependence.[32]

In *Barn.* 5. 10–11 we read of Christ having come in the flesh (ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί), a phrase which bears some relationship to what we read in 1 John 4. 2 and 2 John 7. Elsewhere he prefers to use the verb φανερόω with ἐν σαρκί (see *Barn.* 5. 6, 9; 6. 7, 9, 14; 12. 10). Φανερόω is an important verb for John, but is not ever used with ἐνσαρκί.[33] Again, proving a literary relationship with John on the basis of these few words seems very difficult.

Other similarities between the two works, of a non-literary kind, do not seem sufficiently strong to enable us to talk about any knowledge of John on the part of the author of *Barnabas*.

Conclusion on Usage of the Synoptics and John

What I have written above constitutes a brief discussion of passages which seem to have the best claim to giving evidence of knowledge of gospel material. A cluster of this material appears in *Barn.* 5–7 and is here mainly concerned with the passion. The difficulty in asserting knowledge of the gospels on the basis of this material lies in the fact that (i) some of it may be accounted for by reference to use of scriptural, i.e. OT, material;[34] and (ii) none of it gives much evidence of use of a specific gospel (one thinks in particular of the references to the manner in which Jesus has been treated by his enemies), let alone of redactional material. Moreover, it appears to have been developed in a different setting: namely, one connected with the creation of a complex, and sometimes confused, typology of the two goats on the Day of Atonement. Given all of this, it is probably safer to assume that in relation to his knowledge of passion material, the author of *Barnabas* may have had access to common passion traditions rather than to the gospels themselves.

[32] Note should also be taken of the fact that John refers to eternal life in 3. 15, a theme close to the author of *Barnabas*'s heart, but one to which he does not allude at this point; and of the fact that Justin, *Dial.* 91, witnesses to a similar but probably independent development of the same complex of passages in Genesis and Numbers as we find in *Barnabas*, pointing to the possibly traditional character of this material. On this see O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 398.

[33] The best parallel to this expression occurs in 1 Tim. 3. 16, where we read: ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.

[34] See Windisch, 'Der Barnabasbrief', 375.

A similar explanation may also be applicable to other places often cited as possible evidence of knowledge of the gospels. The closest we come to evidence of knowledge of the synoptics is *Barn.* 4. 14, which bears a close relationship to Matt. 22. 10. While it is difficult to demonstrate knowledge of Matthew here, it remains the case that Matt. 22. 14 is the closest text to what we have in *Barn.* 4. 14, and that in broad terms it reflects a similar context. But if we accept an origin in Matthew for this set of words, should we apply less stringent criteria when, for instance, considering the use of Matthew elsewhere in *Barnabas*?[35] Or can we overcome the implications of this question by assuming that the author of *Barnabas* has not taken the words directly from Matthew but rather from a source which itself made use of these words? Yet, if we are right to assume that *Barnabas* betrays knowledge of Matthew at this point, is it not strange that the author did not use him more frequently, given the fact that he and the first gospel could be seen to have anti-Jewish views in common? Direct knowledge of John also remains unproven. But the absence of any clear reference to material in any one of the canonical gospels may not be thought strange, given the strong concern of the author to prove the conjunction of Old Testament promise with the Christian faith;[36] and, in this regard, it is striking that dominical words are exclusively scriptural, that is, OT, words (cf. 6. 13; 7. 5, 11). As Köhler implies in his generally judicious assessment of the author of *Barnabas*'s knowledge of Matthew, it is very difficult to demonstrate that *Barnabas* did not know the gospels. After all, if we admit that the author aims to make his subject Old Testament promise and Christian fulfilment, then the need to cite from NT texts is, as noted, diminished.[37]

KNOWLEDGE OF PAUL

For some there may be seen to be a convergence between the concerns of Paul and those of the author of *Barnabas*. Both, in broad terms, are concerned with the relationship between the new covenant in Christ and the old covenant with the Jews, and they take a keen interest in issues relating to the law and the history of Israel. Views on the nature of their relationship have ranged from seeing the author of *Barnabas* as a radical Paulinist to seeing him as an

[35] This was precisely the point I made when discussing *Barn.* 5. 9 f., but it could be applied equally to any of the synoptic material considered.

[36] See Windisch, 'Der Barnabasbrief', 375; and Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 157, citing Windisch.

[37] See Hill's comments on Justin referred to in n. 9 above.

opponent of aspects of Pauline theology.[38] Some of these views will be assessed in the analysis below of possible allusions to Paul.

There are six passages to consider, the first of which is *Barn.* 13. 7: *τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἰδού, τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι᾽ ἀκροβυστίας τῷ θεῷ.*

In the first part of the verse *Barnabas* appears to be quoting from Gen. 15. 6 (LXX), here reminding us of Paul in Rom. 4. 3 (cf. also Gal. 3. 6), although *Barnabas* reads *ἐτέθη* for Paul's and the LXX's *ἐλογίσθη*. But it is the second part of the verse that seems to indicate clear knowledge of Paul, or at least a Pauline tradition. Here *Barnabas* appears to quote a form of Gen. 17. 4, 5, adding the words *τῶν πιστευόντων δι᾽ ἀκροβυστίας*, words which appear in Rom. 4. 11 but are not presented there as part of an OT citation. As Bartlet comments, 'In our author's memory the O. T. passages have become conflated with comments in Rom. 4; for the phrase *τῶν πιστευόντων δι ᾽ ἀκροβυστίας* (by no means an obvious one), especially as qualifying *ἐθνῶν* in Barnabas, can hardly be explained otherwise.'[39] This is absolutely right, for in Gen. 17. 4 where Abraham is described as the father of the Gentiles, it is assumed that the Gentiles of whom he will be father will in fact be circumcised. But against the view that the author of *Barnabas* is taking his citation directly from Romans is the fact that he is using the passage in a quite different way from Paul. For the latter the key lies in developing the idea that belief, rather than circumcision, is central to Gentiles entering the messianic community, 'for Abraham believed and it was reckoned to him as righteousness'. But in *Barnabas* the passage is concerned to prove that the Christians, not the Jews, are the children of Abraham. In such an argument, which makes precisely the same point as *Barnabas*'s development of the stories of Jacob and Esau (Gen. 25)[40] and Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen. 48) in the preceding section of the chapter, the issue of circumcision is referred to but not developed,[41] and Paul's assertion, admittedly itself undeveloped, but nevertheless voiced, that Abraham is the ancestor of the circumcised (as well as the uncircumcised) who follow the example of Abraham's faith, is omitted.

[38] For a brief history of research, see Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 367 n. 33.

[39] Bartlet, 'Barnabas', *NTAF*, 3–4. Interestingly, this is the only passage in the whole of Bartlet's assessment of the author of *Barnabas*'s knowledge of the NT that receives a B rating (no other passage receives anything better). Windisch, 'Der Barnabasbrief', 378, is similarly confident.

[40] Paul shows knowledge of this tradition at Rom. 9. 7–13, but the contexts in which it is used are quite different. In *Barnabas* it is used as a prophecy of the two peoples, in Paul as a justification of the principle of God's election. See Bartlet, 'Barnabas', *NTAF*, 4.

[41] The point is neatly made by Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 463: 'Dabei ist zu beachten, dass der Scopus der Argumentation nicht die Frage der Beschneidung, sondern der Identifizierung des Gottesvolks ist.'

Whether such an observation is sufficient to exclude knowledge of Paul depends to some extent on whether one could conceive of the passage as evidencing *use* of Paul—that is, an appropriation of Paul for un-Pauline ends.[42] What must be true is that at the very least knowledge of a tradition influenced by Paul is evidenced at this point.[43]

The second passage comes at *Barn.* 4. 10. Here, in a section running from 4. 9b to 4. 13, *Barnabas* exhorts his readers to avoid behaviour that might allow the entry of the wicked one. In this context he issues a warning to those who live apart from the community 'as if already made righteous (*ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι*)' (4. 10). While there is no reference in any extant Pauline literature to people who describe themselves as already justified, the use of *δικαιόω* seems to betray at least some knowledge of Pauline language. It is interesting to note that where Paul appears to refer to people who entertain a realized eschatological view possibly similar to the views that *Barnabas* is opposing here (cf. 1 Cor. 4. 8), he too appeals, in an admittedly different context and with different wording, to the Christian community's status as the temple of God (1 Cor. 3. 16–17), which is precisely what *Barnabas* does at 4. 11 f. Again, none of this proves direct knowledge of Paul, but it may indicate some knowledge of Pauline or Paulinizing traditions.[44]

The third passage is *Barn.* 2. 6. The reference here to a new law of our Lord Jesus Christ without yoke of necessity (*ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὤν*), understood as a kind of replacement of something which has been abolished (*κατήργησεν*) could be conceived of as influenced by Paul. The reference to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ has its paralells in Paul's reference to the law of Christ (Gal. 6. 2; 1 Cor. 9. 21); the verb *καταργέω* appears in a number of places in Pauline literature to refer the abolition of certain Jewish prescriptions (Rom. 3. 31; 2 Cor. 3. 7, 11, 13; Eph. 2. 15); and Paul also refers to the yoke of the law (Gal. 5. 1). But while the strength of such an argument lies in the cumulative character of the parallels,

[42] Note my introductory comments about the appropriation of texts. See Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 374, for the tentative suggestion that at this point in *Barnabas* we might be able to discern evidence of an original source, possibly influenced by Paul, which the author of *Barnabas* has modified. Also note R. Werline, 'The Transformation of Pauline Arguments in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*', *HTR* 92 (1999), 79–93, who shows how, by not dissimilar means, Justin in *Dial.* 11, 23, and 119, modifies Pauline arguments about the people so as to exclude Jews.

[43] In support of this view, see A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion* BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979), 279.

[44] The view expressed by Wengst, *Tradition und Theologie*, that at this point *Barnabas* is straightforwardly opposing Paul on the basis of passages like Rom. 5. 1 and Titus 3. 7 is unfounded. If Paul had read *Barn.* 4. 9 f. he would have agreed with its sentiments. As 1 Cor. 4. 8 f. shows, he was opposed to over-realized eschatological positions.

its weakness lies in the fact that we find no verse in Paul which contains all the component parts of *Barn.* 2. 6. Moreover, it is possible to argue that the phrase may have emerged from a non-Pauline, possibly Jewish Christian, anti-cultic tradition.[45] But we should admit that it still remains the case that the closest parallel to this phrase lies in Paul's letters and nowhere else.

The fourth passage is *Barn.* 7. 7, where the description of the second goat as ἐπικατάρατος in *Barnabas*'s development of the typology concerning the two goats on the Day of Atonement has reminded some of Gal. 3. 10 and 13, the only other place in either the New Testament or the writings of the Apostolic Fathers that we find the term used to describe Jesus. Interestingly, in Lev. 16, the passage upon which the author of *Barnabas* loosely bases his typological development, the goat is described in the LXX as ἀπομπαῖος (Lev. 16. 8 and 10). This and the fact that we meet the term elsewhere in early Christian literature only in Paul, might lead us to think that there is at least a faint Pauline reminiscence here, although we should note that (i) what we in fact know about earliest Christianity is by no means comprehensive; (ii) that the term ἐπικατάρατος in its original Pauline context comes from Deut. 27. 26 and so could have found its way into *Barnabas* via the OT rather than Paul; (iii) that in an apparently independent version of the two goats typology, Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 3. 7. 7) uses the word 'maledictus' to describe the goat, which could be said to approximate to a translation of ἐπικατάρατος; and (iv) *Barnabas* betrays no knowledge of the original context in which the Pauline passage appears in Galatians.[46] We are dealing, after all, with a single word.

The next passage to be considered is *Barn.* 9. 6, which contains two possible allusions to Paul. The first occurs in the earlier part of the verse, in the reference to circumcision as a seal (σφραγίς). The strength in seeing this as possibly alluding to Paul is that he explicitly refers to circumcision in such a way (Rom. 4. 11, where Paul uses σημεῖον as well as σφραγίς), whereas in the OT, both the MT and the LXX, circumcision is referred to as a sign (LXX, σημεῖον) but never as a seal. Again, the case for a direct allusion is very doubtful, if only because there is no hint that the author of *Barnabas* knows anything of the wider context in which the term occurs in Romans. It may also be the case that evidence even of knowledge of a Pauline tradition is weak, for in some rabbinic sources we find circumcision referred to as seal, possibly implying that it was referred to in such a way in non-canonical, pre-Pauline sources.[47] The case for seeing *Barn.* 9. 6 as possibly anti-Pauline (in this view

[45] On this see Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 105–7.

[46] Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 303 n. 18, notes the appearance of the word in Paul, but makes plain his view that its appearance in *Barnabas* may imply some knowledge of Pauline tradition only in 365 n. 53.

[47] For these and other Christian references, see Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 364 n. 50.

the interlocutor who is the subject of ἐρεῖς is Paul, here arguing against *Barnabas* for some validity to circumcision in the pre-Christian period) is unconvincing.[48]

The other possible reference to Paul in this verse lies in the use of the introductory words ἄρα οὖν, here introducing an argument against the idea that circumcision could be a seal of the covenant. According to Prostmeier, this linking particle phrase occurs only in Paul (cf. Rom. 5. 18; 7. 3–25; 8. 12; 9. 16, 18; 14. 12, 19; Gal. 6. 10; Eph. 2. 19; 1 Thess. 5. 6; 2 Thess. 2. 15) and some Apostolic Fathers (Ign. *Trall.* 10; *2 Clem.* 8. 6; 14. 3) before the second century, and even in this century it is used sparingly. This leads Prostmeier to suggest not that the author of *Barnabas* had access to Paul's letters, but rather that he had picked up Pauline phrases and concepts, however indirectly.[49] Interestingly, he sees some of this knowledge reflected in the opening chapter of the epistle and in the manner in which he addresses his addressees elsewhere in the epistle.[50]

The sixth and final parallel to letters today usually considered to be Pauline is *Barn.* 5. 9. We have already had reason to refer to this verse in relation to its assertion that Jesus did not come to call the righteous but sinners. In the same verse *Barnabas* refers to the apostles as those who ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους. Lindemann,[51] rejecting the view that we have here a reference to Matt. 9. 9–13, or any extension of Mark' s negative view of the disciples, argues that the strong sentiments expressed here come closest to Paul's own self-description in such passages as 1 Cor. 15. 8 f.; Eph. 3. 8; 1 Tim. 1. 15 f. He claims that the passage could be taken as an oblique criticism of Paul. But this seems an unlikely interpretation, not least because the reference appears to be to the historical Jesus' calling of his disciples; and interestingly, Origen, who cites *Barn.* 5. 9 at *c. Cels.* 1. 63, sees it as a reference to the apostles, i.e. the followers of Jesus during his lifetime, mentioning Paul's sinful past quite separately.[52]

48 The argument fails, because (i) the language is not necessarily Pauline; and (ii) it is much easier to read the chapter as an attack upon the implementation of circumcision, not upon the technical point of whether circumcision once had some validity.

49 Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 365 n. 53.

50 Ibid. 145–61. E.g., Prostmeier makes quite a lot of the way in which the author of *Barnabas* addresses his readers as 'sons and daughters' (cf. 1. 1), something which manifests itself later in the epistle as children (τέκνα) of God. See *inter alia* 1 Thess. 2. 11; 1 Cor. 4. 14; 2 Cor. 6. 13. Such a form of address is witnessed elsewhere only in *Didache* (cf. 3. 1, 2, 4–6; 4. 1) and Ign. *Phil.* 2. 1.

51 Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 277.

52 Immediately after quoting *Barn.* 5. 9, Origen quotes Luke 5. 8 and follows this up with a quotation from 1 Tim. 1. 15, making it clear that the latter passage refers to Paul, not the apostles.

Deutero-Pauline letters

Two parallels with Ephesians may be considered. The first is *Barn.* 3. 6 and Eph. 1. 4–6. The connection between them seems very tenuous. Bartlet makes much of the use of the words προβλέψας (equivalent to Ephesians' προορίσας), and the reference in both passages to the beloved (ἠγαπημένῳ). But the contexts in which the passages are mentioned are quite different (a straightforwardly polemical one in *Barnabas* and an introductory one for Ephesians), and both the ideas and the christological title are sufficiently widespread for us to think that *Barnabas* could not only have picked these things up from the writer of Ephesians.[53]

The second passage that might be compared with Ephesians is *Barn.* 6. 11 f., with which may be compared *Barn.* 16. 8–10. Bartlet argued strongly for the existence of some parallels between the language used at *Barn.* 6. 11 f. and that found in Eph. 2. 10, 21 f.; 3. 17; and 4. 22 f. He pointed in particular to the similarity in the ideas of re-creation in both (compare in particular *Barn.* 6. 11 and Eph. 4. 22 f.); to the fact that, as in *Barnabas*, the author of Ephesians uses κατοικτήριον[54] in close conjunction with ναὸν ἅγιον as well as κατοικῆσαι τὸν χριστὸν . . . ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, an idea from which Bartlet claims, *Barnabas* begins (see Eph. 2. 21 f.). He also makes reference to apparently similar ideas of the mystical indwelling of Christ in believers and the church (see *Barn.* 16. 8–10). Again, it is very difficult to argue for actual knowledge of Ephesians by the author of *Barnabas*, even if some of the ideas are broadly similar.

Two parallels with the Pastoral Epistles may also be noted. The first is *Barn.* 5. 9 and 1 Tim. 1. 15, which I have discussed above. The second is *Barn.* 5. 6, with which may be compared 2 Tim. 1. 10. As Bartlet notes, there is a possible conjunction of two ideas here: the idea of the incarnation, expressed in terms of the verb φανερόω, although in the case of the passage in 2 Timothy without any reference to ἐν σαρκί,[55] and the idea of the abolition of death expressed in both passages with the verb καταργέω.[56] The phrase 'appearing in the flesh' seems almost formulaic in *Barnabas* (see 6. 7, 9, 14; 12. 10), and in Hebrews we meet up with the idea of the abolition of death (Heb. 1. 14: see the discussion below).[57]

[53] See Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 184–5.

[54] The word κατοικτήριον occurs only in Ephesians in the NT (Eph. 2. 21), and only in *Barnabas* in the Apostolic Fathers.

[55] We do find this expression in 1 Tim. 3. 16.

[56] We should note that the connection is made more clearly in *Barnabas*.

[57] Some have argued for the view that *Barnabas* reflects a Paulinism in a similar state of flux to what we find in the Pastoral Epistles. In particular, reference is made to a tendency to use

Conclusion

It is difficult to prove that the author of *Barnabas* had a direct knowledge of any of the letters of Paul. But there is, I think, sufficient evidence to show that he was in contact with traditions which were at least conversant with aspects of Paul's theology. Whether he sought to modify those traditions to suit his own somewhat different perspective is not easy to prove. The best case for such a view can be found in chapter 13 of his epistle, where Barnabas appears to modify part of Rom. 4 to support the un-Pauline position of an exclusively Gentile identity for the church. It is certainly clear that the author of *Barnabas* was not a conscious opponent of Paul, as some have sought to argue.

THE REST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Hebrews

The case of the relationship between *Barnabas* and Hebrews is a complex one. As will be demonstrated below, it is very difficult to see any clear evidence of even an allusion to Hebrews. Yet, in terms of theological atmosphere and general tendencies, there is a greater proximity than perhaps is the case with any other NT book.

Four passages may be considered, the first of which is *Barn.* 5. 6, to which may be compared Heb. 2. 14. Here both authors refer to the abolition of death, although stated in slightly different ways. In *Barnabas* the reference is straightforwardly to the abolition of death (*καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον*) by Christ's own death; in Hebrews, where the same verb is used (*καταργέω*), the reference is to the destruction of the one who has the power of death (*τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου*). Not only do these differences of expression point away from any straightforward idea of literary dependence, but a similar confluence of ideas is found at 2 Tim. 1. 10, possibly indicating a widespread connection between the verb *καταργέω* and death.

words such as *δικαιοσύνη* in a non-Pauline way to mean something like honesty or moral uprightness (cf. 1 Tim. 6. 11; 2 Tim. 2. 22; 3. 16; cf. with *Barn.* 1. 4, 6; 4. 12; 5. 1); the replacement of the Pauline soteriological concepts of *δικαιόω* with *σωζεῖν* (1 Tim. 1. 15; 2. 4, 15; 4. 16; 2 Tim. 1. 9; 2. 10; 3. 15; cf. *Barn.* 1. 3; 2. 10; 4. 1); and the definition of *πίστις* in terms of faithfulness (1 Tim. 1. 5, 19; 5. 8; cf. *Barn.* 1. 4, 5); and the use of traditional baptismal and atonement vocabulary (Titus 3. 5; cf. *Barn.* 6. 11, 14). For this argument, see K. Wengst, *Didache, Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, SUC 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 118.

Another parallel has been noted between *Barn.* 6. 17–19 and Heb. 2. 5–9, but it is not obvious why Bartlet should include this comparison in his analysis. There appear to be only similarities of ideas and no verbal similarities between the two passages—in each case the writer appears to see eschatological salvation in terms of sovereignty over the natural world and makes it clear that such salvation has not yet arrived. Bartlet's case is bound up with what he sees as a consistent coming together of ideas both here and elsewhere in *Barnabas* and Hebrews (on this see below).

The third passage is *Barn.* 7. 4, which may be compared with Heb. 9. 12 f., 19, and 10. 4. The literary relationship here concerns the single word *τράγος*, used instead of Lev. 16 (LXX)'s *χίμαρος*, a word that is the standard translation of the goat used as a sin offering on the Day of Atonement. Prostmeier, however, notes that *τράγος* is used in Aquila, Symmachus, and the Aldina in the translation of Lev. 16. 8, possibly indicating that there were texts available to the authors of both *Barnabas* and Hebrews that used *τράγος*. The same scholar also notes that the same word appears as a translation for goat in a number of the prophetic writings which were known to the author of *Barnabas*.[58]

The final parallel is between *Barn.* 5. 1 and Heb. 12. 24 (cf. 13. 12). The similarity between these two verses lies in the reference to the blood of sprinkling (*Barnabas*: *ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αυτοῦ*; in Hebrews, *αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ*). The primary association in Hebrews appears to be with the Day of Atonement, which is also implied in *Barnabas* (see ch. 7). The phrase may have been generally known, as implied by its appearance in 1 Pet. 1. 2. In *Barnabas* there is an attempt explicitly to associate it with the forgivenesss of sins, something which is present only implicitly in Hebrews (cf. *Barn.* 8. 1).

There appear to be no other examples of allusions to Hebrews in *Barnabas*. But let us now examine in more detail the view that *Barnabas* and Hebrews betray so much similarity in terms of their ideas that cumulatively we can speak of a literary relationship.[59]

First, we should note the importance that both writers ascribe to the sacrificial death of Christ and the fact that both develop this idea with reference to a typology of the Day of Atonement. Moreover, although appearing in a much more developed form in *Barnabas*, an interest in the sacrifice of the red heifer (compare *Barn.* 8 and the reference to *σποδὸς δαμάλεως* at Heb. 9. 13) is apparent in both, possibly associating its sacrifice with the Day of Atonement. Both authors see Jesus' death as abolishing the power of death or

[58] Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 296.
[59] For a brief history of scholarship on this matter, see Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 214–15.

death itself (see above), and connect it very clearly with the forgiveness of the believer's sin. While there is no explicit reference to Jesus as High Priest,[60] a title which is very important for the writer of Hebrews, there is at least a hint of knowledge of such a designation at *Barn.* 7. 9. Finally, in relation to this topic, we should note the strongly anti-cultic posture of both texts, in which, amongst other things, there appears to be a strong sense of the inadequacy of sacrifice even in the period before Christ.[61] Such observations should be tempered by what might be seen as strange omissions on the part of the author of *Barnabas.* Particular note might be taken of the absence of any reference to the superiority of Jesus' death in terms of an atonement for sin at a deeper level (Jesus as atoner for the sins of conscience referred to at Heb. 9. 9, 14; 10. 2, 22; 13. 18); the related failure to refer to the once-and-for-allness of Jesus' sacrifice (Heb. 5. 6; 6. 20; 7. 3, 17, 21 f., 24 f., 28; 13. 8); and the fact that *Barnabas* refers to the temple as *ναός* rather than Hebrews' *σκηνή*.

A related area of comparison appears in the considerable interest both authors take in the idea of the covenant, an interest which might be seen as distinctive by virtue of the explicit use which both authors make of the term *διαθήκη*.[62] Both link the formation of the covenant with Jesus' death (see *Barn.* 5. 7 and 7. 5) and are keen to emphasize the idea of Christians as inheritors of the covenant. Hebrews explicitly links the covenant of the Christians with Jer. 31 (Heb. 8. 8 f. and 10. 16), and there may be a hint at such an association at *Barn.* 14. 5 and 4. 8.[63] At *Barn.* 14. 4 we read that Moses received the covenant when he was a servant (*θεράπων*), whereas Jesus received it when he was Lord. While not explicitly connected with the covenant, Hebrews also makes use of a comparison between Moses as God's servant (*θεράπων*) and Jesus as God's son, in order similarly to play up the superiority of Jesus (3. 5–6). Once again these comparisons appear approximate (*Barnabas* nowhere makes use of the comparative motif; and one could see his attempt to connect Jesus' death with the covenant as much less explicit than that in Hebrews—note, for instance, the lack of reference to the covenant in *Barn.* 7 and 8).

[60] The term is clearly important for the writer of *1 Clement*, who is the other Apostolic Father strongly linked with Hebrews. For a recent discussion, see H. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 52–5.

[61] See, e.g., the description of sacrifice at *Barn.* 2. 6 as *ἀνθρωποίητος* and at Heb. 9. 10 as *χειροποίητος*.

[62] In spite of the fact that the idea of covenant may be thought to be central to the NT, explicit reference to the concept is quite rare. In fact, Hebrews contains over half of the references. The term is similarly rare in the works of the Apostolic Fathers, occurring fourteen times in *Barnabas* and a mere two times elsewhere (both OT citations in *1 Clement*).

[63] In this context we might note the reference at *Barn.* 4. 8 to the covenant being sealed upon the hearts of Christians.

Both writers take an interest in the elusive concept of rest (κατάπαυσις) (see Heb. 3. 18 and 4. 6 f.; and *Barn.* 15. 3 f.). The fact that both mention this quite rare concept, even if with different eschatological emphases, is striking. But we should be cautious about positing any kind of literary relationship on the basis of this: we should note that in *Barn.* 6. 8 f., where we have a detailed exegesis of what it means to enter into the land of milk and honey, there is no mention of rest, a point that becomes interesting when we see how the term for rest takes the place of the term for land in Heb. 3–4 (see esp. Heb. 3. 18).[64]

What might we deduce from the above? First, that there is no straightforward confluence of ideas between *Barnabas* and Hebrews. Rather, what we find is a series of potentially distinctive concerns and interests. Whether these can be said to show, as Bartlet wished to assert, that *Barnabas* was influenced by Hebrews is not certain. Discerning influence is a very difficult thing, and one might have expected more possible allusions if *Barnabas* had read Hebrews. More likely, perhaps, is a the possibility, altogether vaguer, that both texts arose out of similar milieu.[65]

1 Peter

In *Barn.* 5. 1 and 1 Pet. 1. 2 the similarity lies in the reference to the sprinkling of Jesus' blood (ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; compare with *Barnabas* ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ). But, as we have seen above, a reference to the sprinkling of blood is found in Heb. 12. 24, so we may in fact be in the presence of a Christian tradition to which the author of *Barnabas* had access.

In *Barn.* 4. 11 f. and 1 Pet. 4. 11 f. we note the coming together of the concepts of the fear of God and discriminating judgement. But little can be concluded from this, not least because we have a conjunction of similar ideas in 2 Cor. 5. 10.

As regards *Barn.* 6. 2–4 and 1 Pet. 1. 17, the similarity here lies simply in the citation of Isa. 28. 16. But it appears in a strikingly different form in *Barnabas*.[66]

64 See Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 221: 'If B. had read Heb. it seems to be stretching the limits of the imagination to argue that he would not even have hinted at a κατάπαυσις to describe the entry.'

65 Precisely the explanation of Lona, *Erste Clemensbrief*, 55, for the relationship between Hebrews and *1 Clement*, a text which ironically contains a much closer literary parallel to Hebrews (cf. *1 Clem.* 36. 2–5 and Heb. 1. 3–5, 7, 8, and 13) and more shared vocabulary, but is ideologically much less close than *Barnabas*.

66 The two passages are adequately discussed by Bartlet, 'Barnabas', *NTAF*, 15.

Apocalypse

In *Barn.* 6. 13 and Apoc. 21. 5 the reference to the last things being like the first, a sentiment which may have its roots in Isa. 43. 19, is a sufficiently well-known trope to be explained by reference to traditions in common.

Bartlet notes that many of the parallels between *Barn.* 7. 9 and Apoc. 1. 7, 13 can be explained by reference to common Christian traditions, in particular those which applied Zech. 12. 10 to aspects of the passion. Bartlet, however, argues that 'the substantival use of *ποδήρη* found in the N.T. only in Apoc. 1. 13, might suggest that Barnabas' language was unconsciously influenced by this passage also'.[67] Certainly both passages associate the garment with the exalted Christ, but in quite different contexts and to make very different points.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In the preceding paragraphs, I have not been able to *demonstrate* that the author of *Barnabas* knew an individual New Testament book. He comes closest to quoting Matthew (*Barn.* 4. 14) and seems to show knowledge of what one might loosely call synoptic passion traditions, although these could have been made known to him through an already existing typological development of the two goats on the Day of Atonement. He seems to show knowledge of a text influenced by a quotation from Paul in Romans. Beyond that, it is difficult to prove any real knowledge of the apostle's work, although I did suggest that there may be evidence of a modification of a Paulinizing tradition in *Barn.* 13. Even where we are able to point to considerable convergence of theme and, up to a point, thought, such as with the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is no evidence of allusions to that text. In one sense my minimalist conclusion is the result of my insistence on *demonstration* of knowledge of the NT. It is equally very difficult to *demonstrate* that the author of *Barnabas* did not know the texts discussed but has cited them and used them in a variety of ways. Moreover, in a text which appears to associate 'perfect knowledge' with a Christian appropriation of Old Testament promises and the one covenant of God (see esp. 1. 5; 47 f.; 13 and 14), extensive reference to Old Testament texts, by no means always in a literal form, and lack of reference to so-called New Testament texts, appears understandable, an observation which should keep us from deducing anything of significance about the status of the latter texts at the time *Barnabas* was being written.

[67] Bartlet, 'Barnabas', *NTAF*, 16. For a lengthy discussion of the meaning of the term and its appearances in the OT, see Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 310–13.

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10

2 Clement and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett

INTRODUCTION

The so-called *Second Letter of Clement to the Corinthians* is usually described as a homily (apparently based primarily on Isa. 54. 1; see *2 Clem.* 2. 1–3), for the implied author states that someone is reading the text aloud (19. 1) and clearly suggests that those whom the reader addresses are gathered in the context of worship (17. 3).[1] There is no epistolary framework, and the association of the title with *1 Clement* comes about from its transmission with that letter, although the fact that they circulated together does suggest that there was some perception of a link between these texts at least by the fifth century, when both were included in the Codex Alexandrinus. There they follow Revelation, but are apparently considered part of the New Testament.[2] It has been suggested that *2 Clement* was known to Eusebius (*EH* 3. 38. 4), but the fact that it is not a letter makes this identification uncertain. The only secure conclusions that may be reached are that its author, date, and place of composition are unknown, although there is critical consensus that it should be placed somewhere around the first half or the middle of the second century. One argument often used in support of putting it towards the middle rather than the beginning of the second century is its apparent use of a range of the writings later included in the New Testament, including the synoptic gospels to which the letter may refer as 'scripture' (2. 4; cf. 8. 5; 14. 2).[3] It seems likely that the author recognized certain Christian authorities alongside

[1] But see A. Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy to Preaching: A Search for the Origins of the Christian Homily*, VCSup 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 174–87, who argues that 'it is not a typical homily, but is wedded much more closely to catechesis' (p. 174).

[2] For a description of the table of contents included in this codex, see J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 5 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1890), 1. 1., 117.

[3] See below, p. 255.

the Jewish Scriptures (14. 2, where he refers to τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι), but it is unclear whether or not those authorities (οἱ ἀπόστολοι) are written texts.[4] And even if so, their identity is unclear; it is possible that the texts that he associated with the apostles may have included some writings that were not among those later included in the New Testament. Thus *2 Clement* is of particular interest on account of what appears to be its author's use of a variety of forms of Jesus tradition—post-synoptic and otherwise—and also because of a significant number of passages in which he includes material with parallels in writings later recognized as canonical, though there is no clear evidence of his direct use of any of these other texts.

The remainder of this chapter is in two parts. The first—and more substantial—part considers the nature of the relationship between Jesus tradition in *2 Clement* and the canonical gospels; the second, the question of the relationship between *2 Clement* and the rest of the writings later included in the New Testament.[5]

2 *CLEMENT* AND THE GOSPELS

2 Clement is one of the most interesting texts in the context of the present discussion about possible knowledge of the texts which later became canonized as part of the New Testament, particularly in relation to the gospels. We may consider very briefly, first, the question of possible links between *2 Clement* and the gospel of John before going on to the more complex question of possible links between *2 Clement* and the synoptic gospels.

[4] See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 245–6; Helmut Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 67–9; K. P. Donfried, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity*, NovTSup 38 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 93–6.

[5] Three scholars were responsible for the discussion of *2 Clement* in *NTAF*: J. V. Bartlet, A. J. Carlyle, and P. V. M. Benecke. In this chapter, Christopher Tuckett has written on the gospels and Andrew Gregory on the rest of the New Testament. While each author takes full responsibility for the opinions presented in the section that he has written, we are glad to acknowledge the assistance of Professor William L. Petersen, with whom we have had extensive discussions about *2 Clement* and early Christian traditions. Professor Petersen would disagree with many of the conclusions that we reach (see above, Ch. 2), but has been generous in sharing with us his own assessment of many of the parallels that we discuss.

2 Clement and John

Only a very small number of possible examples suggest any link between *2 Clement* and the gospel of John.[6] Two will be discussed here briefly.

At *2 Clem.* 9. 5, the author refers to 'Christ, the Lord who saved us, though he was originally spirit, became flesh (*ἐγένετο σάρξ*) and so called us'. In one way this is clearly reminiscent of the language of John 1. 14.[7] But whether this shows a literary link, or simply reflects common Christian terminology, is not so clear.

2 Clem. 4. 5, in a citation of what 'the Lord said', has 'if you be gathered together with me in my bosom . . .'. Some have seen in the reference to followers of Jesus being 'in my bosom' an allusion to John 13. 23 (the beloved disciple being in the 'bosom' of Jesus).[8] The full citation will be discussed in more detail later. Here, however, we may note that this part of the saying is paralleled in a Jewish-Christian gospel, and hence any allusion to John is likely to be at most indirect. In fact, the language may be closer to that of Isa. 40. 11.[9] Certainly John does not provide a precedent for talk about being 'gathered' into Jesus' bosom. Thus it seems unlikely that there is an allusion to John's gospel here.

Other alleged parallels with John are extremely remote.[10] It therefore seems very unlikely that *2 Clement* shows any knowledge of the gospel of John at all.

[6] Possible echoes of John are not even mentioned by Bartlet, *NTAF*, 124–36, and only rarely in passing in Donfried, *Setting*, in his chapter on 'quotations from authoritative sources' (pp. 49–97, which also includes a section on allusions). Some allusions are suggested by R. Warns, *Untersuchungen zum 2. Clemens-Brief* (dissertation, Marburg, 1985), 245–8.

[7] Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 246–57, argues that *2 Clement* does not know John, but that the language comes from opponents, assumed to be Valentinian Gnostics, with whom the author is engaged. This depends, however, on a specific theory about the 'opponents' addressed in *2 Clement*, and this is somewhat uncertain: see A. Lindemann, *Die Clemensbriefe*, HNT 17 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 192. The echo of John may have been recognized by the scribe of the Constantinople MS of *2 Clement* who has *λόγος* for *πνεῦμα* just before this, thus strengthening the echo of John 1: see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 230; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 246.

[8] Cf. Donfried, *Setting*, 66; T. Aono, *Die Entwicklung des paulinischen Gerichtsgedanken bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979), 135.

[9] LXX (in some MSS) *τῷ βραχίονι αὐτοῦ συνάξει ἄρνας καὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ βαστάσει*: see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 218.

[10] Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 258 ff., refers to *2 Clem.* 9. 6 and John 3. 5; he also sees a possible echo of John 1. 1 ff. in *2 Clem.* 14. 2 (the reference to pre-existence, but with a quite different reference). Both seem far too distant as parallels to bear any weight in the present argument. Cf. too Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 242, on 14. 2. There is also a reference to an 'advocate' (*παράκλητος*) in *2 Clem.* 6. 9, but again it is not clear how far this is to be seen as derived from the Johannine NT tradition: cf. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 265 f.

2 Clement and Synoptic Tradition

By contrast with the situation in relation to John, *2 Clement* displays a number of interesting parallels with materials also appearing in the synoptic gospels. In a number of instances, 'Clement'[11] gives what appear to be explicit citations, or at least provides explicit introductory formulae introducing material which often (but not always) has parallels with material in the synoptic gospels. For the most part, these are presented as things that 'the Lord' 'says/said'. I consider first the texts where the author cites with an explicit introductory formula, or where the words of the text seem very close to the synoptic tradition. I then consider texts where *2 Clement* and the synoptic gospels both cite the same Old Testament text. Finally, I consider briefly some possible instances of common terminology and possible allusions to the synoptic tradition.

Gospel 'Citations'

2 Clem. 2. 4	Mark 2. 17 = Matt. 9. 13	Luke 5. 32
καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει,		
ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι	*οὐκ [γὰρ] ἦλθον καλέσαι*	*οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι*
δικαίους, ἀλλὰ	*δικαίους ἀλλὰ*	*δικαίους ἀλλὰ*
ἁμαρτωλούς.	*ἁμαρτωλούς.*	*ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.*

Barn. 5. 9: *οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.*
Justin, *1 Apol.* 15. 8: *οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς εἰς μετάνοιαν.*
[1 Tim. 1. 15: *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι.*]

The saying in *2 Clem.* 2. 4 is clearly all but identical with that in Matt. 9. 13 // Mark 2. 17.[12] The parallel in Luke has the (typically Lucan) reference to 'repentance' at the end, which is lacking in *2 Clement*. Hence there is no real question of any dependence, direct or indirect, of *2 Clement* on Luke here.[13]

The saying, or something very similar, occurs in a number of places in early Christian sources: e.g., in *Barn.* 5. 9 (in a form identical to that in *2 Clement* and Mathew/Mark) and in Justin, *1 Apol.* 15. 8 (in a form very close to that

[11] The text known as *2 Clement* is universally accepted as not being by the same author as *1 Clement*. It derives its modern name on the basis of its link in the MSS which attest it with *1 Clement*. I refer to the author then as 'Clement', using inverted commas.

[12] Matthew and Mark here are in turn all but identical. The only difference between the two is that Matthew has an extra *γάρ* at the start of the saying: but such an inconsequential detail can scarcely have any significance in the present discussion.

[13] Cf. A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 146.

of Luke).[14] This may show that the saying circulated independently; and indeed it may be that the saying in the story of Mark 2 // Matt. 9 represents an independent saying that has been incorporated secondarily into the story of Jesus eating with tax collectors and sinners.[15] Thus some have argued that the saying was a floating tradition, and that its occurrence in *2 Clement* is due to 'Clement's' use of this common tradition, not necessarily of the synoptic gospels themselves.[16] On the other hand, the presence of the saying as independent of its synoptic context in *Barnabas* and Justin may represent a post-synoptic development of the tradition.

We should also note that 'Clement' here states that the saying comes from 'another' *γραφή* (having just cited a verse from the Old Testament, viz. Isa. 54. 1). This at the very least suggests that 'Clement' is taking his quotation here from a written source, and hence not from some free-floating oral tradition. Further, it would seem that the source has almost the status of 'scripture' for 'Clement', *γραφή* being the word that Christians came to use to refer to Scripture.[17] One cannot be certain of the last point, but the language certainly suggests that, rather than quoting a free-floating saying of Jesus from some unattached oral tradition, 'Clement' is rather quoting the saying as coming from a larger *written text*. It is of course theoretically possible that this text was a gospel text otherwise unknown to us.[18] But a more economical solution would be to say that *2 Clement* here presupposes the gospel of Matthew.[19] Thus, whilst certainty is not possible, some dependence on Matthew (direct or indirect) seems to be the most likely explanation of the evidence here.[20]

[14] For the texts, see above. 1 Tim. 1. 15 is also often cited in this context, though the vocabulary is by no means as close as in the other texts. E.g., 1 Timothy speaks of 'saving', rather than 'calling' sinners; and the verse lacks the antithetical structure evident in the others, which sets the claim about calling/saving sinners over against the negative assertion that Jesus did not come to call/save the 'righteous'. As we shall see, 1 Tim. 1. 15 might be closer to the words of *2 Clem.* 2. 7 (discussed below). Here though, it should probably be left out of account.

[15] Cf. Donfried, *Setting*, 57, referring to R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 18.

[16] So, e.g., Donfried, *Setting*, 59 f.

[17] It is used this way elsewhere in *2 Clement* at 6. 1; 14. 1, 2.

[18] Cf. Bartlet, *NTAF*, 133; Donfried, *Setting* 59 f., who speaks of a 'Gemeindetradition', and who argues that *γραφή* may refer to 'words of Jesus transmitted orally'. The evidence for such a claim seems lacking.

[19] Theoretically it could be Mark; but there is no other evidence in *2 Clement* presupposing knowledge or use of Mark, and Matthew's gospel generally was by far the most popular in the early church. Hence it is surely more likely that, if any synoptic gospel is presupposed here, it is Matthew rather than Mark. Cf. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 71. See too Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 278, for the lack of any reference to Mark in *2 Clement*. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 205, also refers to the use of *ἔλεος* at 3. 1, which might be a reminiscence of the quotation of Hos. 6. 6 earlier in the same verse in Matthew (cf. too Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 286).

[20] Cf. W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 136, qualifying É. Massaux, *Influence de*

2 Clem. 2. 7	Luke 19. 10
οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησεν σῶσαι τὰ ἀπολλύμενα, καὶ ἔσωσεν πολλούς, ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἀπολλυμένους	*ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός.*

[Matt. 18. 11: *ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (ζητῆσαι καὶ) σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός.*]
[1 Tim. 1. 15: *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι.*]

This 'parallel' between *2 Clement* and the synoptic gospels is rather unlike some of the others considered. First, it is not signalled by 'Clement' as a quotation as such (as many of the other parallels are): it is simply presented as a (quasi-summary) statement, apparently by the author himself, about the intention and significance of Jesus' ministry. Second, the parallel with the synoptic tradition is at best a fairly loose one. The closest parallel is to be found in Luke 19. 10, which also refers to the aim of Jesus' life and work as being to 'save' the 'lost'.[21] However, there is no reference in *2 Clement* to Jesus as 'Son of Man', or to his 'coming' (at least in this part of the saying). Again, the 'parallel' with 1 Tim. 1. 15 is sometimes mentioned in this context, but the agreement in wording is even less close than Luke 19. 10 (really only 'save' is common to the two texts: the object of the 'saving' is 'sinners' in 1 Timothy, rather than the 'lost').

It is possible that *2 Clement* here has drawn on the saying in Luke 19. 10 (and also, in doing so, adapted it slightly). But one cannot really say more with any degree of confidence. The saying is too general, and the sentiments too widespread, for one to be able to pin down any precise parallel exactly.[22]

l'Evangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée, BETL 75 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 139, who takes this as an example where dependence on Matthew is 'certain': Köhler, takes it as 'gut möglich'. Cf. too Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 71. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 287, takes this as a clear example of *2 Clement* citing Matthew's gospel itself as scripture; but that may be too precise.

[21] There is also a parallel in Matt. 18. 11, though this is generally regarded as a later interpolation into the text of Matthew, based on the verse in Luke 19. 10. The MSS which contain the verse in Matt. 18 vary slightly, with the majority omitting *ζητῆσαι καί*, though a few include these words. The shorter version of Matt. 18. 11 is then in fact slightly closer to *2 Clement* here (in omitting any reference to 'seeking'). But one probably should not build too much on this.

[22] Cf. too Bartlet, *NTAF*, 132; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 141 (at least in relation to Matt. 18. 11); Gregory, *Reception*, 146 f. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 109, proposes a possible recollection of the Lucan verse by memory. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 206, says that 'die Nähe zu der Tradition, die auch in Lk 19,10, 1 Tim 1,15 begegnet, ist deutlich', but is no more specific. However, Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 304 f., sees here a clear use of either Luke 19. 10 or Matt. 18. 11.

2 Clem. 3. 2	Matt. 10. 32	Luke 12. 8
λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός·		
τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων,	*Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,*	*πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,*
ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν	*ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ*	*καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ*
ἐνῶπιον τοῦ πατρός μου.	*ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς·*	*ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ·*

Rev. 3. 5: *καὶ ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.*

2 Clem. 3. 2 refers explicitly to a saying of Jesus. The closest parallel is undoubtedly the Q saying in Matt. 10. 32 // Luke 12. 8.[23] There is no verbatim agreement down to the last preposition or detail: e.g., *2 Clement* does not have a *πᾶς* construction, it uses *ἐνώπιον* rather than *ἔμπροσθεν*, and it has the object of the 'confessing' as an accusative rather than *ἐν* + dative. These details are, however, relatively trivial, involving little if any difference in substance and hence are scarcely significant in the present discussion.

Much more relevant is the fact that *2 Clement* here agrees closely in substance with Matthew against Luke in (a) making Jesus' statement about his confessing as a first person claim (rather than a third person reference to the 'Son of Man' as in Luke), and (b) having the 'audience' before whom Jesus will confess those who confess him as 'my father' (Matthew also has 'in heaven'), rather than Luke's 'the angels of God'. The version in *2 Clement* is thus significantly closer to Matthew's version than to Luke's. Further, and probably of most significance in the present context, both these differences between Matthew and Luke are almost universally taken by commentators on the synoptic tradition and/or Q to be due to MattR. Thus Matthew's first person form of the saying is almost universally taken to be a secondary change by Matthew of an original 'Son of Man' saying in Q;[24] and Matthew's

[23] The 'parallel' often cited here from Rev. 3. 5 is somewhat more remote: there is nothing in this verse implying the reciprocal relationship whereby Jesus will 'confess' precisely the one who 'confesses' him. In Rev. 3, the one who will be confessed by Jesus is the one who 'conquers'. Hence, *pace* e.g. Gregory, *Reception*, 144 f., who takes the common use of *ἐνώπιον* in Revelation and *2 Clement* as evidence that there was a version of the saying circulating independently of the synoptics (cf. too Donfried, *Setting*, 61); but such a common synonym for such an inconsequential word in the saying can only bear this weight in the argument with great difficulty.

[24] This is the reading adopted (with some reservations) in the IQP reconstruction of Q: see J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann, and J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 304. The main dissenting voice today is that of Paul Hoffmann: see, e.g., his 'Der Menschensohn in Lukas 12.8', *NTS* 44 (1998), 357–79; for a response,

reference to God as ‘my father’ represents a feature which is characteristic and distinctive to Matthew in the synoptic tradition.[25] The version in *2 Clement* thus agrees with Matthew at just those points where Matthew has redacted the tradition. It is thus most probable that *2 Clement* presupposes the development of the tradition after it has gone through Matthew’s editorial hand, and hence presupposes Matthew’s finished gospel.[26] Whether *2 Clement* has derived the saying directly from Matthew is not certain; and indeed the slight differences from Matthew might suggest otherwise (or at least a somewhat loose ‘citation’, perhaps from memory).[27] However, the evidence here would suggest that, in its tradition history, the saying has passed through Matthew’s gospel by the time it reaches the author of *2 Clement.*

2 Clem. 4. 2	Matt. 7. 21	Luke 6. 46
λέγει γάρ·		
οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι·	Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι,	Τί δέ με καλεῖτε,
Κύριε, κύριε,	Κύριε κύριε,	Κύριε κύριε,
σωθήσεται,	εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν	
	βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν,	
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν	ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα	καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;
δικαιοσύνην.	τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν	
	τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	

A very similar situation may arise in *2 Clem.* 4. 2. This is another explicit ‘citation’ of what ‘the Lord’ (= Jesus) ‘says’. The citation is clearly close in substance to Matt. 7. 21 // Luke 6. 46. Further, once again, *2 Clement* is much closer to the version in Matthew than to that in Luke (cf. the common

see C. M. Tuckett, ‘Q 12,8 once again—“Son of Man” or “I”?’, in J. M. Asgeirsson, K. de Troyer, and M. V. Meyer (eds.), *From Quest to Q: Festschrift for J. M. Robinson*, BETL 146 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 171–88, with further references. For others supporting this, see e.g. Bultmann, *History*, 112; S. Schulz, *Q—Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zurich: TVZ, 1971), 68; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), ii. 216.

[25] For Luke’s ‘angels’ as preserving the Q version, see Robinson *et al.*, *Critical Edition.* Also Schulz, *Q*; Davies and Allison, *Matthew.*

[26] Cf. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 72; Massaux, *Influence*, 142 f.; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 131 f.; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 207. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 216, describes the text in *2 Clement* here as ‘a free quotation of Matt. x. 32’.

[27] Donfried, *Setting*, 61, argues on the basis of ‘substantial differences’ between *2 Clement* and the synoptic versions for dependence on an independent source. (cf. too Bartlet, *NTAF*, 130). But this seems unnecessary. The differences are scarcely ‘substantial’, and in all important respects of substance, *2 Clement* seems to agree closely with Matthew. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 333 f., takes it as coming from the (one) apocryphal gospel which he posits as used by ‘Clement’ for a number of his citations, and argues that it follows on closely from the saying cited in 5. 2–4, though this gospel in turn presupposes the gospels of Matthew and Luke. But, as Warns himself is certain that ‘Clement’ has used the synoptic gospels themselves (directly), it may be easiest to see this as an example of ‘Clement’s’ use of Matthew, rather than of another gospel text using Matthew.

structure to the saying *οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι . . . ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν*). Moreover, as in the previous example, Luke's version here is also widely assumed to preserve the Q version more accurately, with Matthew's version being due to MattR. Certainly, at most of the points where Matthew differs from Luke here, Matthew's version seems to be characteristically Matthean (cf. the reference to 'kingdom of heaven' and 'my father in heaven').[28]

It is true that the version in *2 Clement* lacks the features that might most obviously be identified as MattR ('kingdom of heaven' and 'my father in heaven'). Thus some have argued that the version in *2 Clement* may represent an earlier form of the saying, which Matthew then redacted.[29] This is of course possible. However, it seems unnecessary, since (a) there is little reason (apart from the version in *2 Clement* itself) to postulate an earlier form of the saying in Matthew other than the (probable) Q version as now represented in Luke 6. 46, and (b) the differences between *2 Clement* and Matthew, especially at the points where Matthew seems peculiarly Matthean, can be explained as due to the preferred vocabulary of the author of *2 Clement*.[30] Thus the use of *σῴζειν* in the saying (parallel to Matthew's 'enter the kingdom of heaven') takes up the use of the verb in 4. 1, and in turn this vocabulary of 'save'/ 'salvation' is prominent throughout this section of *2 Clement*.[31] Further, 'righteousness' is a favourite word of this author.[32]

Thus, although one cannot point to verbatim agreement with clearly identifiable elements of Matthean redaction, the fact remains that the version in *2 Clement* does agree with Matthew in what is (probably) Matthew's restructuring of the saying from Q 6. 46; and the further points where *2 Clement* differs from Matthew (and in so doing avoids the more obviously Matthean terminology) can be adequately explained by the linguistic preferences of 'Clement' himself. Once again, the most economical explanation of the evidence would be that *2 Clement* presupposes the development of the

[28] Cf. Robinson *et al.*, *Critical Edition*, 94; also Bultmann, *History*, 116; U. Luz, *Matthew 1–7* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 440; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, i. 711 f.; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel of Luke (I–IX)*, AB 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 643 f.

[29] So, e.g., Donfried, *Setting*, 63; Gregory, *Reception*, 141, mentioning the possibility of a 'Q^{Mt}' source used by Matthew alone.

[30] See Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 81.

[31] Köster (ibid.) points out that *σῴζειν* occurs often in *2 Clem.* 1–3 (at 1. 4, 7; 2. 5, 7; 3. 3); cf. too *σωτηρία* at 1. 1, 7. Cf. too Bartlet, *NTAF*, 131.

[32] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 82, compares 11. 7; 19. 3. Köhler, *Rezeption*, 134, following Massaux, *Influence*, 144, points out that it is thoroughly appropriate for a follower of Matthew to equate 'righteousness' with 'the will of the father in heaven'! But see too Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 298 f. Warns also refers to the reference in 3. 5 (in the prelude to this citation) to 'doing what he says' as evidence that the author knew the Lucan form of the saying as well (even though Warns takes the citation in 4. 2 itself as coming from the apocryphal gospel which he argues was used by 'Clement').

tradition after it has reached Matthew. As before, it may well be that *2 Clement* does not 'cite' Matthew's gospel directly. Nevertheless, it does appear clearly to presuppose Matthew's finished gospel as part of its tradition and on which it is (directly or indirectly) dependent.

2 Clem. 4. 5	Matt. 7. 23	Luke 13. 27
εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν ἦτε μετ᾿ ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς		
ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· ὑπάγετε ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἴδα ὑμᾶς, πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας	καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.	καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν, Οὐκ οἶδα [ὑμᾶς] πόθεν ἐστέ· ἀπόστητε ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ, πάντες ἐργάται ἀδικίας.

Ps. 6. 9 (LXX): *ἀπόστητε ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.*
Justin, *1 Apol.* 16. 11: *καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας.*
'Jewish' Gospel (gloss at Matt. 7. 5 in MS 1424): *ἐὰν ἦτε ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς μὴ ποιῆτε. ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου ἀπορρίψω ὑμᾶς.*

The second citation (of what 'the Lord' 'said') in *2 Clem.* 4 is considerably more complex.[33] For many modern interpreters, the saying divides into two halves: the second half clearly bears a close relationship to Matt. 7. 23 // Luke 13. 27; the first half has no clear parallel with any synoptic saying. However, it should be noted that such a division of *2 Clem.* 4. 5 into two halves has no real basis in the text of *2 Clement* itself: the two halves run straight on without any obvious break.[34]

In the second half of the saying here, there are clear parallels with Matthew and Luke. As well as the problems of dealing with a section of Q tradition present in both Matthew and Luke, the situation here is rendered more complicated by the fact that the Q verse appears to be a (deliberate?) echo of the words of Ps. 6. 9 (LXX); it is then not clear whether the synoptic version closer in wording to Ps. 6. 9 is more original, or whether one evangelist has secondarily aligned the wording to be closer to the OT text. Further, there are

[33] It is not clear if this is to be regarded as a saying independent of 4. 2 or a continuation of the earlier citation: cf., e.g., Aono, *Entwicklung*, 131: 4. 3–4 may be the author's interpretation and application of the saying in 4. 2, and 4. 5 may just continue the latter. Similarly Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 325.

[34] Cf. Köhler, *Rezeption*, 144: 'Festzuhalten ist, daβ der Verfasser des II Clem beide Zitathälften als Einheit zitiert.'

textual variants in the text of the gospels making for an even more complex situation.

As the texts stand in the versions given above, it would seem that the text of *2 Clement* is closer to the Lucan version. Thus both agree (against Matthew) in the use of ἐρῶ/ἐρεῖ (Matthew, ὁμολογήσω),[35] *οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς*[36] (Matthew, *Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς*), *πόθεν ἐστέ* (no parallel in Matthew), and in ἐργάται (Matthew, *οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι*).[37] The *2 Clement* version is possibly closer to Matthew only in the final use of ἀνομία, where Luke uses ἀδικία, though even here there is no certainty, as the D text of Luke here has ἀνομίαν.[38] Since this reading of Luke was also known to Marcion, it is clearly an early reading. Thus the saying in *2 Clem.* 4. 5b could be seen as parallel to (one version of the text of) Luke alone.

Köster and Bellinzoni have sought to use the evidence from Justin (*1 Apol.* 16. 11; cf. too *Dial.* 76. 5) to argue that Justin here (as elsewhere) is using a version of the tradition which harmonized the texts of Matthew and Luke, and that the similar version in *2 Clement* here shows that this harmony predates its use by Justin.[39] It is not so clear, however, that this backs up such a theory. Justin's text at this point seems to be close to the text of Matthew,[40] and in the text here, the only common features with Luke are the common use of ἐρῶ (also in *Dial.* 76. 5) and the use of the noun ἐργάται rather than the participle ἐργαζόμενοι.[41] As Donfried says, 'it is difficult to see any significant relationship between 2 Clement and Justin'.[42]

[35] Though a reading of ἐρῶ in Matthew here may be implied by some old Latin MSS (a c g h) and sy^c: see Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 87.

[36] ὑμᾶς is present in some MSS of Luke at this point (D *Θ pm*), but missing from others.

[37] The last point is scarcely significant, given that the two versions are all but synonymous in this respect. But in any case, ἐργάται may be the reading implied by some old Latin MSS (a c h q): see Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 87.

[38] Also 1424 Marcion. (I owe this observation to Professor W. L. Petersen who has provided many insights into the discussion of this essay in private conversations.) But in any case, the use of ἀνομία serves to align the saying more closely to the wording of Ps. 6. 9, LXX. Thus it could be that any change from a Lucan version which used ἀδικία could be due to a secondary assimilation to the text of Ps. 6, without any reference to Matthew at all.

[39] See Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 92; H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International; London: SCM, 1990), 356; A. J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 25.

[40] For the fuller context of the text in Justin, see Donfried, *Setting*, 64 f. The case for Justin using a harmonized text is based on parallels with both Matthew and Luke: but the main parallels to Luke come elsewhere (e.g., at 16. 11a, where Justin refers to 'eating and drinking', as in Luke 13. 26 and not in Matt. 7. 22). Here Justin agrees with Matthew in using ἀποχωρεῖτε (Luke, ἀπόστητε; *2 Clement*, ὑπάγετε).

[41] It is doubtful, however, whether the latter can bear much weight in the present context: cf. n. 37 above.

[42] Donfried, *Setting*, 67. Donfried's comment is probably justified in relation to this parallel considered in isolation. However, the case for the use of a common harmony is strengthened if one accepts the theory that the saying at 4. 5 is a continuation of the saying at 4. 2. For, as we saw

Whether one can identify elements that are MattR and/or LkR in the parallels here is not certain. It is difficult to say which way redaction has gone in the allusion to Ps. 6. 9. (Has one evangelist made an original Q reading that was identical with the wording of Ps. 6 less close?[43] Or has one evangelist assimilated the text to the wording of Ps. 6? Or has Matthew's well-known interest in ἀνομία influenced the wording?) Perhaps more convincing is the suggestion that the phrase πόθεν ἐστέ in Luke 13. 27 is due to LkR, assimilating to the context implied by 13. 25.[44] If so, then this might imply that the version of the saying in *2 Clem.* 4. 5 presupposes the redactional activity of Luke, and hence the existence of Luke's finished gospel.[45]

However, the form in which the saying might have been known to 'Clement' has to take account of the first half of the saying as well. Here there is a well-known close parallel to the version in *2 Clement* in the marginal gloss to Matt. 7. 5 found in MS 1424, said to be from 'the Jewish gospel' (το Ἰουδαϊκόν). The identity of this 'Jewish (gospel)' is much debated. Vielhauer has argued that it is the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans*,[46] though this can never be certain. According to Koester, this gospel 'was essentially an expanded edition of the Gospel of Matthew'.[47] However, as Koester also points out, the text mentioned in the marginal gloss echoes Matthean language (especially in the reference to doing 'the will of my father in heaven'), and it is at just this point that the text of *2 Clement* is not parallel (it has 'my commandments').[48] Thus Koester claims that the source of *2 Clement* cannot be the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans* itself; rather, the version in the Jewish-Christian gospel may be later, having assimilated to the text of Matthew, and *2 Clement* may be witness to an earlier form of the tradition.

Yet it could as easily be argued that the version in *2 Clement* is later, at least judged in form-critical terms: the object of the 'doing'/'not doing' is here no longer God's commands, but those of Jesus himself ('my' commandments). Hence the version in *2 Clement* represents a version that is significantly 'higher' christologically. Whilst it is clearly dangerous to posit too neat a developmental scheme in relation to Christology within early Christianity, it may still be that the version of this saying here in *2 Clement*

in discussing 4. 2, *2 Clement* there is close to Matt. 7. 21; and Justin, *1 Apol.* 16. 9 (just before 16. 11 with its parallel to *2 Clem.* 4. 5) has a saying which agrees almost verbatim with Matt. 7. 21.

[43] Cf. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 356.

[44] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 83–4; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 356. So too the IQP version here: see Robinson *et al.*, *Critical Edition*, 412.

[45] Cf. too Massaux, *Influence*, 150; Aono, *Entwicklung*, 134.

[46] See P. Vielhauer, 'Jewish Christian Gospels', in E. Hennecke (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i (ET: London: SCM, 1963), 136.

[47] Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 357; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 92 f.

[48] Koester, ibid.

represents a later development than the version preserved in the marginal gloss in MS 1424.

Nevertheless, whatever one decides about this, it would seem that 'Clement' here has access to, and uses, a form of a saying of Jesus that has no parallel in any synoptic gospel, but which was clearly known more widely. Further, there is no evidence that 'Clement' thought that the whole of his 'citation' at 4. 5 was anything other than a single citation (see above). It is thus most likely that 'Clement' is here drawing on a source for a saying of Jesus that is not one of the synoptic gospels, even though it overlaps with (at least) Luke in the second half. The analysis above may show that this source presupposed, and used, the tradition as it had been developed by Luke himself; i.e., it presupposes the finished gospel of Luke. But the tradition appears to have developed still further after that, perhaps reaching a stage of a further written 'gospel' (a 'Jewish' 'gospel'), which may then have been the form in which the tradition was accessed by 'Clement'. The evidence of this is that, at this point at least, *2 Clement* may well be presupposing the finished gospel of Luke; but the form in which the tradition is accessed may not have been Luke's gospel itself.[49]

2 Clem. 5. 2–4	Matt. 10	Luke
λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.	[16] *Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων·*	10. 3: *ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.*
ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· *ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία;* *εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ·* *μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά·*		12. 4–5: *Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς*
καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτέννοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν,	[28] *καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι·*	*φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι.* *ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα*

[49] Similarly Köhler, *Rezeption*, 144; cf. too Massaux, *Influence*, 150; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 325–8; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 210 f. Similarly too (though with more scepticism about whether Luke's gospel is presupposed, Donfried, *Setting*, 66 f.; Gregory, *Reception*, 141 f. Among older studies, Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 218, ascribes the saying to the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (apparently on the basis that the latter is cited later [presumably Lightfoot had 12. 2 in mind]); Bartlet, *NTAF*, 135, lists it as one of the examples of *2 Clement* using an (unspecified) apocryphal gospel.

ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός.	*φοβεῖσθε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ.*	*φοβηθῆτε· φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν. ναί λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε.*

Justin, *1 Apol.* 19. 7: *μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι ποιῆσαι, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν.*
Ps. Clem. *Hom.* 17. 5. 2: *μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκτέννοντος τὸ σῶμα, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ μὴ δυναμένου ποιῆσαι, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς βαλεῖν.*

The quotation in *2 Clem.* 5. 2–4 is extremely complex. There are parallels to what is said here in two synoptic contexts: the saying about lambs in the midst of wolves occurs in the mission discourse in Matt. 10. 16 // Luke 10. 3; and the saying about not being afraid of those who kill the body is found in Matt. 10. 28 // Luke 12. 4–5. However, the section between these in *2 Clement*, with the dialogue between Jesus and Peter, has no parallel in the canonical gospels. Thus a number of scholars have suggested that 'Clement' is here dependent on an apocryphal gospel, now lost, a theory strengthened for some by similar versions of the saying about not fearing in Justin and in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies.*[50]

A further development has taken place in recent years, with a claim that the lost gospel on which *2 Clement* may depend here can be identified as the *Gospel of Peter.* This has been suggested by D. Lührmann, arguing that a small papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus, *P Oxy.* 4009, represents a fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* which overlaps with the saying in *2 Clem.* 5.[51] The fragment appears to have a version of the saying 'be wise as serpents and innocent as doves' (only the last half is extant): this has a synoptic parallel in Matt. 10. 16b, which is adjacent to the saying about sheep and wolves in Matt. 10. 16a and which is parallel to *2 Clem.* 5. The fragment then appears to reflect

[50] Cf. Massaux, *Influence*, 151 ('une source apocryphe'); Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 98, suggests the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans* (because of possible other links with this gospel elsewhere in *2 Clement*); Donfried, *Setting*, 70 ('a non-canonical source'); Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 330–5; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 146; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 213; Gregory, *Reception*, 144.

[51] See D. Lührmann and E. Schlarb, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 2000), 73, 78–9; D. Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, NovTSup 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 73–86 (taking up his earlier 'POxy4009: Ein neues Fragment des Petrusevangeliums?', *NovT* 35 (1993), 390–410). For the first edition of the fragment (with also a tentative identification as a fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*), see P. J. Parsons and D. Lührmann, '4009: Gospel of Peter?', in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, lx (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994), 1–5.

a dialogue between someone (presumably Jesus) and a person who refers to him or herself in the first person ('he says to me'). What follows is very fragmentary, but can be reconstructed to be close to the saying in *2 Clem.* 5 about not fearing death or its consequences. The other main fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* does, at one point, have Peter refer to himself in the first person. Lührmann therefore suggests that the fragment offers a version of the same saying as is reflected in *2 Clem.* 5; also the equivalence of the 'me' in the fragment and 'Peter' in *2 Clement* suggests that the source of the saying is the *Gospel of Peter.*

The theory is brilliantly developed by Lührmann, though one has to say that it must remain tentative and speculative. For example, the *Gospel of Peter* is not the only text in ancient literature where Peter is referred to in the first person.[52] In any case, the parallels between the fragment and *2 Clem.* 5 are not as compelling as they might appear at first sight. The opening saying in the two texts reflects *different* parts of Matt. 10. 16. Further, the alleged parallel between the fragment and *2 Clement* in the saying about not fearing death depends in part on the parallel being assumed: since the text of *P Oxy.* 4009 is so fragmentary, the reconstruction is heavily based on the text of *2 Clement*, and hence the theory that the two texts agree closely is somewhat circular.

However, whatever one may decide about the possibility of a reference to the *Gospel of Peter* here, it seems clear that the tradition used by *2 Clement* in this saying reflects a post-synoptic development. Thus Köster has pointed out that the version in *2 Clement* seems to presuppose elements from both Matthew and Luke, and also to reflect a harmonized version of these two gospels.[53] Further, some of these elements may well be redactional in Matthew and/or Luke. Thus, in the second part of the saying, where *2 Clement* is parallel to Matt. 10. 28 // Luke 12. 4–5, *2 Clement* has no reference to 'killing the soul', but simply refers to others 'not being able to do anything to you'. The vocabulary agrees closely with that of Luke over against Matthew, and the Lucan wording here has been widely taken to be LkR, Luke avoiding the language of 'killing the soul'.[54] The version in *2 Clement* also agrees with Luke in speaking about fearing the one 'who has authority' (*ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν*; Matthew, *δυνάμενον*) to 'throw' (*βαλεῖν*; Luke, *ἐμβαλεῖν*; Matthew, *ἀπολέσαι*) you into hell 'after killing [you]' (*μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς*; Luke, *μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι*; no equivalent in Matthew). Yet *2 Clement* agrees with Matthew in the language of 'not being able' to do anything more (Luke, not

52 See T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, GCS (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 59–63, esp. p. 63.

53 See Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 95–6. Cf. too Bellinzoni, *Sayings*, 110 f., who argues on the basis of the version in Justin that Justin and *2 Clement* are dependent on the same harmonized version. Cf. too Aono, *Entwicklung*, 136–8.

54 Cf. Robinson *et al.*, *Critical Edition*, 296; see, e.g., Aono, *Entwicklung*, 136; Schulz, *Q*, 158; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, ii. 206.

'having' more they can do), and in referring to 'body and soul' being cast into/destroyed in hell.

Further, *if* the source used by 'Clement' here is indeed the *Gospel of Peter*, then the different first parts of the extracts in *2 Clement* and *P Oxy.* 4009, which are parallel to Matt. 10. 16a and Matt. 10. 16b respectively, may suggest that the two sayings were already combined in the tradition. But whilst the saying about being 'innocent as doves' on its own may well be proverbial and traditional,[55] it is hard to see the combination of this *with* the warning about being like lambs in the midst of wolves as not reflecting Matthew's editorial work. Thus, once again the tradition as used by *2 Clement* may well reflect the editorial activity of the synoptic evangelists, and hence presuppose the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke.

The saying in *2 Clement* here may well reflect a non-canonical, 'apocryphal' gospel source. It *may* be that the *P Oxy.* 4009 fragment allows us to identify that source as the *Gospel of Peter*. However, whatever the immediate source of the saying in *2 Clement*, it seems clear that it reflects developments of the tradition which post-date the synoptic gospels. It may well be that *2 Clement* here uses a form of a saying which has built on, and harmonized, the versions of the saying about not fearing found in Matthew and Luke. Thus it may well be that *2 Clement* is not directly dependent on the canonical gospels themselves; but it almost certainly presupposes their finished forms, and uses a version of the saying which has been built up from these canonical versions, perhaps in some harmony.[56]

2 Clem. 6. 1	Matt. 6. 24	Luke 16. 13
λέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος·		
Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν.	*Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.*	*Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.*
ἐὰν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστιν.	*οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.*	*οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.*

Gospel of Thomas, 47: 'And it is not possible to serve two masters; either he will honour the one and insult the other.'

[55] It appears in *Gospel of Thomas*, 39, without any connection to an equivalent of the other half of Matt. 10. 16. But whether this represents a pre-synoptic form of the saying as an isolated one, or a post-synoptic development where the saying has become detached from its Matthean context, is not clear.

[56] This may also be the significance here of the similar version of the saying in Justin. Cf. n. 53 above.

The saying in *2 Clem.* 6. 1 can probably tell us little in the present context. Clearly, it is related in some way or other to the tradition in Matt. 6. 24 // Luke 16. 13, and in the first part of the saying, there is almost verbatim agreement between the versions. *2 Clement* is slightly closer to the Lucan version in having οἰκέτης, which Matthew omits; but whether one can build very much on this is uncertain.[57]

The second part of the saying in *2 Clement* is by no means as close verbally to the synoptic versions. There is the contrast between 'serving God' and '(serving) mammon', but the structure of the sayings is different. Hence, at most there seems to be a common tradition underlying the versions here, but we cannot go further. In any case, it is not clear that in this part 'Clement' thinks that he is actually quoting as such. The use of the first person plural ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν may suggest rather that this is 'Clement's' own gloss on, or interpretation of, the saying, rather than a continuation of the quotation of the saying of 'the Lord'.[58]

The presence of a possibly independent saying circulating in the tradition is confirmed for some by the presence of a similar saying in the *Gospel of Thomas*, 47 (also apparently without the equivalent of οἰκέτης[59]).[60] However, the whole issue of the relationship between *Thomas* and the synoptics is still very much an open one, and one cannot build too much on the parallel in *Thomas* here.

2 Clem. 6. 2	Matt. 16. 26	Mark 8. 36	Luke 9. 25
τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος,	τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσεται ἄνθρωπος	τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον	τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος
ἐάν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ;	ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;	κερδῆσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ;	κερδήσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς;

57 The word is omitted in the IQP reconstruction of Q, implying that it is redactional in Luke: hence the version in *2 Clement* might appear to presuppose Luke's redaction, and thus Luke's finished gospel. But certainty is not possible. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 353 ff., argues that it comes from his proposed apocryphal gospel, where it was linked with the citation in 8. 5; but the saying could just as easily have come from Luke more directly.

58 Cf. Köhler, *Rezeption*, 142. In the English translation of the LCL editions of the text of *2 Clement* by both Lake and Ehrman, the inverted commas end at the end of the first half, and hence the second half, are taken as 'Clement's' own comment; similarly Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 211.

59 But whether one can rely on a version in translation (here Coptic) for such relatively small points of detail is very uncertain.

60 For Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 350, this shows that the Lucan form of the saying is older. (Hence apparently changing his mind: in Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 75, he takes the οἰκέτης in Luke as a secondary addition to Q.)

Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6. 112. 3: *τί γὰρ ὄφελος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον κερδήσῃς, φησί, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπολέσῃς;*
Justin, *1 Apol.* 15. 12: *τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος ἂν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ;*

It is not clear whether this is intended to be a continuation of a 'quotation' of what 'the Lord said' (cf. 6. 1).[61] Clearly, though, what is said here is close to the saying in the synoptics at Mark 8. 36 and pars. Further, the version in *2 Clement* is closer to the version in Matthew, in having the *ἐάν* + subjunctive construction, unlike Mark and Luke. Thus *2 Clement* agrees with Matthew precisely where Matthew has redacted Mark. *2 Clement* thus shows agreement with Mathew's redactional activity, and hence appears to be based (directly or indirectly) on Matthew's finished gospel.[62]

There are parallels to the saying also in Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr (see above), and the two versions in which the saying is quoted there are close (cf. especially the common use of the verb *ἀπόλλυμι* at the end of the saying). Further, the opening of the saying in Clement of Alexandria is similar to the opening in *2 Clement* (in the use of *τί γὰρ ὄφελος*). It is thus possible that Clement of Alexandria and *2 Clement* attest to a common version of the saying. But the comparison with the synoptic evidence suggests that any such version represents a development of the tradition which post-dates and presupposes Matthew's gospel.

2 Clem. 8. 5	Luke 16. 10–12
λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ	
ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς έν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός εστιν.	10 *ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν.* 11 *εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;* 12 *καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ*

[61] E.g., both Lake and Ehrman, in the English translation in their LCL editions, open the inverted commas again; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 211, does not.

[62] Cf. too Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 73 f.; Massaux, *Influence*, 145; Köhler, *Rezeption*, 135, observes (against Massaux) that dependence on Matthew is not certain, but is still 'die wahrscheinlichste Annahme'. Even Donfried, *Setting*, 83, concedes that dependence on Matthew is 'possible' (though he also claims that 'one cannot with certainty assert [such] dependence'). Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 394 ff., takes it as part of his proposed apocryphal gospel.

πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ
ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει;

Irenaeus, *AH* 2. 34. 2: et ideo dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum: si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est, quis dabit vobis?
Hilary, *Epistula seu libellus*, 1: si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod maius est, quis dabit vobis?

This saying in *2 Clement* is of interest as it is the only one which is said to be 'in the gospel' (ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ). The word 'gospel' is of course notoriously ambiguous, especially in Christian usage around this period. However, the most obvious interpretation of the word here is that it refers to a written text containing words attributed to Jesus.[63] The identification of that text is, however, not explicitly specified.

The second half of the saying is close in wording to Luke 16. 10a. The verse has no parallel in the other synoptic gospels, and hence cannot easily be identified as a Lucan redactional creation. Indeed, its content suggests that it is some kind of proverbial saying. The context in Luke is a series of sayings appended to the parable of the dishonest steward, and it may well be that Luke has added here a number of sayings of disparate origin. But it is really impossible to say whether *2 Clement* has derived the saying from Luke, from an earlier tradition also available to Luke, or from a tradition which was originally based on Luke and subsequently developed.[64] Certainly there are no clear indicators of LkR elements which might help to settle the issue.

The first part of the saying as recorded in *2 Clement* has no clear parallel in the synoptic tradition (its sentiments are not far removed from Luke 16. 11–12, but there is no clear verbal agreement). The presence of a very similar saying in Irenaeus and Hilary[65] may suggest that a saying in this form circulated in Christian circles around this time.[66] But the nature of the

[63] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 11, referring also to the present tense λέγει, as well as the absence of an αὐτοῦ with εὐαγγέλιον. For Köster, the present tense is more readily interpreted as referring to words of Jesus (now) recorded in a written text and reproduced, rather than to words of Jesus spoken in the past. Cf. too Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 224. Against Köster's appeal to the present tense λέγει, Donfried, *Setting*, 81, has pointed out that εἶπεν (not λέγει) is used to introduce citations at 4. 5; 9, 11; 17. 4 (though these do not have ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ).

[64] Koester himself seems to have changed his mind slightly: in Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 101, he seems to incline to the last possibility; whereas in Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 354 f., he appears to incline more to the view that *2 Clement* is accessing a pre-Lucan tradition.

[65] The difference between their *fideles non fuistis* and *2 Clement*'s οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε could be explained by 'Clement's' preference for the verb τηρεῖν: cf. Donfried, *Setting*, 73 (though cf. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 356 f., who argues that 'Clement' cites accurately).

[66] Bartlet, *NTAF*, 133; Donfried, *Setting*, 73; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 355; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 224; Gregory, *Reception*, 137. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 354 ff., takes it as

evidence is such that it is really impossible to say with any certainty whether this form of the saying represents a post-Lucan development of the tradition, or a point on a trajectory which bypasses Luke's gospel and reaches back to the pre-Lucan tradition.

2 Clem. 9. 11	Matt. 12. 50	Mark 3. 35	Luke 8. 21
καὶ γαρ̀ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος·			ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς,
ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου	ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.	ὃς [γὰρ] ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.	Μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες.

Gospel of the Ebionites (as in Epiph. *Pan.* 30. 14. 5): οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφαί, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρός μου
Clem. Al. *Ecl. proph.* 20. 3: ἀδελφοί μου γάρ, φησὶν ὁ κύριος, καὶ συγκληρονόμοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου
Gospel of Thomas, 99: 'Those here who do the will of my father are my brothers and my mother.'

It is widely agreed that *2 Clement* here reflects a harmonized version of the saying that appears in the (now) canonical gospels, agreeing in part with both Matthew's and Luke's adaptation of the saying in Mark 3. 35. Thus *2 Clement* agrees with Luke in the ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες construction (against Mark's/Matthew's ὅστις ... ἂν ποιήσῃ); and it agrees with Matthew's reference (in typical Matthean vocabulary) to the will 'of my father' (Matthew also has 'in heaven'). It seems very unlikely that Matthew and Luke here are doing anything other than redacting Mark's version. Thus the version in *2 Clement* presupposes the redactional activity of both Matthew and Luke, and hence presupposes their finished gospels.

On the other hand, we may also note the presence of a similar harmonized version of the saying in the *Gospel of the Ebionites*, and in Clement of Alexandria (see above).[67] Hence it may well be that *2 Clement* is dependent here on a separate source that had already harmonized the different versions of the saying in the synoptics into its form here.[68] But this source seems to be

part of his postulated apocryphal gospel used by *2 Clement* (and linked to the citation in 6. 1). Even Massaux, *Influence*, 153, takes it as 'vraisemblable' that *2 Clement* is here dependent on 'une source apocryphe' rather than Luke's gospel.

[67] The version in the *Gospel of Thomas*, 99, is extant only in Coptic and it is scarcely appropriate to compare finer points of detail concerning the construction in Greek in this context.

[68] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 79; Donfried, *Setting*, 73; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 367 ff.; also Bartlet, *NTAF*, 134; Gregory, *Reception*, 148.

part of a post-synoptic development which presupposes the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke.

2 Clem. 13. 4	Matt. 5	Luke 6
. . . *λέγει ὁ θεος·*		
οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν,	46 *ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;*	32 *καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;*
	44 *ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,*	27 *᾿Αλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν,*
εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τούς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς·	*ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν*	*ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,* 28 *εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς,*
	καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς,	*προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς*

The introductory 'formula' here claims that the words that follow are what 'God' says. However, there seems to be a clear echo of the Jesus tradition, especially the demand of Jesus to love one's enemies in Matt. 5 // Luke 6. On the other hand, there is clearly no verbatim repetition of the synoptic texts. There is, for example, nothing explicit here of any contrast between those who follow such an ethic and Gentiles or sinners. However, a vestige of this may still be apparent in the language of *χάρις* that is used here. Further, this may be of considerable significance in that this language is closely parallel to the Lucan version of the tradition here, and moreover, this may well be due to LkR at this point in Luke.[69] Thus the language of *2 Clement* here appears to presuppose Luke's redactional work, and hence Luke's finished gospel.

In support of this, one may also note that, with reference to the demand itself to love one's enemies, *2 Clement* agrees with Luke in referring to those who 'hate' you. It is not certain if Luke's longer, fourfold form of the command, or Matthew's shorter twofold form, is more original. And *2 Clement* certainly does not have a fourfold form of the command here. On the other hand, *2 Clement* does align with Luke against Matthew in referring to those who 'hate' you. Given the earlier agreement between *2 Clement* and the (probably) LkR reference to *χάρις*, it seems most likely that *2 Clement* is here again showing some dependence (direct or indirect) on the Lucan form of the tradition.

69 See the discussion of *Did.* 1. 3b, with the literature cited there (p. 123 in this volume).

It is true that *2 Clement* does not display verbatim agreement with Luke's text,[70] but the most 'economical' interpretation of the evidence is that 'Clement' is here presupposing Luke's version of the command to love one's enemies, possibly 'citing' it somewhat loosely (perhaps from memory).[71]

In any discussion of apparent citations by the author of *2 Clement* of materials in other gospels, we should also mention the case of *2 Clem.* 12. 2, where again 'Clement' cites a saying of 'the Lord'. Here, when asked when his kingdom is coming, the Lord 'said' (εἶπεν): 'When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male not female . . . then the kingdom of my father will come' (*2 Clem.* 12. 2, 6).

A very similar form of this saying in found in at least two other places. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, 22, there is another version of what appears to be the same basic saying: 'Jesus said to them, when you make the two one, and when you make the inside like the outside and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below, and when you make the male and the female one and the same, so the male not be male nor the female female . . . then you will enter [the kingdom]'. And Clement of Alexandria cites a saying as from the *Gospel of the Egyptians* in similar vein: in a response to an enquiry by Salome, 'The Lord said, when you tread upon the garment of shame, and when the two become one, and when the male with the female is neither male nor female . . .') (*Strom.* 3. 13. 92). Although the three versions are not identical, they are close enough to be recognizably variants of the same basic saying.

The situation regarding the relationship between the three versions is extremely complex.[72] For present purposes, however, we may leave this example on one side, for it is clear that there is no real synoptic parallel to the substance of the saying.[73] Hence, in seeking to identify possible evidence for knowledge and/or use of the synoptic gospels by the author of *2 Clement*, this text provides no further assistance. It does, however, show that 'Clement' had access to other sources of information about the words of Jesus, one of

[70] A fact exploited by Donfried, *Setting*, 78, to argue for dependence on an independent apocryphal gospel; cf. too Bartlet, *NTAF*, 132. Gregory, *Reception*, 139, appears undecided.

[71] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 76. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 243, takes it as a 'loose quotation from Luke vi. 32, 35'. Cf. too Köhler, *Rezeption*, 143: 'freier Zitation des Lk'. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 388 ff., takes it as coming from his proposed apocryphal gospel, but this seems unnecessary.

[72] For a valuable discussion, see T. Baarda, '2 Clement 12 and the Sayings of Jesus', in *idem*, *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the NT*, ed. H. Helderman and S. J. Noorda (Amsterdam: VU Boebhandel/Uitgeverij, 1983), 261–88.

[73] The only possible parallel might be in relation to the question about when the kingdom would come; cf. Luke 17. 20. But the continuation of Jesus' reply bears no relationship at all to anything in the canonical gospels.

which may then be the so-called *Gospel according to the Egyptians* apparently known to Clement of Alexandria.[74]

Old Testament Citations Shared with the Synoptic Gospels

In addition to the evidence considered so far, we should also note a few instances where *2 Clement* shares with the synoptic gospels some quotations of, or allusions to, verses from the Old Testament. In such cases, one theoretical possibility is that 'Clement' derives his wording from the Old Testament verse as used by the canonical evangelists; however, it is also possible that both 'Clement' and the gospel writers have cited the verse in question independently. There are three (or possibly four (cf. *2 Clem.* 3. 4 below)) such instances.

2 Clem. 3. 5	Isa 29. 13, LXX	Matt. 15. 8 // Mark 7. 6
λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαιᾴ *Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς*	*καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἐγγίζει* *μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς*	*ὡς γέγραπται [ὅτι]* *Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς*
χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ *καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω* *ἀπεστιν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ·*	*χείλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσίν* *με ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν* *πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ* *μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με*	*χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ* *καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω* *ἀπέχει ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ·*

1 Clem. 15. 1: *λέγει γάρ που· Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπεστιν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ.*

The text of *2 Clement* here shares some features with Matthew's/Mark's citation of Isa. 29. 13 over against the LXX version of Isa. 29. 13 itself: e.g., in omitting the reference to 'drawing near', and hence using the verb *τιμάω* in the same way syntactically in the sentence. However, equally noteworthy is the existence of another citation of the same text in *1 Clem.* 15. 1, which agrees with the version in *2 Clement* almost verbatim, including the use of *ἀπεστιν* over against *ἀπέχει* in both Isa. 29, LXX, and the canonical gospel versions. It would appear then that *2 Clement* attests a version of the verse which was also known to the author of *1 Clement* and which in turn was independent of the synoptic evangelists. Further, *2 Clement* (unlike *1 Clement*) explicitly cites this as a verse from Isaiah, not a saying of 'the Lord' or of a Christian gospel text. It thus seems most likely that, although a slight influence from the text of Matthew/Mark might be implied, the primary source for 'Clement's' citation here is the book of Isaiah itself, perhaps in a Greek version differing slightly from the LXX version.[75]

We may note another possible example in this category in the words of 'Clement' which just precede this citation of Isa. 29 in *2 Clem.* 3. 4. Here the

[74] Assuming, of course, that Clement of Alexandria's attribution is correct!
[75] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 105; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 208.

author exhorts his readers not to disregard the commandments, or to honour God only with their lips, but to do so 'with all our heart and all our mind'. Some have seen here an echo of the words of the Shema in Deut. 6. 5. However, the text of Deut. 6 mentions three faculties with which to love God: heart, soul, and strength; but in the accounts of Jesus' giving of the double love command in Mark 12. 30, this is expanded to a quartet of 'heart, soul, mind and strength'.[76] Some have therefore argued that the text of *2 Clement* here betrays influence of the gospel accounts of Jesus' giving of the love command.[77]

However, the evidence is extremely weak. There is nothing in the text of *2 Clement* to indicate that a quotation is intended here (unlike so many other places in the document); further, the context is not really the same as that of Deut. 6 or Mark 12 pars.: in the latter, it is a question of 'loving God'; in *2 Clement* of 'honouring him not only with our lips'. The evidence thus seems too flimsy to try to build any theory of dependence by the author of *2 Clement* on the canonical gospel accounts of Jesus' referring to the Shema and giving of the double love command.

2 Clem. 7. 6	Isa. 66. 24	Mark 9. 48
ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί	*ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί*	*ὅπου ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται.*

2 Clem. 7. 6 introduces a citation of Isa. 66. 24 (with a fairly general 'he says' (*φησίν*)), a verse which is also strongly echoed in Mark 9. 48. There is no evidence at all, however, that the text of *2 Clement* has been influenced by the gospel text: the version here agrees almost verbatim with that of the LXX of Isa. 66. 24. There is no warrant, therefore, for concluding that 'Clement' is doing anything other than citing Isa. 66. 24 alone.

[76] In the parallel versions, Matthew omits the final 'strength'; Luke 10. 27 has the same quartet as Mark, with the last two in reverse order.

[77] Cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 217; Lightfoot's comment is quoted in full by Bartlet, *NTAF*, 134, though Bartlet also says that 'Mark may follow a current LXX text'. Lake, in his English translation of the LCL edition, places the words in inverted commas, but with no indication as to which text might be cited; Ehrman, in his LCL edition, does not use inverted commas but has a footnote reference to Mark 12. 30. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 208, claims that there is a clear allusion to Mark 12. 30. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 301, sees Luke 10. 27 as closest. In fact, all three synoptic versions are almost equally close (in using *καρδία* and *διανοία*) to the language of *2 Clement*.

2 Clem. 14. 1	Jer. 7. 11	Mark 11. 17 pars.
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωμεν τὸ ηέλημα κυρίου, ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς λεγούσης·		*Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν;*
ἐγενήθη ὁ οἶκός μου σπήλαιον λῃστῶν	*μὴ σπήλαιον λῃστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ*	*ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν.*

As in the previous example, there is no real evidence to support any suggestion that *2 Clement* has been influenced by the text of the gospels here. The verse from Jer. 7 is placed on the lips of Jesus in the synoptic story of the 'cleansing' of the temple, where it acts as an antithesis to the citation of Isa. 56. 7 (the claim that the temple should be a house of prayer for all nations).[78] The version in *2 Clement* knows nothing of this antithesis; nor does it give any hint of the verse being used as a charge against others for what they have already done (cf. the *πεποιήκατε* (or equivalent) in the synoptic versions). Once again, *2 Clement* appears to be using the text from the Old Testament context with no evidence of its use in the gospel texts.[79]

Common Vocabulary and Possible Verbal Reminiscences

Finally, we may consider briefly one or two instances where some have seen possible influence of the wording of the gospels on the text of *2 Clement.*

The assertion in *2 Clem.* 5. 5 that the promise of Christ 'brings us rest (*ἀνάπαυσις*)' has been seen by some as close to, and perhaps inspired by, the wording of Matt. 11. 29 ('you will find rest for your souls').[80] However, the idea of 'rest' is by no means unique to Matthew, and it represents a widespread notion in Jewish wisdom literature and elsewhere; it seems precarious, therefore, to build too much of a theory of dependence on the basis of this one word.[81]

[78] The differences between the different synoptic accounts here (e.g., Matthew and Luke both lack 'for all nations') do not affect the present discussion in any way.

[79] So also Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 241.

[80] Bartlet, *NTAF*, 130. Cf. too *2 Clem.* 6. 7 ('find rest', which is slightly closer to the Matthean wording).

[81] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 107. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 269 ff., also considers the possible parallel (to the language of 'rest') to *Gospel of Thomas*, 2 (in the *P Oxy.* 654 version, and its parallel in the saying ascribed to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 2. 45. 5).

Similarly, some have seen in the language of *2 Clem.* 6. 7 an echo of Matthean language: 'if we do the will of Christ we shall gain rest; but if not, nothing shall rescue us from eternal punishment (ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως)'. Again, there is a reference to 'rest' (cf. Matt. 11. 29); and the phrase 'eternal punishment' also occurs in Matt. 25. 46.[82] But again, it is not certain whether the language is sufficiently distinctive to justify any claim about dependence: the idea (of punishment) is too widespread to make any theory fully convincing.[83]

We should perhaps also note here *2 Clem.* 15. 4 ('for the Lord says that he is more ready to give than we to ask'). The language is similar in one way to the synoptic saying in Matt. 7. 7 // Luke 11. 9 about asking and receiving (though this does not explicitly relate 'giving' to 'asking', and it does not have a statement that God (or Jesus) is *more* ready to give than we to ask: the synoptic version simply correlates asking and receiving as reciprocal). Possibly too there might be an echo of the saying ascribed to Jesus in Acts 20. 35 ('it is more blessed to give than to receive', though this does not refer to 'asking').[84] Certainty is not possible. In any case, *if* one should see a parallel with the synoptic tradition here, it is impossible to say whether *2 Clement* might be reflecting Matthew's gospel, Luke's gospel, a prior source, or a post-synoptic harmony or tradition.

Further alleged parallels are probably too imprecise to carry any weight in the present discussion.[85]

[82] This is the only occurrence of the phrase in the synoptic gospels. See Bartlet, *NTAF*, 130. However, the singularity of the phrase in the NT does not mean that there must then be an allusion to the NT here. One must beware the danger of parallelomania!

[83] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 107.

[84] Cf. Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 319 (on Matt. 7. 7 // Luke 11. 9); also Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 194, 216.

[85] Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 283–322, has argued for a large number of instances (including some, but not all, of the instances listed here under 'citations': he includes 2. 4, 7; 3. 4; 15. 4 under this heading) showing knowledge of, and use of, various passages in Matthew/Luke by the author of *2 Clement*. He lists them under the heading 'Zitate aus Mt und Lk'. Thus he refers to *2 Clem.* 4. 4 (cf. Matt. 10. 28); 7. 4 (cf. Matt. 22. 13); 14. 1 (cf. Matt. 6. 8–10); 12. 1 (cf. Matt. 25. 13; 24. 36); 5. 5–6 (cf. Luke 18. 18 // 10. 25); 1. 3 (Matt. 3. 8 // Luke 3. 8); 15. 4 (Matt. 7. 7 // Luke 11. 9); 2. 2 (Luke 18. 1). However, most of these seem very remote as parallels, and certainly considerably less close than a number of the other explicit citations where *2 Clement* seems close to Matthew/Luke but where Warns argues against direct dependence on Matthew/Luke and for dependence on an apocryphal gospel (which in turn presupposes Matthew and Luke). Clearly there is debate about what can be called a 'citation' (see the discussion of Gregory and Tuckett in Ch. 4, pp. 63–5); but these examples seem to be too unlike the parallels in the gospels (and also lack any introductory formula) to qualify for the description 'Zitat'/'citation'.

Conclusions

At a number of places *2 Clement* presupposes the redactional activity of both Matthew and Luke in traditions of the sayings of Jesus which they have in common. At the very least, this suggests that the tradition on which *2 Clement* is based for its knowledge of Jesus tradition represents a stage which presupposes the finished gospels of both Matthew and Luke. *2 Clement* is thus primarily a witness to the post-synoptic development of the tradition, at least at these points. There are a number of other places where the evidence is not so clear-cut, and 'Clement' could in theory be dependent (directly or indirectly) on the gospels or on earlier traditions used by the synoptic evangelists. However, given his use of some redactional elements from the synoptic gospels, it seems simplest to assume that the rest of the common tradition shared by 'Clement' and the synoptic gospels is also to be explained as due to 'Clement's' dependence (again direct or indirect) on the finished synoptic gospels of Matthew and Luke. But there is no evidence that 'Clement' had access to the gospel of Mark except via the gospels of Matthew and/or Luke.

On the other hand, we cannot say that *2 Clement* necessarily used the gospels of Matthew and Luke as we have them, or even directly. It may be that the gospels were available to 'Clement' in a textual form not quite the same as the ones many use today (cf. above on possible textual variants which may be reflected in *2 Clement*). But much more important is the evidence suggesting that *2 Clement* may be accessing the synoptic tradition via a harmonized form of that tradition, a form which may also be attested in writers such as Justin. Thus *2 Clement* may well be accessing the tradition of Matthew's and Luke's gospels only indirectly. Further, it is clear that *2 Clement* also has access to, and uses, other gospel texts which are not now extant (cf. above on *2 Clem.* 12. 2).

What is not clear is how many 'gospel' texts 'Clement' may have used and had available. In some discussions it is almost assumed as self-evident that 'Clement' used just one 'gospel'.[86] Yet, while this is possible, it is by no means

[86] Cf., e.g., Lührmann and Schlarb, *Fragmente*, 134–7, who print all the sayings in 'Das Evangelium [sing.] im 2. Clemensbrief' (and even give a colophon *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* at the end!). Cf. too Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 194. This is developed in considerable detail by Warns, *Untersuchungen*, who claims that a whole series of texts in *2 Clement* derive from a *single* apocryphal gospel (he argues that this gospel is cited at *2 Clem.* 3. 2; 4. 2, 5; 5. 2–4; 6. 1–2; 8. 5; 9. 11; 11. 6 (= 17. 4); 12. 2, 6; 13. 2, 4; 17. 4, 5); he also claims to be able to put these into their original order in this gospel (13. 4 → 4. 2, 5 → 5. 2–4 → 3. 2 → 13. 2 → 9. 11 → 8. 5 → 6. 1, 2 → 17. 4, 5 → 12. 2, 6. (See his summary on pp. 466–8.) Such precision is, however, perhaps a little optimistic (cf. also Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe, 194*). Given too that, at a number of points, Warns himself argues that this gospel is dependent on the gospels of Matthew and Luke, it is hard to see why such a theory is required, rather than positing more use of Matthew/Luke themselves (given

required. 'Clement' does refer to a (single) εὐαγγέλιον at 8. 5. But this in no way requires that all the other citations he gives are taken from this same εὐαγγέλιον.[87] It could well be that 'Clement' has access to, and/or uses, a variety of different texts for his Jesus tradition. Thus it could be that he uses a post-synoptic harmony of Matthew and Luke for some of his traditions, but other, apocryphal gospels for other traditions.

THE REST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Acts

There appears to be only one possible reference to Acts,[88] at *2 Clem.* 1. 1, where 'Clement' refers to Jesus as the judge of the living and the dead. The same phrase is found at Acts 10. 42, but similar expressions are found elsewhere in the New Testament, at 2 Tim. 4. 1, at 1 Pet. 4. 5, and (albeit less clearly) at Rom. 14. 9; and also in *Barn.* 7. 2 and Polycarp, *Phil.* 2. 1. Therefore it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that this is a common liturgical or credal expression that cannot be taken as evidence of the use of any particular text.[89]

Paul

'As regards the N. T. Epistles', wrote the Oxford Committee, 'the phrase "The Books and the Apostles" prepares us to find pretty free use of them, even though they are not formally quoted.'[90] Yet it is to their credit that this predisposition did not lead the members of the committee to more comprehensive conclusions than the detailed examinations of such parallels as might be identified would allow, their understanding of this phrase notwithstanding. Thus their conclusions, that the use of 1 Corinthians and Ephesians

too that Warns himself is more than ready to posit such dependence in cases of much less close verbal agreement in some of the possible allusions: cf. previous note).

[87] Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 280, argues initially that one should not multiply assumptions (and supposed sources) unnecessarily. But in what is then effectively an application of Occam's razor, it is not clear that assuming that, say, ten citations all come from one source involves any fewer assumptions than that each derives from a separate source!

[88] There is no discussion of Acts in the chapter on *2 Clement* in *NTAF*, but Benecke notes *2 Clem.* 1. 1 in his discussion of Pol. *Phil.* 2. 1 (*NTAF*, 98).

[89] *Pace* Donfried (*Setting*, 100), who judges in favour of 'a contact with 1 Peter or a similar tradition'. Cf. below, p. 291 n. 143.

[90] *NTAF*, 125.

should be classed D (i.e., 'as books which may possibly be referred to, but in regard to which the evidence appeared too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it'[91]), and that possible parallels with Romans and 1 Timothy remain unclassified, are suitably cautious,[92] as befits the available evidence. Others have since proposed that potential parallels to Galatians and Colossians also be considered,[93] but there is now a widespread consensus that although 'Clement' employed imagery used also by Paul, nevertheless the evidence suggests that at no point did he make conscious and deliberate reference either to Paul or to his writings, and that no direct citations of, or allusions to, Paul's letters are to be found in *2 Clement*.[94] This need not mean that he had no acquaintance with Pauline traditions—not least, as Lindemann notes, if one assumes that he had read *1 Clement*[95]—but it is possible that such 'Pauline' parallels that he displays were already part of the common discourse of early Christianity, regardless of whether or not they are likely to have originated with Paul. This conclusion is uncontroversial, so in what follows I shall set out potential parallels to Paul in canonical order, usually with only minimal comment. Parallels which arise from the presence of the same quotation from the Jewish Scriptures in *2 Clement* and in Paul are treated alongside other potential parallels in the same letter, not as a category of their own.

The silence of 'Clement' concerning Paul is not unparalleled in the Apostolic Fathers or in other Christian literature of the second century, and it is not necessary to draw any negative inferences from this.[96]

[91] *NTAF*, p. iii.

[92] Indeed, they seem insufficient to justify Lindemann's inclusion of the committee as among those who have held that 'Clement' used 1 Corinthians and Ephesians (A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979), 264, citing *NTAF*, 137, the first of the two summary tables).

[93] A. E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 215–16; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 207–29.

[94] Thus, e.g., Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 270: '2 Clem keine unmittelbaren Anspielungen oder Zitate paulinischer Briefe enthält; es ließ sich auch nicht zeigen, daß der Vf es in irgendeiner Form mit paulinischer Tradition zu tun hat.'; *idem*, 'Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers', 27: 'The Second Letter of Clement shows no connection to Paul'; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 21: 'it cannot be said that the literary influence of the texts of the Pauline epistles on 2 Clement was very great. I can merely point out the presence of images and ideas which are read in Paul, but which do not necessarily come into 2 Clement from the texts of the apostle.' Barnett (*Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 217) is more confident, finding 'fairly clear traces' of 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, as well as data that is 'scanty and indecisive' for the influence of Romans, Galatians, and Colossians.

[95] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 271.

[96] Lindemann, 'Paul in the Writings', 27; D. Rensberger, 'As the Apostle Teaches: The Development of the Use of Paul's Letters in Second-Century Christianity' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1981), 331–2, and *passim*.

Romans

Five potential parallels may be noted. In two instances they may be explained by the independent use of a passage in the Jewish Scriptures. These are as follows.

2 Clem. 8. 2[97]	Rom. 9. 21	Jer. 18. 4 ff.
Πηλὸς γάρ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου,		4 *καὶ διέπεσεν τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐποίει, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἀγγεῖον ἕτερον, καθὼς ἤρεσεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι.* 5 *καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρός με*
ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ὁ κεραμεύς, ἐὰν ποιῇ σκεῦος καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραφῇ ἢ συντριβῇ, πάλιν αὐτὸ ἀναπλάσσει, ἐὰν δὲ προφθάσῃ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν, οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ. Οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς . . .	*ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν . . .*	*λέγων* 6 *Εἰ καθὼς ὁ κεραμεὺς οὗτος οὐ δυνήσομαι τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς, οἶκος Ισραηλ; ἰδοὺ ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν ταῖς χερσίν μου.* 7 *πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν,* 8 *καὶ ἐπιστραφῇ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν . . .*

The image of the potter appears in a wide range of texts,[98] so there is no need to assume the literary dependence of 'Clement' upon Paul. As Lindemann observes, the author of *2 Clement* and Paul each appear to use the image in a different way: 'Clement' is concerned with the properties of the clay, and uses the image to warn his hearers to repent while there is still time; whereas Paul is concerned with the freedom of the potter, which he employs in defence of predestination.[99]

97 *NTAF*, 128; Donfried, *Setting*, 84–5; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 216; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 268; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 221–2.

98 Lindemann (*Clemensbriefe*, 221–2) notes that the image of the clay and the potter is used widely in Jewish texts, referring the reader to Billerbeck iii 271 f., and adding a reference to *T. Naph.* 2. 2–5. The non-Jewish examples that he notes are Epictetus, *Diss.*, 4. 11. 27; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 15. 2; and Theoph., *Ad Autol.* 2. 26.

99 Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 268.

2 Clem. 13. 2[100]	Rom. 2. 24	Isa. 52. 5b, LXX
Λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος,		*τάδε λέγει κύριος,*
διὰ παντὸς		*δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς*
τὸ ὄνομά μου	*τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ*	*τὸ ὄνομά μου*
βλασφημεῖται ἐν πᾶσιν	*δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται*	*βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς*
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,	*ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,*	*ἔθνεσιν.*
καὶ πάλιν,	*καθὼς γέγραπται.*	
οὐαὶ δι' ὃν βλασφημεῖται		
τὸ ὄνομά μου.		

This parallel was not recorded by the Oxford Committee, and may be explained by 'Clement' citing Isaiah without direct recourse to Paul. The same passage appears to be used also in Ign., *Trall.* 8. 2; Poly. *Phil.* 10. 3; and *Ap Const*, 1. 10. 1 and 3. 5. 6[101]) The source of the second quotation is unknown.

The remaining three parallels are no more significant evidence for the use of Romans. They may be set out as follows.

2 Clem. 1. 8[102]	Rom. 4. 17	cf. Gal. 4. 27
	καθὼς γέγραπται	*γέγραπται γάρ,*
	ὅτι Πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν	*Εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ*
	τέθεικά σε, κατέναντι οὗ	*τίκτουσα,*
ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ	*ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ τοῦ*	*ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ*
ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντας	*ζῳοποιοῦντος τοὺς*	*ὠδίνουσα.*
καὶ ἠθέλησεν	*νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος*	*ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς*
ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς	*τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.*	*ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς*
		ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

As the Oxford Committee observed, 'The correspondence is superficial, and the phrase [i.e. *ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντας* / *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*] in some sense is not uncommon.'[103] Thus they refer the reader to Lightfoot, who notes parallels in Philo, *De Creat. Princ.* 7; Herm. *Vis.* 1. 1; and Ps. Clem. Hom. 3. 32. Barnett notes another parallel in Philo, *De spec. leg.* 4. 7. 187, as also does Lindemann.

Warns suggests that *2 Clement* contains an echo of Gal. 4. 27 as well as Rom. 4. 17, but this depends on his wider theories about the Valentinians whom (he believes) 'Clement' opposes.[104] The conceptual parallels between *2 Clem.*

[100] *NTAF*, 128; Donfried, *Setting*, 53, 86–8; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 238–9.

[101] Donfried, *Setting*, 53, 86–8; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 238.

[102] *NTAF*, 128; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 215; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 236–44.

[103] *NTAF*, 128.

[104] See above, n. 7; also, Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 203, responding to Warns: 'Die Stelle erlaubt auch keinen Rückschluß auf die Paulus-Exegese der Valentinianer.'

1. 8 and Gal. 4. 27 seem too general to bear much weight, and no verbal parallels are present.

Two further parallels may be noted. Neither is substantial, and little weight may be put upon such similarities. These are as follows.

2 Clem. 17. 3[105]	Rom. 12. 16
ἀλλὰ πυκνότερον προσερχόμενοι πειρώμεθα προκόπτειν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντες συνηγμένοι ὦμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωήν	*τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες, μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι. μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς.*

As Barnett observes, '*ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντες* represents a type of moral exhortation that had perhaps become a commonplace in Christian preaching'.[106] This obviates the need for any dependence, and accounts for the not dissimilar contexts in which the expression appears in each text. In *2 Clement* the expression appears in the context of an exhortation to come together more frequently for worship; in Romans the paraenesis is of a more general kind, but it follows Paul's appeal that the Romans present their bodies as living sacrifices.

2 Clem. 19. 2b[107]	Rom. 1. 21	Cf. Eph. 4. 17–18
ἐνίοτε γὰρ πονηρὰ πράσσοντες οὐ γινώσκομεν διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς στήθεσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ματαίων	*διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ηὐχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.*	17 *Τοῦτο οὖν λέγω καὶ μαρτύρομαι ἐν κυρίῳ, μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν,* 18 *ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὄντες, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν*

[105] Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 216.

[106] Ibid. As Lindemann notes (*Clemensbriefe*, 251), the phrase *τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν* is found elsewhere in Paul, at 2 Cor. 3. 11; Phil. 2. 2; 4. 2; Rom. 12. 16; 15. 5.

[107] *NTAF*, 128; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 216; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 257.

These parallel references to a darkening of the understanding are examples of a commonplace, so there is no reason to posit literary dependence on either Romans or Ephesians.[108]

1 Corinthians

Three potential parallels may be noted, but none offers strong evidence of a literary relationship with Paul. They are as follows.

2 Clem. 7. 1[109]	1 Cor. 9. 24–5
ὥστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί μου, ἀγωνισώμεθα εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐν χερσίν ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶας καταπλέουσιν πολλοί, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πάντες στεφανοῦνται . . .	[24] *Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.* [25] *πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον.*

The metaphor of a race is a common one, and therefore insufficient to demonstrate dependence on Paul. The suggestion that competitors may have sailed (*καταπλέουσιν*) to the games has been interpreted as evidence of Corinthian provenance, on the grounds that failure to specify a port makes it likely that the games took place near to the point at which competitors disembarked.[110] This would put the author (or at least those whom he addresses) in a city with strong associations with Paul. Should this hypothesis be accepted, it need not entail that we draw any inferences from the author's silence about Paul, though in this respect the contrast with *1 Clement* may be noted.

2 Clem. 9. 3[111]	1 Cor. 3. 16	1 Cor. 6. 19
δεῖ οὖν ἡμας ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα	*οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;*	*ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν;*

Cf. Eph. 2. 20–2; Ign., *Phld.* 7. 2; *Eph.* 15. 3.

[108] See below, p. 287 n. 125.

[109] *NTAF*, 126; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 213; Donfried, *Setting*, 84; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 265; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 218–19.

[110] Donfried, *Setting*, 2–7.

[111] *NTAF*, 126; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 214; Donfried, *Setting*, 145; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 265, 269–70; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 230–5; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 225–6.

While a Pauline origin of this idea is not necessarily to be denied, it seems quite likely that it may quickly have become a Christian commonplace. 'Clement' is clearly making a point that is consistent with Pauline precedents, but he uses σάρξ rather than σῶμα. It is quite possible that the whole of *2 Clem.* 9. 1–6 reflects Pauline teaching about the resurrection such as is found in 1 Cor. 15, though Donfried's claim that 'it is likely that the author of 2 Clement has 1 Corinthians 15 in mind' seems to claim too much.[112]

2 Clem. 11. 7[113]	*2 Clem.* 14. 5	1 Cor. 2. 9
	οὔτε ἐξειπεῖν τις δύναται οὔτε λαλῆσαι,	
		ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται,
ἃς οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνεβη.		ἅ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,
	ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.	ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

Isa. 64. 3, LXX: ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον.
Ps.-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 26. 13: quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit, et in cor hominis non ascendit.
1 Clem. 34. 8: λέγει γάρ, ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν κύριος [κύριος H L S: om. A] τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν
Cf. Justin, *Baruch*, apud Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5. 24; *Gos. Thom.* 17; *Mart. Pol.* 2. 3; *Pr. Paul*, A. 25–9, et al.[114]

Paul and the author of *1 Clement* both use citation formulae, which imply that they are quoting from Scripture,[115] but the words that they use do not correspond exactly with any otherwise known version of a scriptural text.[116] It is possible that they quote Isa. 64. 3, but in a different form than that in the

[112] Donfried, *Setting*, 144–6; cf. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 269–70.

[113] *NTAF*, 126; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 214; Donfried, *Setting*, 86; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 265–7, 310, 324–5; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 234.

[114] For sources of further parallels, see C. M. Tuckett, 'Paul and Jesus Tradition: The Evidence of 1 Corinthians 2:9 and Gospel of Thomas', in T. J. Burke and J. K. Elliott (eds.), *Paul and the Corinthians: Studies on a Community in Conflict, Essays in Honour of Margaret Thrall*, NovTSup 109 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55–73, on p. 60 n. 19.

[115] The λέγει at *2 Clem.* 11. 7 appears to pick up λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή at *2 Clem.* 11. 6.

[116] It is possible that the latter may depend on the former, for the use of 1 Corinthians in *1 Clement* seems clear on other grounds. See Gregory, Ch. 6 above, pp. 144–8.

LXX.[117] However, there is no citation formula in *2 Clement*, and the parallels to Isa. 64 are less clear than those found in 1 Corinthians and in *1 Clement*. *2 Clem.* 11. 7 has ear before eye, and uses οὐδε twice, where Paul and the author of *1 Clement* use οὐκ. Thus it is possible that the author of *2 Clement* does not use Isa. 64 at all, or that he uses it in a different form from that used by Paul and by the author of *1 Clement*.

It is at this point that *2 Clem.* 14. 5 may be significant, for here the author includes an expression similar to one that both Paul and the author of *1 Clement* treat as part of the source that they are quoting. However, this expression is not part of Isa. 64 as found in the LXX or the MT. If it goes back to a version of Isa. 64. 3 (or indeed another source) known already to Paul, then the author of *2 Clement* (as also the author of *1 Clement*) may have used it quite independently of Paul. If, however, its association with the preceding words originates with Paul, then it might suggest (assuming that the distance between *2 Clem.* 11. 7 and *2 Clem.* 14. 5 may be collapsed in this way) that the author of *2 Clement* takes these expressions from Paul. This possibility cannot be excluded completely,[118] but the distance between the two expressions in *2 Clement* and the possibility that the author of *2 Clement* drew on Paul's source means that this instance, though intriguing, falls short of providing sufficient evidence for it be considered as probably dependent on Paul. It is quite likely a commonplace, and the attestation in Ps.-Philo 26. 13 of the first part of the 'saying' (i.e., as found in *2 Clem.* 11. 7, but not 14. 5) suggests that at least part of this commonplace was known independently of the Christian tradition.[119]

Galatians

There is one potential parallel, *2 Clem.* 2. 1[120] and Gal. 4. 27, but this may be explained by each author's independent use of Isa. 54. 1.

2 Clem. 2. 1	Gal. 4. 27	Isa. 54. 1
	γέγραπται γάρ,	
Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα,	Εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα,	Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα,

[117] Donfried (*Setting*, 86) considers it likely that Paul and the authors of *1 Clement* and *2 Clement* each independently cite the same old Greek version of Isaiah. For further discussion of the origin of Paul's 'citation', see Tuckett, 'Paul and Jesus Tradition', 55–73, esp. 60–4.

[118] But see Tuckett, 'Paul and Jesus Tradition', 71–2, where he critiques one recent attempt to explain why Paul may have added these words.

[119] Ibid. 63–4.

[120] Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 215–16; Donfried, *Setting*, 82, 108, 192–6; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 268; *idem*, *Clemensbriefe*, 204.

ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα	*ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.*	*ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα, εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος.*

Cf Justin, *1 Apol.* 53. 5; *Dial.* 13. 8: *Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.*

As Lightfoot observes, both 'Clement' and Justin apply the prophecy of Isaiah in the same way, as referring to a time when there would be more Gentile than Jewish believers. This is quite different from the use to which Paul puts his citation, for he uses it to demonstrate that Sarah's children (the followers of Christ) are free, whereas Hagar's children (the Jews) are slaves to the Law. This would imply that 'Clement' and Justin drew on the same *Vorlage*, perhaps a testimony book, not on Paul's letter to the Galatians.[121]

Ephesians

The most significant potential parallel to Ephesians is at *2 Clem.* 14. 2,[122] though even this was rated only as d by the Oxford Committee. It may be set out as follows.

2 Clem. 14. 2	Eph. 1. 22; 5. 23
οὐκ οἴομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἐκκλησίαῶ ζῶσα σῶμά ἐστιν Χριστοῦ. Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ. Τὸ ἄρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία. Καὶ ὅτι τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ νῦν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν.	1. 22: *καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* 5. 23: *ὅτι ἀνήρ ἐστιν κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος·*

[121] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1. 2. 214. I owe this observation, and the reference to Lightfoot, to Professor Petersen. Lindemann (*Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 268) reaches a similar conclusion: 'zwischen 2 Clem 2, 1 bzw. 2,2f und der paulinischen Interpretation von Jes 54,1 besteht im übrigen keinerlei Zusammenhang'. For a different opinion, see John Muddiman, ch. 6 in companion volume, on pp. 114–16.

[122] *NTAF*, 126–7; Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 215; Donfried, *Setting*, 88; Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 267–8; Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 211–15, who finds an indirect reference to Col. 1. 24; but cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 241–2.

Cf. Eph. 1. 4: *καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ.*
Gen. 1. 27: *καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.*

For Lindemann, who notes the possible influence of either a Gnostic concept of syzygies or Jewish apocalyptic thought in addition to that of Ephesians, 'Der ursprünglich paulinische Charakter der in 2 Clem 14 enthaltenen Ekklesiologie ist also kaum zu bestreiten; er ist aber dem Vf nicht bewußt', and he cites the Oxford Committee in support.[123] But John Muddiman has offered a number of reasons why a more direct relationship to Ephesians should be considered at this point. These are the assumption by 'Clement' that his audience is already familiar with the ideas to which he alludes, his explicit reference to the apostles, which he thinks suggests an apostolic writing, the author's appropriation of Jewish understandings of pre-existence to indicate that the Christian church is no recent upstart, and a contrast between the church as true temple and the Jewish temple to which the author alludes in his reference to the 'den of brigands' in 14. 1. These factors, claims Muddiman, together with the wider context of *2 Clement*, where he finds other echoes of Ephesians—most notably, conceptual similarities between the household code of Ephesians 5 and the sexual abstinence advocated in *2 Clem.* 12—'is sufficient to increase considerably the probability of his having read it'.[124]

Other parallels have also been noted, but none is significant.[125] Their cumulative impact may be suggestive, but the similarities are very general and may be easily accounted for as commonplaces in early Christian

[123] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 267. Similarly, Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, ii: *The History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 235; referring to the interpretation of Gen. 1. 27 in *2 Clement* he writes: 'This presupposes either the deutero-Pauline Letter to the Ephesians or analogous speculations about the heavenly beings "Church" and "Christ". The latter seems more likely, especially since 2 Clement elsewhere attests a knowledge of the Pauline letters only rarely or not at all.'

[124] Muddiman, ch. 6 in companion volume; quotation on p. 116. Other conceptual parallels that he notes include a belief in God's election in Christ of the saints before the creation of the world (Eph. 1. 4; cf. 2 *Clem.* 1. 8; 14. 1); the idea of the universal lordship of Christ over creation and the church (Eph. 1. 22, using Pss. 110. 1 and 8. 7; cf. 2 *Clem.* 17. 4–5); that the church is a spiritual temple (Eph. 2. 20; cf. 2 *Clem.* 14. 1–2); that the ascended Christ is the source of apostolic ministry, such that the church's ministry exercises the authority of the glorified Christ (Eph. 4. 11; cf. 2 *Clem.* 17. 3, 5); that Christ loved the church and gave himself to save her (Eph. 5. 25 f.; cf. 2 *Clem.* 9. 5); that Gen. 2. 24 is an allegory of the union between Christ and the church (Eph. 5. 31 f.; cf. 2 *Clem.* 14. 2, on which see the present discussion).

[125] These include the apocalyptic dualism found in *2 Clem.* 6. 3–5 // Eph. 2. 1–3; cf. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence*, 216, where he notes also other examples in other early Christian texts; *2 Clem.* 9. 3–4 // Eph. 2. 20–2, the flesh/body as a temple, on which see above 283–4 on *2 Clem.* 9. 3 // 1 Cor. 5; *2 Clem.* 13. 1 // Eph. 6. 6 (cf. Col. 3. 22); the common use of the word *ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι 2 Clem.* 14. 1 // Eph. 1. 4–5, references to God choosing his people before

paraenesis. Thus, even if their cumulative impact supports the possibility that 'Clement' was familiar with many of the ideas and much of the language found in Ephesians, nevertheless it falls short of convincing evidence for direct dependence on this text. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that 'Clement' had read Ephesians at some point prior to the composition of his exhortation, though it by no means demands such a hypothesis. As Lindemann observes, there is no need to deny the originally Pauline character of such traditions, but the possibility that they may have been transmitted very widely, both among the proto-orthodox, such as 'Clement', and also among others often labelled Gnostics, indicates that the suitably cautious conclusions of the Oxford Committee should be upheld.

Colossians

References to Colossians do not feature prominently in discussions of the use of Paul in *2 Clement*. The Oxford Committee referred to Colossians only once in its discussion of *2 Clement*, and even that reference was no more than a note appended to their record of the single word ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι found in *2 Clem.* 13. 1 // Eph. 6. 6 // Col. 3. 22.[126] More recently, Rudiger Warns has argued that echoes of Colossians may be found in two other places: *2 Clem.* 14. 2–3[127] (an echo of Col. 1. 23 ff. and Gal. 4. 26 f.); and *2 Clem.* 17. 7–18. 1[128] (an echo of Col. 3. 16–17). As before, his arguments depend upon his understanding of the Valentinian exegesis of Paul that 'Clement' opposes. There are no verbal parallels in the first example that he gives, and those in the second are slight. They include words and phrases found in both *2 Clement* and Ephesians (νουθετέω in *2 Clem.* 17. 2, 3, and in Col. 3. 16; διὰ τῶν λόγῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων in *2 Clem.* 17. 7 and ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ in Col. 3. 17; and τῳ θεῷ . . . εὐχαριστοῦντων in *2 Clem.* 17. 7; 18. 1, and εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ in Col. 3. 17), but they are used in different ways and are distributed over a relatively long section of *2 Clement*. Therefore they seem insufficient to support the likelihood of literary dependence.

1 and 2 Timothy

Three possible references to 1 Timothy may be noted, and one to 2 Timothy. The first, a reference to Christ saving those who are perishing (*2 Clem.* 2. 5, 7 //

he created the world; and *2 Clem.* 19. 2 // Eph. 4. 18; cf. Rom. 1. 21), references to the darkening of the understanding, cf. above, p. 282–3.

[126] As noted above, n. 125.

[127] Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 207–20, esp. 211–15. Cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 241; and above, p. 287, on *2 Clem.* 14. 2 // Eph. 1. 22, 5. 25.

[128] Warns, *Untersuchungen*, 221–9.

1 Tim. 1. 15 // Matt. 18. 11 // Luke 19. 10) seems too commonplace for it to be likely that it is a quotation of any of the parallels noted, and its reference to the 'perishing' rather than to 'sinners' differentiates it from each of the supposed 'parallels' that are noted. It seems better understood not as a reference to another text but as the author's own statement of the intention and significance of Christ's ministry.[129]

The other two parallels are similarly commonplace. The first (*2 Clem.* 15. 1;[130] also 19. 1[131] // 1 Tim. 4. 16; cf. Jas. 5. 19–20) refers to the responsibility of Christians, especially those in positions of authority, for each other. It is too general and too likely a standard *topos* of paraenesis (cf. 1 Cor. 3. 13 ff.; 2 Cor. 1. 4; *Barn.* 1. 4) to be considered evidence of literary dependence on an earlier text. The third parallel, a doxology (*2 Clem.* 20. 5[132] // 1 Tim. 1. 17) does contain significant verbal parallels, but a basis in common liturgical forms[133] with a background in Hellenistic Judaism[134] is more likely than literary dependence on 1 Timothy.

The single potential parallel to 2 Timothy (*2 Clem.* 1. 1 // 2 Tim. 4. 1; cf. Acts 10. 42; 1 Pet. 4. 5; Poly. *Phil.* 2. 1; *Barn.* 7. 2; above, p. 278) is clearly a commonplace.

Other Letters and the Apocalypse

Hebrews

Four potential parallels may be noted with Hebrews, one of which the Oxford Committee considered sufficient to classify as 'c', indicating a low degree of probability that 'Clement' drew on this text. The passage in question is *2 Clem.* 11. 6,[135] with a parallel at Heb. 10. 23.

2 Clem. 11. 6	*Heb.* 10. 23
	κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλινῆ,
πιστὸς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδιδόναι ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων αὔτου	*πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος,*

129 For bibliography and fuller discussion, above 256.
130 *NTAF*, 129; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 245.
131 Donfried, *Setting*, 89.
132 *NTAF*, 129; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 260–1.
133 So too the Oxford Committee, *NTAF*, 129.
134 Donfried, *Setting*, 188–9.
135 *NTAF*, 125; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 234.

1 Clem. 27. 1: *ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ ἐλπίδι προσδεδέσθωσαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν τῷ πιστῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν.*

The committee claims that the 'context of the two passages is similar, referring to the need of hope in the presence of grounds for doubt'. This is correct, although the doubt addressed explicitly at *2 Clem.* 11. 1–5 is addressed more implicitly in Hebrews. The writer to the Hebrews exhorts his readers to hold fast to the benefits that they have by virtue of the high-priestly ministry of Christ, maintaining the hope that they confess, because they can be confident in the faithfulness of God who does what he has promised. An eschatological element to this hope is not to be denied, but it results also in love, good works, and meeting together in the present as they prepare for the approaching Day of the Lord (Heb. 10. 19–24). This eschatological perspective is also important in *2 Clement*, where the same elements of confident hope on the basis of the faithfulness of the one who has promised and the 'doing of righteousness before God' are assurances of entry into God's kingdom and receipt of his promises. Yet even the similarity of context between these passages and the verbal identity that they display are not compelling evidence for literary dependence. The claim that God is faithful is a general one that might be made in a wide range of contexts and for a wide range of reasons (cf. *1 Clem.* 1. 27), so it seems better to consider this parallel only as a possible rather than as a probable instance of direct dependence on Hebrews.[136]

Three further potential parallels may be noted. The first was recorded by the Oxford Committee as d; the others as unclassified. They are as follows.

2 Clem. 1. 6[137]	Heb. 12. 1
ἀμαύρωσιν οὖν περικείμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης ἀχλύος γέμοντες ἐν τῇ ὁράσει, ἀνεβλέψαμεν ἀποθέμενοι ἐκεῖνο ὃ περικείμεθα νέφος τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει	*Τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἁμαρτίαν, δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα*

'Although the thought of these two passages is so different', noted the Oxford Committee, 'it seems difficult in view of the verbal coincidences, to resist the conclusion that the language of 2 Clement is unconsciously influenced by that of Hebrews.'[138] Yet it is not clear that such a conclusion is in fact difficult to resist. The verbal coincidences are limited to the shared use of *νέφος*, *ἀποθέμενοι*, and *περίκειμαι*, but the cloud that surrounds each of the

[136] Cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 234: 'eine literarische Beziehung besteht nicht'.
[137] *NTAF*, 125–6; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 202.
[138] *NTAF*, 126.

addressees is of an entirely different nature,[139] as also are the objects that each lays aside.[140] Therefore it is difficult to find any clear evidence of the influence of Hebrews on *2 Clement* at this point, so the Oxford Committee's classification of this passage as d—'too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it'—seems more appropriate than their comments quoted above.

The two other possible parallels that the committee notes, but does not classify, are *2 Clem.* 16. 4[141] // Heb. 13. 18 and *2 Clem.* 20. 2[142] // Heb. 10. 32–9. The former refers to prayer and to a clean conscience (*καλὴ συνείδησις*), although the two are differently linked in each passage. The latter contains the expression *θεοῦ ζῶντος* (Heb. 10. 31), and the committee refers also to a 'general similarity' between the passages; but such similarities are of a commonplace nature. Neither 'parallel' offers any significant evidence for the dependence of the author of *2 Clement* on Hebrews.

Other Letters

The Oxford Committee noted a number of potential parallels between *2 Clement* and other letters in the New Testament. None is classed higher than d—'too uncertain to allow any reliance to be placed upon it'—and others are unclassed. Therefore they may be noted,[143] but need not be discussed. None indicates anything beyond the use of common language.

Revelation

There is one possible parallel, at *2 Clem.* 3. 2, where Jesus is quoted as saying, 'I will acknowledge before my Father the one who acknowledges me before others'. This saying has a potential parallel at Rev. 3. 5, and also at Matt. 10. 32 // Luke 12. 8. It has been discussed above,[144] where it is suggested that it is more likely to depend on the Q saying than on Revelation.

[139] So also Donfried, *Setting*, 184, where he notes frequent references to clouds in the Jewish Scriptures, especially the Wisdom tradition, and cites Job 22. 14.

[140] Similarly, Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 202: 'Der folgende Satz *περικείμενοι . . . ἀνεβλέψαμεν ἀποθέμενοι . . . νέφος* erinnert in Aufbau und Begrifflichkeit an Hebr 12, 1; aber inhaltlich liegt natürlich eine ganz andere Aussage vor.'

[141] *NTAF*, 126.

[142] Ibid.

[143] James: *2 Clem.* 6. 3, 5 // Jas. 4. 4; *2 Clem.* 15. 1 // Jas. 5. 16; *2 Clem.* 16. 4 // Jas. 5. 20; cf. 1 Pet. 4. 8; *1 Clem.* 49. 5; *2 Clem.* 20. 2–4 // Jas. 5. 7, 8, 10. 1 Peter: *2 Clem.* 14. 2 // 1 Pet. 1. 20; 2. 4; *2 Clem.* 16. 4 // 1 Pet. 4. 8; cf. Jas. 5. 20; *1 Clem.* 49. 5; Donfried, *Setting*, 91–2; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 249. On *2 Clem.* 1. 1 // 1 Pet. 4. 5, see above, p. 278. 2 Peter: *2 Clem.* 16. 3 // 2 Pet. 3. 5–7, 10. Jude: *2 Clem.* 20. 4 // Jude 6; Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 259–60.

[144] Above, pp. 257–8.

CONCLUSION

2 Clement contains a wide range of material that is paralleled in many of the writings that were later transmitted in the New Testament. It clearly uses material that has been shaped by Matthew and Luke, although not necessarily directly, but it also contains Jesus tradition that may originate elsewhere. Parallels with material elsewhere in the New Testament locate it firmly in the same general milieu, but none demands a literary relationship with any of those texts. The strongest evidence for such dependence is found with respect to Ephesians and Hebrews, but these parallels, though tantalizing, are insufficient to raise dependence to the level of probability, rather than mere possibility. Thus we have found firmer evidence for the use of Matthew and Luke than was claimed in 1905, but less secure evidence for Hebrews.

11

The *Shepherd of Hermas* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament

Joseph Verheyden

THE PROBLEM

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is by far the longest among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, but it is widely regarded as the least rewarding for the question that concerns us here.[1] That question can be described most generally as looking for evidence that the author of the *Shepherd* knew and made use of one or another of the writings that will afterwards be included in the New Testament, or at least realised for some such material he uses that it has its origin in these writings.

Hermas has not been very helpful in addressing this question. He hardly tells us anything about himself or his work that is directly relevant or useful for our purpose. He presents himself as a member of the Christian community in Rome, or of one such community. Though based on external evidence only, it is commonly accepted that he wrote some time in the first half of the second century.[2] It is therefore a most reasonable assumption that he may have known some of the earliest Christian writings. This has been disputed in

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, quotations and English translation of *Shepherd* are taken from the edition of B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, LCL 24–5 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[2] For a presentation and discussion of the evidence, see P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten: Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte*, WUNT 2.18 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987, 2nd edn. 1989), 71–8, 182–200, 447–8; M. Leutzsch, *Die Wahrnehmung sozialer Wirklichkeit im 'Hirten des Hermas'*, FRLANT 150 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 20–49 ('Zum Problem des Autobiographischen'); N. Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, KAV 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 15–35; U. H. J. Kortner and M. Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente—Der Hirt des Hermas*, SUC 3 (Darmstadt: WBG, 1998), 132–7; C. Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1999), 18–24. A dating in the first century has (again) been argued for by J. C. Wilson, *Toward a Reassessment of the Shepherd of Hermas: Its Date and its Pneumatology* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993), 9–61.

the past, but seems to be generally accepted in current scholarship.[3] We can only speculate about how he came to know such writings, how many of them he knew and how well he knew them, whether he had read them himself or heard them read in public, whether this had happened only once (long ago?) or repeatedly, and whether he had direct, constant access to these texts when composing the *Shepherd*. But all these questions are in a sense secondary to the basic assumption that, as a (moderately) literate person, Hermas must have known whatever such writings were available in his community.[4]

If Hermas knew some such writings, it is again a reasonable assumption that he made use of some of them in composing his work. Theoretically, therefore, one can say that the burden of proof lies with those scholars who would argue that he knew but did not use any of these writings. Unfortunately, however, if one wants to go beyond the theoretical level and try to identify which texts Hermas may have used, it appears that the *Shepherd* does not seem to contain evidence of a kind that is indisputable, or even just convincing and acceptable to a substantial proportion of the scholars who have studied the problem in more detail. Many will say that the evidence we have is at best ambivalent.

Also ambivalent is how to interpret the (seemingly) unreflective way in which Hermas makes use of such material that is paralleled in other Christian writings. He does not seem to need it to compose his work. He can go on for pages describing visions, developing lengthy allegorical explanations, and elaborating moral and paraenetic considerations, while relying on his own somewhat debatable skills as a preacher and a writer. But then, here and there, one stumbles upon words and phrases that are also attested in the gospels, in Paul, or in James. Hermas never identifies this material as such, and he seems to use it freely and sovereignly, and sometimes even for other purposes, but apparently part of it is still sufficiently close to these writings to have led some students of the *Shepherd* to regard it as resulting from literary influence. In short, the situation is such that some have taken it to be a sure sign that Hermas was

[3] It was disputed by F. Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Urchristentums*, ii. *Der Brief des Jakobus; Studien zum Hirten des Hermas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896), 241–437, and most recently again by Leutzsch, *Hirt*, 133–4.

[4] Scholars have been rather more interested in other aspects of the social situation of the author and his community than that of literacy. See, e.g., C. Osiek, *Rich and Poor in the Shepherd of Hermas: An Exegetical-Social Investigation*, CBQMS 15 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983), 91–135 (a community largely consisting of freedmen/women, with admittedly a sufficient level of education to prosper in business); H. O. Maier, *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 55–86 (p. 78: 'an ethic of love patriarchalism'). Leutzsch (*Wahrnehmung*, 12–18) discusses various aspects of the community situation, including the position of women, slavery, and agriculture. His critical remarks on the authorial capacities of Hermas do not (and are not meant to) invalidate the above observation.

thoroughly familiar with a number of early Christian writings, while others have argued that it can only mean that the author was relying on common tradition and perhaps was not even aware that material similar to that he was using was to be found in written sources of his time, or at least did not seem to care about it.

It is doubtful whether this ambivalence on the part of the author of the *Shepherd* can be sufficiently explained by the genre, the purpose, or the composition history of the text. It has been argued that explicit quotations from Christian literature would not fit the visionary apocalypse that is the *Shepherd*.[5] But could it have prevented Hermas from alluding more clearly to, and relying more extensively on, material from written tradition?[6] The book's core message, allowing one more chance (but only one) for repentance from sin after baptism, would probably not have prevented Hermas from using any of the New Testament writings.[7] Finally, paralleled material is found throughout the *Shepherd*, and cannot be used, and indeed has not played any role, in the discussion on the composition history and the unity of

[5] 'Dass er keine christlichen Schrift zitiert, liegt an der Gattung: In Apokalypsen wird in der Regel nicht zitiert' (Leutzsch, *Hirt*, 133). The latter part of this observation should be qualified. Hermas exceptionally does (pretend to) quote from another writing (ibid. 401 n. 206, and see below, p. 322). Defining the genre of the *Shepherd* has proved to be a vexed matter, though few will dispute that it contains at least a visionary framework that is comparable to what is found in other writings that are more commonly characterized as apocalypses. See the discussion in P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, 'Apokalyptik des Urchristentums: Einleitung', in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ii, 6th edn. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 537–47, esp. 540–4. Brox, *Hirt*, 33–43: the category 'apocalypse' is 'nicht ideal, aber bezeichnend und brauchbar für den PH' (p. 38); it is doubtful whether it is of much help to label the work a 'pseudo-apocalypse', as Brox proposes. Osiek (*Shepherd*, 10–12) is more positive, emphasizing the specific function of Hermas's apocalypticism as addressing a 'crisis' resulting from issues raised within the community. According to A. Schneider, *Shepherd* combines elements from prophetic, apocalyptic, epistolographic, and catechetical literature into one: *'Propter sanctam ecclesiam suam': Die Kirche als Geschöpf, Frau und Bau im Bussunterricht des Pastor Hermae*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 67 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1999), 42–61.

[6] The description of Isaiah's vision of the church in the *Ascensio Isaiae* is a patchwork of words and phrases from the NT. See the comments on *Asc. Isa.* 3. 21–31 by E. Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae: Commentarius*, CCSA 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 211–34.

[7] That this is (one of) the main purpose(s) of the *Shepherd* is widely recognized, whatever one thinks of the innovating character of the concept or of the procedures it involved. Much of the discussion has focused on whether Hermas merely wanted to restrict an existing practice (after baptism there is only one opportunity for repentance; so, e.g., Poschmann) or really introduced 'etwas grundsätzlich Neues' against the more rigoristic praxis of his time (e.g., Goldhahn-Müller, p. 287). Cf. B. Poschmann, *Paenitentia Secunda: Die kirchliche Busse im ältesten Christentum bis Cyprian und Origines*, Theophaneia, 1 (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1940), 134–205; I. Goldhahn-Müller, *Die Grenze der Gemeinde: Studien zum Problem der zweiten Busse im Neuen Testament unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung im 2 Jh. bis Tertullian*, GTA 39 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 240–88. See also Brox, *Hirt*, 476–85, who rightly warns us not to overinterpret disciplinary procedures.

the work.[8] None of these issues, then, offers much help with the problem being addressed here.

Ambivalent, finally, and open to discussion are the criteria and the indications we have to tackle the problem. How much agreement in wording and meaning and how much similarity in content are needed to deduce literary dependence? How do we define the latter, and what is meant by 'using a source'? What is the weight of a verbal agreement if the same or a very similar phrase is attested in a number of other sources? And what is the real importance of finding words and phrases that are considered to be redactional in the writings which Hermas supposedly may have used?[9]

The above may explain why, when looking at the history of research, one might get the double impression that it reads very much as a dispute between 'believers' and 'disbelievers', and that the latter have won.

CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Because of the ambivalence of the evidence, confidence (or lack thereof) seems to be the keyword whereby to understand this history. The dispute between the two groups can be exemplified with a few examples. In 1868 Theodor Zahn collected an impressive number of parallels from many of the New Testament writings to build a massive argument for Hermas's dependence on written tradition.[10] Nine years later Oskar von Gebhardt and Adolf von Harnack were rather more sceptical in their short treatment of the

[8] The era of complicated literary-critical solutions to explain the composition of the *Shepherd* seems over. Osiek speaks of the 'return to single authorship', which should be qualified to the extent that she assumes that the author made use of various sources and that the work went through several stages of redaction (*Shepherd*, 8–10). A. Hilhorst has illustrated this 'single authorship' on the basis of a detailed stylistic analysis: *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva, 5 (Nijmegen: Dekker & van der Vegt, 1976), 19–31, and *passim*. Ph. Henne has defended the (more exceptional) position that the various parts of *Hermas* were brought together to form a kind of manual of initiation: cf. *L'unité du Pasteur d'Hermas: Tradition et rédaction*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, 31 (Paris: Gabalda, 1992).

[9] This kind of 'meta-reflection' has perhaps not always received sufficient attention in earlier studies on the reception history of biblical texts. See now, e.g., W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 7–17; T. Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Aneignung und Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-gnostischer Literatur*, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte, 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 34–45; A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 5–20.

[10] T. Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas untersucht* (Gotha, 1868), 391–482. Cf. also *idem, Hermae Pastoris e Novo Testamento illustratus* (Göttingen, 1867).

question.[11] Time and again they point out that Zahn's 'confidence' is unwarranted. Of Paul's letters, Hermas probably knew only Ephesians.[12] The *Shepherd* contains several similarities with Hebrews, but again Zahn goes too far when he concludes that this letter must have had 'great influence' ('ein bedeutender Einfluss') on the *Shepherd*.[13] The case seems somewhat more convincing for James,[14] but it is not the only possible explanation, and to von Gebhardt and von Harnack it is not the most probable one: rather Hermas and James seem to have relied independently upon Christian tradition.[15] Zahn is most confident ('confidentissime') with regard to 1 and 2 Peter, but again the evidence for the first is 'admodum incerta', and for the second inconclusive, some similarities in content notwithstanding.[16] One might be reminded of John's gospel on several occasions, 'at re vera nulla apparent certa vestigia'.[17] Revelation, finally, was certainly unknown to Hermas, and the same is true of Acts.[18] Von Gebhardt and von Harnack admit that Hermas may have been acquainted with the synoptic gospels, but certainly not with all three of them.[19] In particular, the evidence that Hermas knew Mark is considered to be insufficient,[20] whereas that for Matthew and Luke is not listed in the introduction and has to be collected from the notes to the edition. Consequently, von Gebhardt and von Harnack argue that indications of literary dependence are strictly limited (basically only Ephesians). About twenty years later Friedrich Spitta would go a whole step further yet, and argue for a radical scepticism.[21]

A perhaps even more outspoken contrast than the one between Zahn and von Gebhardt and von Harnack can be found in Anglo-Saxon literature of

[11] O. von Gebhardt and A. von Harnack, *Hermae Pastoris graece: Addita versione latina recentiore e codice palatino*, Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, 3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1877), pp. lxxiii–lxxvi. This section is particularly rich in references to older literature.

[12] Ibid., p. lxxv: 'quam eum legisse verisimile est', and n. 1: Zahn (*Hirt*, 410–20) 'fidentius' also argues for knowledge of 1 and 2 Corinthians.

[13] Ibid., p. lxxv n. 2: 'Quod egomet confirmare nequeo'.

[14] Ibid., p. lxxv: 'saepius putaveris, Pastoris verba in mandatis esse paraphrasin sententiarum Iacobi illius'.

[15] Ibid.: 'utrumque pari condicione ac tempore usum ex iisdem theologiae vel potius praedicationis Christianae hausisse fontibus'. Interestingly, Zahn is now also criticized for arguing that Hermas's position on the relationship between 'faith' and 'good works' is *not* comparable to that of James (ibid. n. 4: 'vehementer igitur erravit Zahnius').

[16] Ibid., p. lxxvi.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.: 'nullam Hermas prodit notitiam' and p. lxxiv n. 5: 'frustra quaeres vestigia Actorum Apost.'.

[19] Ibid., p. lxxiv: 'Hermam historiae evangelicae in evv. Synopticis enarratae non ignarum fuisse, sponte concedes; sed utrum tria illa legerit evangelia annon, minime patet'.

[20] Cf. ibid. n. 5: 'Sed nimis fidenter Zahnius . . .'.

[21] See above, n. 3.

about the same period. In his monograph on the canon, B. F. Westcott briefly argued that Hermas was acquainted with James, Revelation, all four of the gospels, Acts, 1 Peter, and two letters of Paul (Ephesians and 1 Corinthians). His comment is worth quoting for the confidence it breathes:

The allusions to the Epistle of St James and to the Apocalypse are naturally most frequent, since the one is most closely connected with the Shepherd by its tone, and the other by its form. The numerous paraphrases of our Lord's words prove that Hermas was familiar with some records of His teaching. That these were no other than our Gospels is at least rendered probable by the fact that he makes no reference to any Apocryphal narrative and the opinion is confirmed by probable allusions to St John and the Acts. In several places also St John's teaching on 'the Truth' lies at the ground of Hermas' words; and the parallels with the First Epistle of St Peter are well worthy of notice. The relation of Hermas to St Paul is interesting and important. His peculiar object, as well as perhaps his turn of mind, removed him from any close connexion with the Apostle; but their divergence has been strangely exaggerated. In addition to marked coincidences of language with the First Epistle to the Corinthians and with that to the Ephesians, Hermas distinctly recognises the great truth which is commonly regarded as the characteristic centre of St Paul's teaching.[22]

Westcott then goes on to illustrate the influence of Paul for the doctrine of faith and that of John on Hermas' Christology by quoting *Vis.* 3. 8 and *Sim.* 8. 3, 5. 6, and 9. 2, 12. 14 respectively, but without linking these passages to a particular text from Paul or John.[23] In the notes to the text just quoted Westcott offers a number of illustrations for particular passages, but perhaps more important than these is a word of comment on his arguments. The evidence for James is based rather vaguely on 'the tone' of the writing and the great number of parallels that can be listed. These are of two sorts: shorter passages and more substantial similarities.[24] The agreement with Revelation lies in the genre ('its form') and the use of a similar kind of symbolism.[25] The agreements with the gospels are primarily to be found in the parables (*Sim.* 8. 3 and 9. 19–21 and Matt. 13; *Sim.* 9. 29 and Matt. 18. 3), but also in other sayings material (*Vis.* 2. 2 and Matt. 10. 33).[26] Three parallels are quoted for

[22] B. F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan, 1855), 223–4; 5th rev. edn. (1881), 201–2. In the notes Westcott gives the list of parallels with James and Revelation.

[23] Except for the final clause of *Sim.* 5. 6, for which he refers to John 15. 15.

[24] Cf. *Man.* 12. 5–6 (Jas. 4. 7, 12) and *Sim.* 8. 6 (Jas. 2. 7) for the first, and *Vis.* 3. 9; *Man.* 2; 9; 11; *Sim.* 5. 4 for the second group.

[25] The church represented as a woman (*Vis.* 2. 4 and Rev. 12. 1), as a bride (*Vis.* 4. 2 and Rev. 21. 2), and its opponent the beast (*Vis.* 4. 2 and Rev. 12. 4). The construction of the tower in *Vis.* 3. 5 and those entering it (*Sim.* 8. 2–3) are compared to Rev. 21. 14; 6. 11; and 7. 9, 14.

[26] The argument from the apocryphal gospels was used also by Zahn against Schwegler and Hilgenfeld, who thought that they had discovered traces of the *Gospel of Peter* in *Shepherd.*

Paul, two for 1 Peter, and one each for John and for Acts.[27] In later editions the latter has been degraded from 'a clear' (so 1855, on p. 224) to 'a probable allusion'.

The great authority of the later Bishop of Durham failed to impress William Sanday.[28] Hermas is mentioned only in the section on the Fourth Gospel, with the brief comment that 'the indications are too general and uncertain to be relied upon', that some of the similarities are 'a commonplace of Christianity, not to say of religion' (on the phrase 'keeping the commandments'), that the image of the gate and the rock in *Sim.* 9. 12 might be 'a *possible* reference to the fourth Gospel; *probable* it might be somewhat too much to call it', and the very open and therefore frustrating conclusion that 'we must leave the reader to form his own estimate'.[29] In Index II at the end of the book the case for the *Shepherd* is summed up laconically: 'No distinct traces of any writing of Old or New Testament', *Shepherd* being the only one among the Apostolic Fathers to receive this verdict.[30]

Confidence turned into fantasy in the monograph of Charles Taylor on Hermas' use of the gospels.[31] Taylor divided his work into two parts (the Synoptic Gospels, John), and he also discussed some evidence from other New Testament writings.[32] Basically, Taylor reads through the three synoptics taken together as a kind of harmony, and he orders the material (more or less) according to the overall structure of the gospels. More than once his comments sound naïvely optimistic, much in them far-fetched[33] or not to the point,[34] some of them are utterly wrong,[35] and sometimes one needs a good

[27] Cf. *Sim.* 5. 7 and 1 Cor. 3. 16–17; *Sim.* 9. 13 and Eph. 4. 4; *Man.* 3 and 9. 1 and Eph. 4. 30; *Vis.* 4. 3 and 1 Pet. 1. 7; *Vis.* 4. 2 and 1 Pet. 5. 7; *Man.* 3 and 1 John 2. 27; 4. 6 (but see also Jas. 4. 5 and compare *Sim.* 9. 12); *Vis.* 4. 2 and Acts 4. 12.

[28] W. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century: An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work Entitled 'Supernatural Religion'* (London: MacMillan, 1876).

[29] Comments from ibid. 273 and 274.

[30] Ibid. 382. Cf. the 'doubtful traces' for Polycarp and the verdict 'probably/possibly' for the others.

[31] C. Taylor, *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1892).

[32] See ibid. 25–7 on James.

[33] See esp. the comment in the miracle section, in which the strange image of the stones being cut (?) is compared to the healing of one group of people, the lepers, and that of the stones that were too hard to be hewn (*Sim.* 9. 8. 6) to those who could not be healed because of their unbelief. See also on John 2. 6–10, 19–21, and *Man.* 12.

[34] See the comment in the section on the nativity. The word *εὐθύτης* in *Vis.* 3. 5. 3 (Taylor: 'straightness'; Ehrman: 'uprightness') refers to the name of Jesus, in which the iota, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1. 9), 'represents the straight and natural way'. If Hermas was acquainted with such speculations, which in itself is not impossible, the comment offers no evidence that Hermas had in mind here the nativity story.

[35] See, e.g., the comment on *Sim.* 9. 7. 1–4 and the stones '*lying* by the tower' waiting to be cleansed and to be '*cast* into the building' (Taylor, *Witness*, 45), which is then likened to the

deal of allegorical explanation to be able to follow Taylor's exegesis.[36] Yet there is perhaps one element in his work that is still worth quoting. It is his description of Hermas' method and style. In an earlier publication, from which he quotes in his book, Taylor described Hermas' method in more general terms:

> He allegorises, he disintegrates, he amalgamates. He plays upon the sense or varies the form of a saying, he repeats its words in fresh combinations or replaces them by synonyms, but he will not cite a passage simply and in its entirety. This must be taken into account in estimating the value of the Shepherd as a witness to the canonical Books of the New Testament.[37]

A recent commentator has labelled this description of Hermas' method as 'originell und richtig'.[38] In the book Taylor summarizes the whole procedure, perhaps somewhat unfortunately, as 'the light touch with which the author of the *Shepherd* handles his material'.[39] According to Taylor, this 'light touch' signals a strong familiarity on the part of Hermas with the written tradition, but the description and the conclusion can probably also be accepted by those arguing that Hermas relied only on common Christian tradition.

The members of the Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology (henceforth 'the committee') that took upon themselves the task of producing a collection of those passages from the Apostolic Fathers that might be compared with the New Testament writings clearly proceeded in a more prudent way than did Taylor.[40] John Drummond, who was responsible for the chapter on the *Shepherd* presented a list of fifty cases, several of them referring to more than one passage from the *Shepherd* or from the New Testament. He followed the model that was also used for the other Fathers: Epistles, Acts, Gospels: the synoptic gospels, the synoptic tradition, the Fourth Gospel (no instance from Apocryphal gospels is mentioned for the *Shepherd*). He discusses evidence from 1 Corinthians and Ephesians (rated B), Matthew, Mark, Hebrews, and James (C), and Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Peter (D).[41] There is no instance of an A rating, just as there is

description in John 5. 7 of the multitude of sick '*laying* about the pool of Bethesda, waiting to step or be *cast* into the water'. The verbal parallel that is suggested here by the italics is completely lacking in the Greek.

[36] See above all his notoriously famous comment on the fourfold gospel (below, n. 198).

[37] Ibid. 29 n.

[38] Brox, *Hirt*, 47 n. 11.

[39] Taylor, *Witness*, 29.

[40] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

[41] On these ratings, see the Preface, pp. iii–iv. A reader (É. Massaux?) of the copy of the book in the Faculty library at the University of Leuven has summarized the description in a written note on p. 138: 'A = certain; B = très probable; C = assez probable; D = simple possibilité'.

none for *Barnabas*, *Didache*, and *2 Clement*, but this is hardly a surprise taking into account the very strict definition given for A ('certain'), which allows for evidence only from 1 Corinthians (*1 Clement*, Ignatius, Polycarp), Romans and Hebrews (*1 Clement*), and 1 Peter (Polycarp) to be assigned to this class.

The complex, at times almost paradoxical, situation in searching the *Shepherd* for allusions to New Testament writings is described as follows: 'He [Hermas] may sometimes be consciously borrowing ideas from N.T. writers when the reference is veiled by an intentional change of words; and sometimes he may use identical words, and yet have derived them from some other source, oral or written.'[42] However, the committee seems to have been more confident about the project than this comment would suggest. And the same can also be concluded when it further notes, apparently with regret and clearly indicating where its preferences are, that because there is no A-case, 'the following arrangement of passages, therefore, does not represent what the editors may consider historically probable, but what they think may be reasonably deduced from a mere comparison of texts'.[43]

The case for 1 Corinthians is built on one instance that is not further commented upon,[44] and for Ephesian essentially on two instances.[45] A minimal agreement in wording and meaning, as in the instances just mentioned, is the major argument. The probability of (some sort of) dependence on written tradition is strengthened if the parallel words are rather striking, as is the phrase on 'saddening the Holy Spirit' in Eph. 4. 30.[46] The parallelism is explained either as Hermas 'developing in his own way a phrase that had lodged in his mind',[47] or as imitating his source, which seems to suggest a stronger or more direct form of dependence.[48] Unfortunately, the committee does not go into this further. It does not comment either upon the rather different procedures that are involved in 'imitating' or alluding to one specific passage (thus for 1 Cor. 7. 39–40 in *Man.* 4. 4. 1–2) and in repeating the same phrase, or variations of it, while apparently also introducing echoes from other passages from the same letter, as Hermas is thought to have done in *Sim.*

[42] *NTAF*, 105.

[43] Ibid.

[44] *Man.* 4. 4. 1–2 and 1 Cor. 7. 39–40. It is one of only a few such instances in the whole list.

[45] *Man.* 10. 2. 1–5 and Eph. 4. 30; *Sim.* 9. 13. 5 and Eph. 4. 3–6.

[46] 'In view of the originality and boldness of the phrase in Ephesians' (ibid. 106).

[47] Ibid. 106, on Eph. 4. 30. The alternative, that Hermas independently of Ephesians comes to use the phrase because he regards the Spirit as joyous, is rejected because it is 'so remarkable a phrase'.

[48] Thus *Sim.* 9. 13. 5–7 and related passages (9. 17. 4; 9. 18. 4) 'have all the appearance of being imitated from Ephesians'.

9. 17. 4.[49] The two procedures are of course not mutually exclusive, but they are certainly different.

A c rating is given to *Sim.* 9. 23. 2–4 (Jas. 4. 11–12) with its combination of the motif of *καταλαλία* and of God having the power to save and to destroy, but in its comment the committee seems to feel a bit uneasy about this rating. 'Here both the identity of expression and the resemblance in the context are strongly suggestive of literary dependence.'[50] There is the same kind of discrepancy between the rating and the comment for the evidence from Mark and for one of the three cases from Matthew (all c). The combination of 'not understanding' (*συνίημι*) because of 'the hardening of the heart' (*ἡ καρδία* and a form of *πωρόω*) in *Man.* 4. 2. 1 is otherwise 'confined to Mark, where it occurs twice, and the verbal agreement is sufficient to suggest dependence. It is as if Hermas said, "I am like those men who are reproached in the Gospel" '.[51] The only argument that pleads against a higher rating for Mark is, it seems, that the parallels with this gospel are limited to this one case.[52] The parallel between *Sim.* 3. 3. 3; 4. 2. 4; 5. 5. 2; and Matt. 13. 30, 38–40 also seems to have been underrated, or there is at least a gap between the rather strongly affirmative comment and the c rating: 'the general idea being similar, and the last-quoted words being almost identical [*Sim.* 5. 5. 2 and Matt. 13. 38]. It is the custom of Hermas to transform ideas of which he avails himself, and adapt them to his own composition.'[53] Some of the strongest arguments for dependence are to be found in the ambivalent section on 'the synoptic tradition'.[54] The problem here is that, according to the committee, the parallel cannot be connected with one particular gospel.

[49] Hermas takes up here the theme of Eph. 4. 3–6 that he had used before in 9. 13. 5, but he might also have alluded to Eph. 1. 13 or 4. 30 (cf. *ἐσφραγίσθητε* and *τὴν σφραγῖδα* in *Sim.* 9. 17. 4) and perhaps also to Eph. 5. 25–6, according to the synopsis of Drummond.

[50] Ibid. 109.

[51] Ibid. 120.

[52] The committee compares this case with two others (##43 and 46: *Sim.* 9. 20. 2 and *ἐπαισχύνομαι* at *Sim.* 8. 6. 4; 9. 14. 6; 9. 21. 3) from the section on 'the synoptic tradition' that lists parallels that cannot be traced to one gospel in particular and for that reason are not rated. This comparison is rather puzzling. Unlike in these two cases, the parallel cited for *Man.* 4. 2. 1 is exclusive to Mark. Moreover, the parallel in *Sim.* 9. 20. 2 receives the strong comment, 'We can hardly doubt that this is a quotation' (on p. 121), which comes close to that of *Man.* 4. 2. 1 ('It is as if...', quoted above) and would suggest a higher rating for *Man.* 4. 2. 1.

[53] Ibid. 119. The other cases in the list from Matthew 'suggest' some sort of dependence, but either it is thought that 'the resemblance is not very close' (on p. 119: on the motif of the dress in *Man.* 12. 1. 2; *Sim.* 9. 13. 2; and Matt. 22. 11), or that the parallel words are 'too few to admit of a confident inference' (on *Sim.* 5. 6. 4 and Matt. 28. 18; 11. 27).

[54] In addition to that on Matt. 19. 23 par. quoted above (#46), see the comments on the resemblances with elements from the parable of the sower (p. 121: 'may very well indicate acquaintance with the parable'), with Matt. 26. 24 par. Mark (p. 121: 'This might certainly be borrowed from the Synoptic saying, the change being no greater than we may expect when there is no express quotation', and *1 Clem.* 46. 8 'proves that the saying was known in Rome'), with

Exceptionally another solution is suggested for what is considered to be 'a strong parallel'. Thus, in discussing the complex case involving Jas. 1. 4, 5, 6–8, 17; 3. 15, 17; 5. 11 and several passages from (mainly) *Man.* 9 (all discussed under the same # 11),[55] the committee draws attention to the combined presence of the motif of 'asking from God' (*Man.* 9. 1. 1–2 and Jas. 1. 5, 6) and that of διψυχία. However, the association of διψυχία and διστάζω in *Man.* 9 is not found in James, whereas it is in *1 Clem.* 23. 3 and in *2 Clem.* 11. 2, and both seem to refer it to a source (ἡ γραφή in *1 Clement*; ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος in *2 Clement*). And this is decisive for the committee's conclusion: 'The resemblance is not sufficient to prove direct dependence, and may perhaps be explained by the use of a common source.'[56]

A wide variety of reasons is given as to why the greater number of the cases in the general list are rated only d. The verbal agreement is said not to be close enough or to be wanting,[57] or to be too limited,[58] too common,[59] accidental,[60] or 'a natural one',[61] or the words and phrases have a different meaning,[62]

Matt. 19. 9 par. Mark (p. 121: 'resembles the Gospels both in thought and language'), and with the parable of the vineyard (p. 122: 'the whole parable seems framed on the model of the evangelical parables').

[55] Most of these parallels are limited to the common use of one more or less remarkable word. Thus, ἐπίγειος in *Man.* 9. 11 and 11. 6 and Jas. 3. 15; πολύσπλαγχνος in *Man.* 9. 2 and Jas. 5. 11; 'the gift from above' in *Man.* 9. 11 and 11. 5. 7–8 and Jas. 1. 17; 3. 17.

[56] Ibid. 109. The passages from *1* and *2 Clement* are not discussed in the respective chapters dedicated to these writings. A similar conclusion was defended and further elaborated upon several years later by O. F. J. Seitz in a number of publications (with no reference to the committee). Hermas borrowed the word δίψυχος from the same writing that was mentioned by *1* and *2 Clement*, which Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 80, had tentatively identified as 'the Book of Eldad and Modad' (cf. *Vis.* 2. 3. 4, and below n. 65), a suggestion that at first did not have the full support of Seitz ('Relationship', 133: 'Whether this identification is correct or not, . . .'), though he is more positive about it in a later contribution ('Afterthoughts', 333: the apocryphal writing, or less probable, a midrash on the relevant passage on Eldad and Modad in Scripture). See O. F. J. Seitz, 'Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James', *JBL* 63 (1944), 131–40; *idem*, 'Antecedents and Signification of the Term δίψυχος', *JBL* 66 (1947), 211–19; *idem*, 'Afterthoughts on the Term "Dipsychos" ', *NTS* 4 (1957–8), 327–34. Cf. also Brox, *Hirt*, 551–3; Osiek, *Shepherd*, 30–1.

[57] In the case of *Man.* 4. 3. 1–2 and Heb. 6. 4–6 (*NTAF*, 108); also *Sim.* 9. 14. 6 and 1 Pet. 4. 14–16 (*NTAF*, 117).

[58] Restricted to one or two words only. Thus, ζωή in *Sim.* 2. 2. 8 and John 11. 25; 14. 6 (*NTAF*, 123); *Man.* 2. 2 and Jas. 3. 8 (*NTAF*, 111); ἐπισκέπτομαι of widows and orphans in *Sim.* 1. 8 *et al.* and Jas. 1. 27 (*NTAF*, 112–13).

[59] The motif of entering the Kingdom in *Sim.* 9. 15. 3 and John 3. 3–5 (*NTAF*, 123); or that of 'speaking the truth' in *Man.* 3. 1 and Eph. 4. 25, 29 (*NTAF*, 106); further also *Man.* 4. 3. 4 and Acts 1. 24 (*NTAF*, 114); *Vis.* 4. 3. 4 and 1 Pet. 1. 7 (*NTAF*, 116); *Vis.* 3. 9. 8 and Matt. 5. 35 (*NTAF*, 119); and the list of references in #22 (*NTAF*, 113).

[60] 'To receive the Law from the Father' in *Sim.* 5. 6. 3 and John 10. 18 (*NTAF*, 123).

[61] The gate admitting to the tower in *Sim.* 9. 12. 1. 5–6 and John 10. 7, 9 (*NTAF*,. 123). Also *Sim.* 9. 29. 1. 3 and 1 Pet. 2. 1–2 (*NTAF*, 117).

[62] 'Life' referring to Christ in John 11. 25, but perhaps not so in *Sim.* 2. 2. 8 (*NTAF*, 123); or 'rock' for Christ in 1 Cor. 10. 4, but not in *Sim.* 9. 12. 1 (*NTAF*, 105).

or are used differently;[63] or it is argued that 'the sentiment is different',[64] or that the parallel is attested also in the OT, or is commonly known in Christian tradition, or could stem from another (unidentified) source;[65] or still, a combination of some of the above.[66] However, in a few cases again the comment would suggest that the committee was secretly pleading for a higher rating.[67]

The evidence as analysed by the committee would suggest that Hermas was at least acquainted with the synoptic tradition, probably even with Matthew and Mark, and also with two of Paul's letters. The committee does not speculate too much on how the influence has played, but seems to assume that (in all c rated cases) Hermas was consciously borrowing from or relying upon these writings, whether Hermas actually looked up the relevant passage,[68] or merely had it 'in mind'.[69] The comments illustrate that it would be unwise to try to explain all of the evidence from one and the same perspective. That certainly is the main reason why the committee is hesitant to extrapolate the relatively assured conclusions it has reached for some of the parallels, and one sees it literally struggling in some of its comments to restrain itself from a more 'confident' defence of the dependence hypothesis. A major problem with the whole approach is that the lists that are drawn up invite one to discuss the evidence in an atomistic way. There is a real danger that one concentrates (almost) exclusively on particular verses, phrases, or even words,

[63] The motif of 'seeing and entering the Kingdom' used synonymously in John and contrastively in *Sim.* 9. 15. 3 (*NTAF*, 123).

[64] So at *Vis.* 2. 2. 7 and Jas. 1. 12 (*NTAF*, 110). See also *Man.* 11. 16 and Matt. 7. 15–16 (*NTAF*, 120).

[65] Thus at *Vis.* 3. 9. 4–6 and Jas. 5. 1, 4, but also Lev. 19. 13; Deut. 24. 15; Ps. 17. 7 (*NTAF*, 110); at *Man.* 3. 1 and *Sim.* 5. 6. 5. 7 and Jas. 4. 5 (*NTAF*, 111: speculating about a possible quotation from the 'Book of Eldad and Modad'); at *Sim.* 2. 5 and Jas. 2. 5 and the motif of the poor as rich in the spiritual life (*NTAF*, 114, for which the committee refers to Luke and 2 Corinthians); see also *Vis.* 3. 3. 5 and 1 Pet. 3. 20–1 (*NTAF*, 115: the practice of baptism), and the passages listed under #22.

[66] Cf. *Sim.* 2. 5 and Jas. 2. 5 (*NTAF*, 113); *Vis.* 4. 2. 4 and Acts 4. 12 (*NTAF*, 114); *Vis.* 3. 11. 3 and 1 Pet. 5. 7 (*NTAF*, 115); *Sim.* 9. 12. 2–3 and 1 Pet. 1. 20 (*NTAF*, 116).

[67] Thus, on *Sim.* 9. 14. 3 and Eph. 2. 20: 'Indeed the whole figure of the tower may have been suggested by Eph 2. 10–22' (*NTAF*, 107). Cf. also on *χαλιναγωγέω* in *Man.* 12. 1. 1 and Jas. 1. 26; 3. 2, 4: 'the word is of rare occurrence . . . we must notice the presence of the ideas of willing and taming, which occur also in the context of James' (*NTAF*, 111–12); the motif of 'fleeing from evil' in *Man.* 12. 4. 7 and 12. 5. 2 .4 and Jas. 4. 7 (*NTAF*, 112); and esp. the one case from Luke (18. 1, *προσεύχομαι* and *ἐγκακέω*) and *Man.* 9. 8 (*NTAF*, 120: 'This connexion of ideas is confined to Luke in the N.T., and the expression is sufficiently close to suggest dependence').

[68] As one might perhaps conclude from the concept of imitation used in the comment on *Sim.* 9. 3. 5 (Eph. 4. 3–6) and from the paraphrase, 'It is as if . . .' (see quotation above for Mark), though elsewhere the committee seems to be uncommitted, as when it concludes for *Man.* 4. 1. 6 (Matt. 19. 9 par. Mark) 'that we may reasonably infer some kind of literary dependence' (*NTAF*, 121).

[69] See above on *Man.* 10. 2. 1–5 (Eph. 4. 30).

while little or no attention is given to the larger context or to the function the paralleled material plays in the *Shepherd*'s composition.

Far more sceptical again is Martin Dibelius. Hermas was thoroughly influenced by early Christian paraenetic tradition and by Jewish tradition at large. This would explain the obvious similarities with other Christian writings, though Dibelius does not in principle exclude the possibility that Hermas may also have used some of these writings. 'Daher [from common Jewish-Christian tradition] lassen sich dann auch gewisse Berührungen mit neutestamentlichen Schriften (vor allem Jac) begreifen, die durchaus *nicht immer* als Zeichen literarischer Abhängigkeit gedeutet werden müssen.'[70] However, it appears that in the commentary itself this latter possibility is hardly ever considered, and instances for which literary dependence could be argued are virtually non-existent. Thus, to give only a few examples, of the two cases rated b by the committee, Dibelius says only that Hermas in *Man.* 4. 4. 1–2 defends the same position as Paul in 1 Cor. 7. 39–40, while Eph. 4. 30 is not even mentioned at *Man.* 12. 2. 1–3.[71] *Sim.* 3. 3 'reminds' one of Matt. 13. 24–30,[72] but nothing is said about a possible influence, and Matt. 13. 38 is not cited at *Sim.* 5. 5. 2. The prohibition at *Man.* 4. 1. 1 is regarded as not specifically Christian,[73] and consequently there is no reference to Matt. 5. 28. The 'almost verbal agreement'[74] of *Man.* 4. 1. 6 with Mark 10. 11 is sufficiently explained from tradition. Likewise, the many similarities between James and the *Shepherd*, while duly recognized, are systematically explained from the common use of Christian paraenetic tradition.[75]

Almost half a century after the Oxford Committee had published its results, the whole effort of looking for traces of the influence of New Testament writings on the Apostolic Fathers was repeated by Édouard Massaux as part of an even broader project, which covered the whole of the second-century literature.[76] While focusing on Matthew, Massaux also carefully studied the

[70] M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, HNT; Ergänzungs-Band: Die Apostolischen Väter, 4 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1923), 424 (italics mine).

[71] Ibid. 513 and 533–4 resp.

[72] Ibid. 558: 'erinnert'.

[73] Ibid. 504: 'nicht ausgesprochen christlich'.

[74] Ibid. 506: 'fast wörtlich'.

[75] Thus, there is no reference to Jas. 4. 11–12 at *Sim.* 9. 23. 2. 4 (ibid. 631), of which the committee still thought it was 'strongly suggestive of literary dependence' (*NTAF*, 119). Dibelius had already argued for the same conclusion in his commentary on James: *Der Brief des Jakobus*, KEK 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 7th edn., 1921, 11th edn. 1964), 30–1 (49–50): 'Schlüsse auf literarischen Abhängigkeit lassen sich aus den genannten Stellen überhaupt nicht mit Sicherheit ziehen.... In Wahrheit handelt es sich wohl darum, dass beide Schriften über einer verhältnismässig grossen gemeinsamen paränetischen Besitz verfügen, den Hermas meist in verarbeitetem Zustand..., Jak in Spruchform wiedergibt.'

[76] É. Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée*, BETL 75 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986; original French publication, 1950), 261–325 (*Hermas*). ET:

evidence from the other writings. As a rule, he distinguishes the material for which a comparison with Matthew can be made into three sections: influence of Matthew is 'certain' or 'very probable'; Matthew is one witness among others; influence of Matthew is to be excluded. Massaux follows more or less the same pattern for the other writings of the New Testament. This division comes close to that of the committee but does not completely overlap. Massaux's first category seems to cover classes A ('certain') and B ('very probable') of the committee. The third category covers class D. The middle category coincides more or less with that of 'the synoptic tradition', but is not limited to it, for it also includes texts for which a parallel can be found in writings other than the synoptics. Class C is no longer identified as a separate group.

Massaux's evaluation of the evidence for Matthew differs rather considerably from that of the committee. He discusses a greater number of passages from the gospel, and he also assigns no fewer than nine passages from *Shepherd* to his first category.[77] He clearly is much more 'confident' again about tracing the influence of Matthew in the *Shepherd*. In his second category Massaux discusses fifteen passages, of which several figure in the sections on the synoptic gospels and the synoptic tradition in the list of the committee.[78] The third category comprises seven passages, none of which are listed by the committee.[79]

The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus, 3 vols. New Gospel Studies, 5. 1–3 (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990–3), ii. 111–63, and the synopsis at ii. 170–1. Quotations are from the original French text, with page references of the translation in parentheses.

[77] Here listed in the order in which they are discussed by Massaux. For those instances that also figure in the list of the committee, the rating is added (c, d, or St (synoptic tradition)). *Vis.* 1. 1. 8 (Matt. 5. 28); *Man.* 4. 1. 1 (Matt. 5. 28; #42: St); *Man.* 6. 2. 4 (Matt. 7. 16 par. Luke); *Man.* 11. 16 (Matt. 7. 16 par. Luke; #37: d); *Man.* 12. 1. 2 (Matt. 22. 11–13; #33: c); *Sim.* 3. 3 and 4. 2. 2. 4, taken together (Matt. 13. 24–30, 38–40; #34: c); *Sim.* 5. 2 (Matt. 21. 31–43 par., 25. 14, and some elements from Matt. 13; #44: St); *Sim.* 6. 3. 6 (Matt. 21. 22 par. Mark); *Sim.* 9. 20. 2 (Matt. 19. 23 parr. Mark, Luke; #43: St); and a few cases in which the parallel is limited to one word only (*NTAF*, 272). The second d case in the list of the committee belongs to this last group (*Vis.* 3. 9. 8 and Matt. 5. 35; #36). The third c case (Sim. 5. 6. 4 and Matt. 28. 18; #35) figures in Massaux's second category.

[78] *Vis.* 2. 2. 8 (Matt. 10. 32–3 parr.; #47, in the section on John); *Vis.* 3. 6. 5 (Matt. 13. 20–2 parr.; #40: St); *Vis.* 3. 6. 6 (Matt. 19. 21–4 parr.); *Vis.* 3. 7. 3 (Matt. 13. 20–2 parr.); *Vis.* 3. 8. 3 (Matt. 9. 22 parr.); *Vis.* 4. 2. 6 (Matt. 26. 24 par. Mark; #41: St); *Man.* 9. 4 (Matt. 7. 7, 11; 21. 22 parr.); *Man.* 10. 1. 5 (Matt. 13. 22 parr.); *Sim.* 5. 3. 3 (Matt. 19. 21 parr.); *Sim.* 5. 6. 1. 4 (see above, n. 77); *Sim.* 6. 3. 6 (Matt. 16. 27 parr.); *Sim.* 9. 13. 2 (Matt. 22. 11–13; #33; above, n. 77); *Sim.* 9. 20. 1 (Matt. 13. 22 parr.; #40: St); *Sim.* 9. 28. 6 (Matt. 5. 11 par.); *Sim.* 9. 29. 3 and 9. 31. 3, taken together (Matt. 18. 3 parr.; #45: St). In addition, he again lists a number of agreements on isolated words (p. 280).

[79] *Man.* 5. 2. 7 (Matt. 12. 32 par. Luke); *Man.* 7. 4 (Matt. 10. 28 par. Luke); *Man.* 12. 5. 4 (Matt. 12. 43–5 par. Luke); *Sim.* 5. 3. 2–3 (Matt. 19. 17 parr.); *Sim.* 5. 3. 8 (Matt. 5. 24); *Sim.* 8. 7. 6 (Matt. 18. 4; 23. 12 par. Luke); *Sim.* 9. 31. 6 (Matt. 26. 31 par. Mark).

Except for the title, Massaux nowhere uses the qualification 'certain' in his comments on the first category. He prefers to speak of degrees of probability, ranging from 'possible' (*Man.* 12. 1. 2) to 'très probable', or even to 'indéniable' (*Man.* 6. 2. 4). He builds his conclusions on two arguments: similarity in idea or content (in Massaux's words, 'une similitude d'idée') and (a minimum of) verbal agreement, while at the same time repeatedly recognizing that Hermas has used the source text 'à sa façon'.[80] The case for dependence is obviously strengthened if it can be argued that a passage is closer to Matthew than to other parallel texts, or that it is perhaps exclusive to Matthew for one or both of these aspects. The latter is the case according to Massaux with the motif of 'sinning by desire' in *Vis.* 1. 1. 8 (in the NT only in Matt. 5. 28 and partly using the same wording) and also with the distinction between the good and the bad at judgement in *Sim.* 3. 3 that reminds one of the parables in 13. 24–30, 38–40, which are peculiar to Matthew.[81]

Massaux does not formally describe the relationship between the two aspects. Ideally, of course, the two should be present, but that is not necessarily so for each and every case. The motif of lustful desire at *Vis.* 1. 1. 8 returns at *Man.* 4. 1. 1, but without the verbal parallel with Matt. 5. 28 that is found in *Vis.* 1. 1. 8 (*ἐπιθυμία*, -*έω*). Yet *Man.* 4. 1. 1 also figures in this first category, because 'Hermas reprend ici, sous une autre forme, la doctrine déjà donnée en *Vis.* I,I,8'.[82] Likewise, the verbal agreement with Matt. 7. 16 is less strong at *Man.* 11. 16 (the verb *γίνωσκω* is missing) than at *Man.* 6. 2. 4, but 'la similitude d'idée avec les textes évangéliques est indubitable'.[83]

Other instances illustrate that verbal agreement, even on a rather common word, can be sufficient reason to include a passage, admittedly with some hesitation, in the first category. At *Man.* 12. 1. 2 (Matt. 22. 11–13), 'la ressemblance n'est pas vraiment stricte' (p. 264) and the word *ἔνδυμα* 'n'est pas tellement rare' (p. 265), but Massaux nevertheless concludes that 'il serait donc possible qu'Hermas se soit inspiré plus ou moins profondément de la parabole évangélique'.[84] Verbal agreement in the smallest detail can play an important role in deciding between several possible sources. That is clearly the case at *Sim.* 6. 3. 6 (Matt. 21. 22 par.). Influence from Matthew is favoured because he offers the most complete parallel to the phrase *πάντα ὅσα* + *αἰτέω*.[85] Verbal agreement also plays a role in identifying different sources,

[80] This qualification is repeated on many occasions, and clearly constitutes for Massaux an essential element in the overall appreciation of Hermas' redaction.

[81] Massaux, *Influence*, 262 and 265–6 (ii. 111–12 and 155–6).

[82] Ibid. 263 (ii. 112). He is critical of the parallel with Ps.-Phocylides (ll. 195–7) cited by Dibelius (*Hirt*, 505), because the perspective and purpose are quite different.

[83] Ibid. 264 (ii. 113).

[84] Ibid. 265 (ii. 114: 'more or less').

[85] The first half is missing in 1 John 3. 22; the verb is missing from Mark.

though there is a certain danger in using the argument rather mechanically, without considering the consequences this may have for describing the redaction of the *Shepherd*. Thus, at *Sim.* 9. 20. 2 Massaux seems to reckon with a combined use of Matt. 19. 23 (πλούσιος) and the parallel in Mark and/or Luke (βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ). The situation is more complicated still for the parable in *Sim.* 5. 2. 2–11, where Hermas would seem to have combined elements from the various versions in the synoptics of the parable of the vineyard, the parable of the talents, the parable of the sower, and the parable of the tares.[86]

It is important to note that the difference between the first and the second of Massaux's categories is not primarily a question of a greater or lesser amount of similarity or verbal agreement. In many instances of the second category the similarity of idea and the verbal agreement are as striking as in instances listed under the first category. The problem is that an identical or very similar phrase or idea occurs in more than one possible source text. But for the rest the same arguments of similarity and agreement are used, with the same degrees of probability. Thus, the first case in the list, *Vis.* 2. 2. 8 (Matt. 10. 32–3 par.; 2 Tim. 2. 12), is placed here because the motif of denying the Lord (with ἀρνέομαι as in Matthew and 2 Timothy) is not used 'à l'état pur'.[87] Such a consideration does not come into play in *Vis.* 3. 6. 5 (Matt. 13. 20–2 parr.), and Massaux notes that, according to the committee, 'ce passage peut très bien indiquer une connaissance de la parabole du semeur',[88] but it is not possible to be more precise about which version of the parable was used.[89] *Vis.* 3. 6. 6 is listed in this category, even though the verbal agreement is almost non-existent, because it is comparable to a passage from the first category (cf. *Sim.* 9. 20. 2–3 and the motif of wealth). This probably also goes for *Sim.* 9. 13. 2, though this is not stated explicitly.[90] For *Man.* 10. 1. 5 (Matt. 13. 22 parr.), Massaux reckons with the possibility of influence from another source: 'On voit donc que des embarras du même genre que ceux notés dans le Pasteur étaient déjà spécifiés dans les évangiles; leur réunion chez Hermas peut provenir d'une autre source que nos évangiles; les termes en effet sont trop différents pour affirmer un contact littéraire.'[91]

[86] See the synopsis on pp. 268–9 (ii. 117–18).

[87] Ibid. 273 (ii. 120–1: 'in its pristine state').

[88] Ibid.

[89] The same applies to the 'parallel' passage in *Vis.* 3. 7. 3. See also at *Sim.* 9. 20. 1 (Matt. 13. 22 parr.): 'peuvent très bien trahir ici une connaissance de la parabole du semeur, bien qu'il soit impossible de rattacher ce passage du *Pasteur* à un évangile particulier' (p. 279 (126)); *Sim.* 9. 28. 6 (Matt. 5. 11 par.): 'A-t-il puisé son inspiration chez *Mt.* ou chez *Lc.*?' (ibid. 279 (ii. 126)); Sim. 9. 29. 3 and 9. 31. 3: 'fait défaut tout indice' (ibid. 280 (ii. 127)).

[90] See ibid. 279 (ii. 126).

[91] Ibid. 277 (ii. 124).

The second category also harbours a number of passages for which the evidence for dependence is regarded as rather weak. Massaux does not have much of a problem with *Vis.* 4. 2. 6 (Matt. 26. 24 par.) and *Man.* 9. 4 (Matt. 7. 7, 11 par.), even though he points out that the verbal agreement is minimal in the first case, and that the *Shepherd* reads *ἀπολαμβάνω* for *λαμβάνω* in the second.[92] He also seems to favour Matt. 28. 18 over other parallels at *Sim.* 5. 6. 1. 4, while acknowledging that the verbal agreement is not impressive ('trop peu nombreux') and that Hermas 'exprime ici un thème courant'; but he then adds that at *Sim.* 5. 7. 3 Hermas is 'littéralement plus proche de *Mt*.'.[93] But for *Vis.* 3. 8. 3 ('the elect of God will be saved') he has to recognize that it is not just a matter of not being able to decide between various witnesses from written sources: 'Hermas énonce simplement une idée traditionnelle.'[94] Lack of verbal agreement prohibits a clear decision at *Sim.* 5. 3. 3.[95] In *Sim.* 6. 3. 6 (Matt. 16. 27 parr.), Massaux also leaves open the decision, but at the same time expresses a slight preference for Sir. 35. 22.[96]

Hermas's acquaintance with other early Christian literature is not limited to the gospel of Matthew, but extends to 'almost all the other New Testament writings', as Massaux perhaps somewhat over enthusiastically notes at one point.[97] The evidence for Mark and Luke is minimal indeed, as Massaux himself acknowledges. He discusses six passages that can be compared with Mark, none of which is exclusively 'Marcan'. Five of them are mentioned also by the committee.[98] At *Man.* 4. 2. 1 Massaux seems to be even less confident than was the committee (c rating). He adds references to Mark 3. 15 and 8. 17, which would make the phrase more 'Marcan', but then weakens the argument again by also quoting Eph. 4. 18 and other instances of *πωρόω* in the New Testament.[99] For the one instance of a parallel with Luke (*Man.* 9. 8 and Luke

[92] Ibid. 276 (ii. 124).

[93] Ibid. 278 (ii. 125).

[94] Ibid.

[95] There is but 'une simple similitude d'idée' (ibid. 278 (ii. 125)) in the first case, and there are several other possible parallels from NT and OT texts in the other case (ibid. 280 (ii. 127)).

[96] Ibid. 279 (ii. 125). See also his comments on *Sim.* 5. 3. 2–3. 8 (ibid. 282–3 (ii. 129)).

[97] Ibid. 284 (ii. 130): 'Le Pasteur d'Hermas trahit des relations littéraires avec presque tous les autres écrits néotestamentaires.'

[98] One in the section on Mark (*Man.* 4. 2. 1 and Mark 6. 52; #38), four in that on the synoptic tradition (*Man.* 4. 1. 6 and Mark 10. 11 parr.; #42; three passages from *Sim.*, 8. 6. 4; 9. 14. 6; 9. 21. 3, and Mark 8. 38 parr.; #46). The sixth case (*Vis.* 3. 6. 3 and Mark 9. 50; 1 Thess. 5. 13; Rom. 13. 11) figures in the section on Paul (#26), but the committee compares with *Vis.* 3. 9. 10 and with 1 Thess. only, which offers the closest parallel also for Massaux: 'À vrai dire, seul I *Thess.*, iv, 13 contient matériellement cette expression' (ibid. p. 286 (ii. 132)).

[99] Ibid. 286 (ii. 132) n. 2. In the case of *Sim.* 8. 6. 4 parr. it is impossible to decide between Mark and Luke (ibid. 285 (ii. 131)). On *Man.* 4. 1. 6, see below.

18. 1) Massaux paraphrases the comments of the committee (d rating), though he seems to be slightly more positive.[100] He is also somewhat more optimistic for the two instances of material parallel with Acts that figure in the list of the committee (d rating). *Vis.* 4. 2. 4 may reflect an archaic theology of 'the name', but 'une réminiscence de *Act.*, iv, 12 paraît au moins possible'.[101] More confident still is his conclusion with regard to the phrase *καρδιογνώστης* in *Man.* 4. 3. 4 (Acts 1. 24 and 15. 8). Instead of the committee's rather puzzling 'If we suppose a direct connexion, there is nothing to show on which side the priority lies', Massaux firmly notes that the word is found only in Acts in the New Testament, and he does not speculate about its possible use by 'the many who had not read Acts'.[102]

Of the four parallels with John in the list of the committee, Massaux does not mention *Vis.* 2. 2. 8 (John 11. 25; 14. 6), but he considers the evidence for the others to be stronger than the Committee's d rating.[103] *Sim.* 5. 6. 3 is said to have 'une teinte nettement johannique', because of the close verbal agreement with John 10. 18 and the connection between *ἐντολή* and 'receiving life' in John 12. 49–50 (cf. also 14. 31; 15. 10), which in Massaux's opinion sufficiently counters the difficulty raised by the substitution of *νόμος* for *ἐντολή*.[104] Special mention should be made of Massaux's discussion of *Sim.* 9. 12. 1. 3 (John 10. 7, 9). He repeats the comments of the committee ('Johannine colouring', but insufficient to show literary dependence) and he also refers to the parallel in 1 Cor. 10. 4.[105] On the other hand, Massaux reckons with the possibility that Hermas may here have collected 'plusieurs réminiscences du Nouveau Testament', which would account for the remarkable combination of 'door' and 'rock' and for the substitution of *πύλη* for *θύρα*, 'qui rappelle *Mt.*, vii,14, dans un endroit où le salut est également en vue'.[106] But ultimately, it seems, the crucial argument for accepting the

[100] 'Hermas s'est peut-être référé au texte lucanien' (ibid. p. 287 (ii. 132)).

[101] Ibid., 288 (ii. 133).

[102] *NTAF*, 114. Massaux also adds a couple of other instances from Acts, but these are considered to be less compelling.

[103] In doing so, he also goes against the more sceptical views of W. von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert*, BZNW 13 (Giessen: Topelmann, 1932), 8–14, and of J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church: Its Origin and Influence on Christian Theology up to Irenaeus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 16–17. The latter discussed five passages (*Vis.* 2. 2. 8; *Sim.* 5. 6. 3; 5. 6. 4–5; 9. 12. 1. 6; 9. 15. 3). The similarities can, as a rule, be explained by 'common doctrine', the use of 'current expressions', and 'common conceptions' on certain issues. With regard to the 'muddled' Christology of *Sim.* 5. 6. 4–5, Sanders uses an argument *e contrario*: 'Had Hermas read the Gospel, even he could hardly have remained in such a state of confusion' (p. 17). See also the survey of earlier research on the reception of John in Nagel, *Rezeption*, 18–34.

[104] Massaux, *Influence*, 290 (ii. 134). Contrast the committee's 'may be accidental' (*NTAF*, 123).

[105] Which was 'purely accidental' for the committee (*NTAF*, 105 (#2)).

[106] Massaux, *Influence*, 290 (ii. 135).

influence of John in *Sim.* 9. 12. 1–3 rests upon what follows in the immediate context in 9. 12. 4 and its 'important parallel' with John 3. 5, where 'similarity of idea' (both passages are on baptism) coincides with a partial verbal agreement ('entering the Kingdom'), while the difference in wording to refer to the baptism itself (the *Shepherd* λαβεῖν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ) echoes a phrase dear to Hermas.[107] As a matter of fact, Massaux detects echoes of the same Johannine passage throughout *Sim.* 9. 12–16,[108] and argues that Hermas has used this verse to elaborate on the theme of initiation, which has to do not only with receiving baptism, but also with receiving the Spirit (see 9. 13).[109] 'Le texte johannique fait figure de *leitmotiv* du passage.'[110]

Traces of a possible influence of Paul are said to be minimal, limited to the symbolism of baptism and some formulae on unity, used exclusively in contexts of ethical teaching, and with no regard for Paul's theological speculations.[111] But even so, Massaux accepts that Paul's influence was greater and more secure than the committee would allow. 'Hermas connaissait certainement des épîtres pauliniennes.'[112] He does of course list the three passages rated b: *Man.* 4. 4. 1. 2 (1 Cor. 7. 8–9, 28, 39–40); *Man.* 10. 2. 1–6; 10. 3. 2; and also 3. 4 (Eph. 4. 30; 2 Cor. 7. 10); and *Sim.* 9. 13. 5–7; 9. 17. 4; 9. 18. 4 (Eph. 4. 3–6).[113] Hermas has found inspiration in the letters of Paul. This must have been the case at *Man.* 10. 2. 1–6,[114] and therefore most probably also at *Man.* 3. 4.[115] This type of argument is here given some weight, even though the Spirit is qualified differently in both texts, and Hermas in *Man.* 10. 2. 1–6 was also influenced by 2 Cor. 7. 10.[116] Equally 'certain' is the influence of Eph. 4.

[107] Ibid. 291 (ii. 135): 'une des expressions habituelles chez lui pour désigner le baptême'.

[108] Including 9. 15. 3, the fourth passage discussed by the committee. See further 9. 12. 8 and all other occurrences of the phrase εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ together with a phrase referring to baptism. A further echo of John 3. 5 might be found in *Sim.* 9. 31. 2, where those who 'must enter the Kingdom' are the same as those of 9. 31. 1 'who had not received the seal' but had then been prepared for it (ibid. 300 (ii. 142)).

[109] See the long excursus on this text, ibid. 295–300 (ii. 138–43).

[110] Ibid. 293 (ii. 137).

[111] Ibid. 310 (ii. 150).

[112] Ibid. 312 (ii. 152). And Massaux is certainly far more positive than was E. Aleith some years earlier, when he dismissed the whole case in one line: 'der "Hirte des Hermas", in dem von paulinischen Einfluss nichts mehr zu spüren ist' (*Paulusverständnis in der Kirche*, BZNW 18 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1937), 3). See also A. E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 198–203.

[113] 'On admettra dès lors qu'... il a puisé son inspiration au chapitre vii de la *Ia ad Corinthios*' (Massaux, *Influence*, 303 (ii. 144)); Eph. 4. 30, 'la source où est venu puiser Hermas' and 'un *leitmotiv*' (ibid. 304 (ii. 145)).

[114] Ibid. 305 (ii. 146): 'un emploi certain'.

[115] Ibid.: 'il est donc très possible qu'ici encore . . .'.

[116] Massaux speaks of the same 'doctrine' of salutary grief in *Man.* and in Paul, and points to the minimal agreement on σωτηρία and on the verb/noun μετάνοια, -έω (ibid. 304–5 (ii. 145–6)).

3–6.[117] Of some importance, and not mentioned by the committee, is the observation that the motif of 'being united in mind' (τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν) is a good Pauline expression that occurs at *Sim.* 9. 13. 7 and is paraphrased as μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον at *Sim.* 9. 17. 4.[118] In this context Massaux also hesitantly refers to *Sim.* 9. 4. 3 (Eph. 2. 20), rated d only by the committee.[119] A similarly ambivalent position is assigned to *Sim.* 9. 12. 1 (1 Cor. 10. 4) and the motif of the rock (also rated d). It figures among the 'certain' texts, but the comments switch between 'on pense naturellement à Paul' and 'il y a peut-être ici une allusion'.[120] Literary dependence is again assumed, however, for the baptism motif at *Sim.* 9. 16. 2–4. 6 (Rom. 6. 3–5 and Col. 2. 12).[121]

Not one of the parallels with James discussed by the committee received a rating higher than c. Massaux is again more confident: 'Hermas l'a connue et s'en est inspiré en plusieurs endroits.'[122] He studied ten instances that would point to literary dependence. Two of these, *Man.* 1. 1 (Jas. 2. 19) and *Sim.* 6. 1. 1 (Jas. 1. 21), did not figure in the list of the committee. At *Man.* 1. 1 Massaux decides for James because there is not only an element of verbal agreement between *Man.* and James (πιστεύω) that is missing in Mark 12. 28–9 (the parallel given by Zahn), but there is also 'similarity of idea', which takes precedence over the at first look impressive agreement between *Mandates* (πρῶτον πάντων) and Mark (ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων). As a matter of fact, Hermas and James both speak of the unicity of God and not of love for God, as do Mark and his source text Deut. 6. 5. Moreover, πρῶτον πάντων is used differently in *Mandates* (absolutely) and in Mark (the first of two commandments). 'Reste donc l'unique solution: Hermas s'est référé à *Jac.*, ii,19.'[123] There is strong verbal agreement as well between *Sim.* 6. 1. 1 (δυνάμεναι σῶσαι ψυχὴν ὑμῶν) and Jas. 1. 21 (τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν), with both passages agreeing also on the subject of the verb δύναμαι, while Hermas's 'precepts' correspond to James's τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον. The verdict: 'une réminiscence littéraire de ce texte paraît très probable'.[124]

[117] Ibid. 306 (ii. 147): 'aucun doute'.
[118] Ibid. 305 (ii. 146).
[119] Ibid.: 'on peut rapprocher peut-être . . .'.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid. 306 (ii. 147). Less certainty can be reached for a number of other texts, among them *Man.* 3. 1 and Eph. 4. 25 (ibid. 307 (ii. 147–8)): 'peu probable', given the different reason for speaking the truth) and *Man.* 4. 3. 1 and Heb. 6. 4–6 (on 'repentance/conversion'), which were both rated d by the committee, and further also *Vis.* 2. 3. 2; 3. 7. 2 (Heb. 3. 12), rated c. In this latter case, the striking verbal agreement of ἀποστάντες θεοῦ ζῶντος (ibid. 308 (ii. 149): 'L'identité est parfaite') does not balance the different context.
[122] Ibid. 310 (ii. 150).
[123] Ibid. 311 (ii. 151).
[124] Ibid. 316 (ii. 155).

Five passages were rated c by the committee: *Man.* 9. 1–7 (Jas. 1. 5–9); *Man.* 9. 11 (Jas. 1. 17; 3. 15); *Man.* 11. 5–6 (Jas. 1. 17); *Man.* 12. 6. 3 (Jas. 4. 12); *Sim.* 9. 23. 4 (Jas. 4. 11–12). Massaux hesitates about the first case. Verbal agreement, though with a remarkable difference (James: *διακρίνω*, Hermas: *διστάζω*), and 'similarity of idea' are countered by what Massaux describes rather vaguely as 'les textes eux-mêmes d'Hermas sont assez éloignés de ceux de Jacques',[125] but for which he then also offers an explanation by suggesting that Hermas may have been commenting somewhat freely ('à sa façon') on the text of James. The final argument, however, is one of analogy, as in other instances.[126] While recognizing that the contrast between *ἄνωθεν* and *ἐπίγειος* is perhaps not that exceptional,[127] Massaux rightly points to the structural agreement between Jas. 3. 15 (and 1. 17) and *Man.* 9. 11, by quoting the latter as a whole and not as two halves, as did the committee, which destroys the contrast. He also emphasizes more strongly the importance for the argument of literary dependence of the fact that the 'association' between Jas. 1. 17 and 3. 15 is repeated at *Man.* 11. 5–6.[128] Massaux of course does not miss the opportunity to quote in full the very positive opinion of the committee in favour of literary dependence with regard to *Man.* 12. 6. 3.[129] He gives much weight to the absolute use of the double phrase *σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι*, which brings this passage closer to James than to Matt. 10. 28 par. Luke, but it is a bit surprising that he passes over the verbal and thematic agreement with Matthew on *φοβήθητε* and the fact that the same two verbs are used in a different order, in a disjunctive phrase, and with an object at *Sim.* 9. 23. 4, the second passage that may have been influenced by Jas. 4. 11–12. Of course, this latter case is dominated by another motif (*καταλαλέω*, -*ία*) that also occurs at Jas. 4. 11–12.[130]

The three remaining passages were rated d. The case for *Man.* 12. 2. 4; 12. 4. 6–7; 12. 5. 2 (Jas. 4. 7) is based on the last of these instances, the only one that includes the two elements (*ἀντιστήμι* and *φεύγω ἀπό*) that are also present in James, and Massaux can again refer to the surprisingly positive judgement of the committee.[131] The formulation at the end of *Sim.* 8. 6. 4 could be the result of an association of passages from several New Testament writings (see

[125] Ibid. 312 (ii. 152).

[126] Ibid. 312–13 (ii. 152): 'Si par ailleurs, il est établi qu'Hermas utilise largement de *l'épître de Jacques*, l'hypothèse d'une référence sera confirmée.'

[127] Ibid. 313 (ii. 153): 'obvie'.

[128] Ibid. 'un autre indice sérieux'.

[129] Ibid. 315 (ii. 155) (see above, p. 302).

[130] Ibid. 317 (ii. 156): 'un contact littéraire s'impose'.

[131] Ibid. 314 n. 1 (see above, p. 304). He differs from the committee in his assessment of the other parallels (1 Pet. 5. 9; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*), which for the committee were a reason to nuance its conclusion, whereas Massaux points out that none of these other witnesses shows such a close verbal agreement with *Mandates* as does James.

Mark 8. 38 and Jas. 2. 7, though there is no mention of 1 Pet. 4. 16, as in the list of the committee), a possibility that Massaux did not explore for *Sim*. 9. 23. 4 (see above). The presence of βλασφημέω is decisive, so it seems, for looking towards James, rather than the Old Testament, where the phrase τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, or a similar one, is frequently found. Massaux's comment on the last case (*Vis*. 2. 2. 7 and Jas. 1. 12) looks like a response to the committee's 'the sentiment is quite different'.[132] In addition to the agreement in wording and genre (a macarism and the verb ὑπομένω), Massaux also points out that there is 'similarity of idea', because Hermas 'considère la tribulation à venir comme une épreuve'.[133] A number of other passages show a certain amount of similarity, but no strong evidence for literary dependence.[134]

While rating all instances of a possible parallel with 1 Peter as d, the committee nevertheless concluded, 'on the whole, then, the evidence seems to place 1 Peter on the border line between C and D'.[135] Massaux is certainly no more confident. 'Hermas a peut-être connu la *Ia Petri*, mais les textes où un rapprochement avec cette épître reste possible sont peu favorables à une véritable influence littéraire.'[136] He discusses almost the same passages as the committee.[137] Insufficient verbal agreement in keywords or characteristic phrases and/or the fact that other parallels can be cited plead against *Vis*. 11. 3 and 1 Pet. 5. 7;[138] *Sim*. 9. 28. 5 and 1 Pet. 4. 13–16;[139] *Vis*. 3. 3. 5 and 1 Pet. 3. 20–1;[140] *Sim*. 9. 12. 2–3 and 1 Pet. 1. 20;[141] *Vis*. 4. 3. 4 and 1 Pet. 1. 7.[142]

Overall, Massaux offers a balanced defence of the dependence hypothesis, and it would be absolutely wrong to put him in the same category as Taylor.[143] If the committee struggled with aligning its ratings and its comments, Massaux's conclusions are in a number of cases more nuanced than the title of his

132 *NTAF*, 120; cf. Massaux's 'Les deux textes sont fort similaires' (*Influence*, 318 (ii. 157)).

133 Massaux, *Influence*, 318 (ii. 157). He does not envisage the possibility of another 'association' of various passages (James and Matt. 24. 9–12). See on this, for Hermas, rather important motif, R. J. Bauckham, 'The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas', *JTS* 25 (1974), 27–40.

134 Massaux, *Influence*, 318–20 (ii. 157–9).

135 *NTAF*, 117.

136 Massaux, *Influence*, 323 (ii. 161).

137 Exceptions are *Sim*. 9. 29. 1. 3 and 1 Pet. 2. 1–2; Matt. 18. 3; 1 Cor. 14. 20 (#32).

138 While Hermas is not factually quoting Ps. 55(54). 23, the agreement on ἐπὶ κύριον against 1 Peter's ἐπὶ θεόν is considered as 'un indice suffisant' (ibid. 321 (ii. 159)) to decide in favour of the former option.

139 Perhaps the strongest case for literary dependence on 1 Peter, because the combination of πάσχω and δοξάζω offers 'un excellent parallèle'; yet Massaux finally settles for a mere 'permet peut-être' (ibid. 322 (ii. 160)).

140 Ibid. 322 (ii. 160): liturgical praxis as a serious alternative to literary dependence.

141 But see also Col. 1. 15, which itself, however, is not a primary parallel (ibid. 308 (ii. 148)).

142 Too common a metaphor (cf. OT and Rev. 3. 18).

143 As Brox (*Hirt*, 47) seems to do.

first category would suggest. Significant in this respect is the difference between the way in which he defines his position at the beginning ('almost all' ('presque tous') New Testament writings[144]) and that in his conclusion ('several' ('plusieurs'), in particular Matthew, John, James, and some letters of Paul[145]). For Massaux literary dependence is an arguable explanation in a number of cases, when based on verbal agreement and similarity in content, and taking into account the impact of Hermas's concerns and redaction. This latter aspect is somewhat further commented upon in the conclusion. According to Massaux, Hermas shows a kind of familiarity with the gospel of Matthew that would suggest that it was for him and his community 'l'évangile habituel, l'évangile courant auquel on se réfère'.[146] John and Paul are used more selectively.

Scepticism reigns again in the work of Helmut Köster.[147] Strongly influenced by the tradition inaugurated by Spitta and forcefully defended by Dibelius,[148] Köster follows a more thematic division, discussing in three sections the parallels with parable material, proverbial sayings, and, more generally, 'remarkable contacts with the Synoptics'.[149] One immediately feels the difference in approach, and in atmosphere. The basic principle is the same for all cases: the *Shepherd* is heavily indebted to its Jewish context and roots, and many concepts and motifs that are paralleled in the synoptic gospels are commonly known from Judaism. This is often (but not always!) illustrated with references to Rabbinic literature. If no such parallels from Judaism are quoted, it is argued that the *Shepherd* relies on sayings that were commonly known in tradition, or that the paralleled element is merely an integral part of the story, or a Christian interpolation.

The three passages in the first group (*Sim.* 5. 2. 1–8; 5. 5. 2; 9. 20. 2–3) all figured in Massaux's list of 'certain' parallels, but none has found acceptance in the eyes of Köster. His comment on *Sim.* 5. 2 basically consists of the (correct, but not necessarily explicative) observation that the synoptic parables are neater, shorter, and omit redundant characters, and a long quote from Dibelius arguing (without further illustrations) that all the phrases and motifs which have a parallel in the synoptics are commonly known also from

[144] Massaux, *Influence*, 284 (ii. 130).

[145] Ibid. 323 (ii. 160).

[146] Ibid. 324 (ii. 161: 'the usual gospel, the common gospel to which to refer').

[147] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

[148] Dibelius was already a discussion partner of Massaux. Köster did not know the work of the latter.

[149] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 246: 'Verbreitete Wendungen und Sprichworte', and 250: 'Auffallende Berührungen'.

Judaism.[150] The obviously Christian reference to the beloved son and heir in 5. 2. 6 is an interpolation in an original Jewish text, and does not echo the parable of the vineyard but is inherent in the parable itself and is in compliance with Hermas's interest in allegorization.[151] The same explanation prevails for the verbal agreement between *Sim.* 5. 5. 2 and Matt. 13. 38.[152] The warning to the wealthy in *Sim.* 9. 20. 2–3 is comparable to the one in Mark 10. 23–5 par. Luke (but not Matthew, because he reads 'the Kingdom of heaven'), and Köster even offers a plausible explanation of why Hermas would have replaced the image of the camel with the more appropriate one of 'walking barefoot in thistles'.[153] Yet he concludes that nothing argues for dependence on Mark or Luke, for the saying must have circulated freely in the tradition.[154]

In his second category Köster studies nine passages. It is a rather puzzling list.[155] Except for the motif of the 'Schutzengel' in *Sim.* 5. 6. 2, for which Köster refers to Ps. 90. 11, these passages were also discussed by Massaux, most of them in the section of 'possible' parallels, and for some of which Massaux reached a conclusion similar to that of Köster; but in a number of cases Massaux offers a different parallel (see above). Again, the evidence for literary dependence is utterly negative:

> Aus allen in diesem Teilabschnitt genannten Stellen lässt sich, auch wenn sie summiert und womöglich noch um gleichartige Anklänge vermehrt werden, keine Abhängigkeit von den synoptischen Evangelien beweisen. Auch wenn sich aus weiteren Stellen eine solche Abhängigkeit sicherstellen lassen sollte, muss es bei den meisten dieser Stellen noch fraglich bleiben, ob sie aus den synoptischen Evangelien stammen.[156]

The one argument that pleads against literary dependence on the synoptic gospels in all these instances is the fact that other parallels can be cited from Jewish and from Christian tradition. *Sim.* 9. 22. 3 is probably a better parallel to the saying on 'exalting and humbling' than Massaux's (*Sim.* 8. 7. 6), because of the explicit contrast, but Massaux agrees that there is little evidence

[150] Ibid. 243.

[151] Ibid. 244. The interest in the slave's reward resulting from his efforts and loyalty, on the other hand, is contrasted with Luke 17. 7–10.

[152] Ibid. 244: 'dieser Satz (musste sich) fast notwendig aus einer Deutung des jeweils vorher im Gleichnis genannten "Ackers" ergeben'.

[153] Ibid. 245: 'Herm. (hat) aus der Bergallegorie ein anderes Bild näher gelegen.'

[154] Ibid.: 'ob es sich dabei um Mk. 10,23.25 handelte, ist unsicher, abgesehen davon, dass diese Logien schon frei umgelaufen sein können'.

[155] *Sim.* 9. 22. 3 (Matt. 23. 12 par.); *Vis.* 4. 2. 6 (Matt. 26. 24 par.); *Sim.* 6. 3. 6a (Matt. 16. 27); *Man.* 12. 6. 3 (Matt. 10. 28 par. Luke; Jas. 4. 12); *Sim.* 6. 3. 6b (Matt. 7. 7; 21. 22); *Sim.* 5. 6. 2 (Matt. 18. 10); *Sim.* 5. 6. 4 (Matt. 28. 18; 11. 27); *Vis.* 3. 10. 9 (Mark 8. 17); *Sim.* 9. 12. 3 (Matt. 19. 24 parr.).

[156] Ibid. 250.

to support literary dependence.[157] There is also agreement with Massaux with regard to Matt. 10. 28, though here again Köster has a different parallel (*Sim.* 12. 6. 3 instead of *Man.* 7. 4) and gives little or no weight to the remarkable agreement with Jas. 4. 12 (cf. also *Sim.* 9. 23. 4).[158] Finally, they also agree on *Sim.* 5. 6. 4, for which Köster again cites other parallels from Christian tradition (John 17. 2; *Corpus Hermeticum*, 1. 32).[159] Köster is more sceptical with regard to *Vis.* 4. 2. 6;[160] *Sim.* 6. 3. 6a;[161] 6. 3. 6b;[162] and 9. 12. 3.[163] Mark 8. 17 is compared with *Vis.* 3. 10. 9 by Köster for the motif of being *ἀσύνετος*, and with *Man.* 4. 2. 1 by Massaux for that of the 'hardening of the heart'.[164]

Köster's third group includes only four texts, but among them are some of the strongest parallels, noticeably all of them with Mark![165] Again, Christian tradition seems to take precedence over Christian literature. For *Man.* 4. 1. 6 Köster acknowledges the neat verbal agreement,[166] but the divorce saying is of course also 'eine Gemeinderegel'. The phrase *τὸν λόγον ἀκούειν* in *Vis.* 3. 7. 3 echoes kerygmatic language,[167] as does the motif of being baptized in the name of the Lord. Massaux reached the same conclusion with regard to Acts 19. 5, but discussed the parallel in Mark in his list of 'possible parallels' and was more positive,[168] even though he refrained from assigning the parallel to one of the gospels in particular. For *Sim.* 9. 31. 2 (and the parallel passage in 9. 29. 2) Köster leaves open the possibility that Hermas may have been referring to the gospel passage.[169]

[157] Besides Matt. 23. 14 par. Luke, Köster also refers to Luke 1. 51–2 and to Rabbinic literature.

[158] Ibid. 247.

[159] Compare his qualification of the motif of the Son who receives his authority from the Father (ibid. 249: 'allgemein-christlich') and Massaux's 'exprime un thème courant' (Massaux, *Influence*, 278 (ii. 125)).

[160] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 246: 'eine populäre Wendung', that is also attested in *1 Clem.* 46. 8, but there likewise independent of the gospels.

[161] Ibid. 247. Attested in the OT and in *2 Clem.* 11. 6, but no connection with the gospels.

[162] Ibid. 248: 'ganz allgemein' in Christian literature (John 14. 13–14; 16. 23; 1 John 3. 22) and in Jewish tradition. Massaux compared with *Man.* 9. 4.

[163] Among the 'certain' cases in Massaux, but only 'allgemein gebräuchliche Wendung urchristlicher Sprache' for Köster (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, 250).

[164] Ibid. 250; Massaux, *Influence*, 286 (ii. 132).

[165] *Man.* 4. 1. 6 (Mark 10. 11); *Vis.* 3. 7. 3 and *Sim.* 8. 6. 4 (Mark 4. 18–20; Acts 19. 5); *Sim.* 9. 29. 3 and 9. 31. 2 (Mark 10. 13–16); and *Vis.* 3. 13. 1–3 (below, n. 198).

[166] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 251: 'fast mit den gleichen Worten wie Mk.' and 'enge wortlautmässige Berührung'.

[167] Ibid. 252, with reference to Dibelius, *Hirt*, 470.

[168] Massaux, *Influence*, 275 (ii. 123): 'expressions fort voisines'.

[169] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 253: 'In Sim. ix,31,2 scheint wenigstens einmal in der ganzen Schrift ausdrücklich auf ein Wort Jesu oder einen synoptischen Bericht Bezug genommen zu sein', and 253: 'Ist das der Fall gewesen, so kommt dafür wohl nur Mk. in Frage.' Massaux was more hesitant with regard to this latter point: 'fait défaut tout indice permettant de déterminer une référence littéraire à l'un ou l'autre des textes signalés' (*Influence*, 280

Jewish tradition and common Christian tradition, with the occasional help of an interpolator, can explain (almost) all of the evidence in *Shepherd*, as well as the origin of the parallels in the gospels. Even in the few 'remarkable' parallels, including *Sim.* 9. 31. 2 and 9. 29. 2, nothing points to direct literary dependence. 'Diese Stellen . . . mögen auf das Mk.-Evangelium zurückgehen, können aber lediglich auf Kenntnis mündlicher Überlieferung beruhen.'[170] It sounds almost redundant when Köster then adds that, even if Hermas knew the gospel of Mark, he did not really 'use' it.[171] One could say that, in a sense, Köster and Massaux ask different questions. For Massaux a sufficient amount of verbal agreement and similarity in ideas are workable criteria for demonstrating literary dependence, and the question he asks is which texts qualify on the basis of these criteria. Köster, on the other hand, precisely questions whether these criteria can prove the case, and concludes that they cannot. Yet, in another way, their approaches are also comparable. They both work with some sort of 'standard' explanation, Jewish or Christian tradition, or literary influence. The difference between them seems to be that Massaux allows for the other explanation to be a real alternative in a number of cases.

Köster's (and Dibelius's) shadow looms large over later research, and their conclusions with regard to the *Shepherd* have dominated much, if perhaps not all, of the subsequent discussion. Building on the conclusions that were reached by Massaux, F.-M. Braun argues for literary dependence on John in at least two instances (*Sim.* 9. 12. 3–6 and 9. 16).[172] This conclusion can probably be extended to include other cases as well.[173] Most recently Charles E. Hill has studied anew the evidence for John in a monograph in which he critically evaluates the 'orthodox Johannophobia theory', as he calls it, that has dominated Johannine studies since Walter Bauer, while duly recognizing the

(ii. 126)). Interestingly, Köster even reckons with the possible ('möglich, lässt sich aber nicht sicher feststellen') influence of John 3. 3 in 9. 29. 3.

170 Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 255.

171 Ibid. 256: 'von einer wirklichen Benutzung eines Evangeliums (kann) doch keine Rede sein'.

172 F.-M. Braun, *Jean le théologien et son Évangile dans l'église ancienne*, EB (Paris: Gabalda, 1959), 160–70. 'Il s'agissait de savoir si le fait d'une dépendance du *Pasteur* par rapport à saint Jean était bien réel. Sur les deux points de la Porte unique et du baptême, il ne paraît pas douteux' (p. 170; cf. also p. 164). P. Henne, *La Christologie chez Clément de Rome et dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, Paradosis 33 (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1992), 249 n. 114, refers to Braun, but it is not clear whether he subscribes to the latter's views. In line with Braun is R. Kieffer, 'Les premiers indices d'une réception de l'évangile de saint Jean', in F. Van Segbroeck *et al.* (eds.), *The Four Gospels 1992*: *Festschrift for F. Neirynck*, BETL 100/C (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1992), 2225–38, on p. 2231.

173 Braun, *Jean le théologien*, 170: 'Si, ne fût-ce que sur un point ou deux, la dépendance du Pasteur par rapport au quatrième Évangile se reconnaît sans trop de peine, il serait raisonnable de l'étendre aux autres passages d'inspiration johannique. Ici cependant gardons-nous d'être trop catégorique.' Other possible parallels are listed on pp. 163–4.

exceptional position of Braun.[174] The evidence from *Shepherd* 'may not be too impressive',[175] though just before, Hill had regarded the exclusivity of the claim that Jesus is the sole way to salvation and the 'many evocations of Johannine themes' in *Sim.* 9. 12–16 as making 'a strong case' for the author's knowledge of John,[176] at least in this latter part, which in his opinion might stem from a later, or the latest, stage (i.e., *c.*140) in the composition history of the work.

Another notable exception is Andreas Lindemann, who accepts that Hermas's version of the parable of the vineyard in *Sim.* 5. 2 is clearly composed on the basis of Mark 12. 1–9 and was transformed by Hermas into an ethical teaching on the benefits resulting from one's efforts.[177] Lindemann also seems to reckon with possible influence of Jas. 2. 14–26 in *Man.* 10. 1. 4, though he here speaks only of 'reminding'.[178] Influence of Paul's letters is less prominent, but is in a way expected and explainable, for as a 'Bussschrift ohne theologischen Anspruch', the *Shepherd* shows no interest in the subtleties of Paul's arguments.[179] Exceptionally, however, there is some indication that Hermas had in mind one of Paul's letters. This can best be argued for *Man.* 4 and 1 Cor. 7, which was possibly used to counter rigoristic tendencies in the community, though without explicitly relying on the authority of the apostle.[180] An unreflective use of elements from Paul's letters can be assumed for the unity formula, which is not yet rendered in one fixed form (see *Sim.* 9. 13. 9; 9. 17. 4; 9. 18. 4), and for Hermas's understanding of baptism (*Sim.* 9. 16. 2–4 and Rom. 6. 3–5; Eph. 2. 1–5).[181] The same conclusion goes for the observation in *Vis.* 3. 5. 1, which is irrelevant in its context, that some of the

[174] C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). See the survey of research on pp. 13–56 (on Braun, pp. 19–20) and the section on *Shepherd* on pp. 374–80 (also 128–38, on *Shepherd* and the Muratorian Fragment).

[175] Ibid. 378; cf. 380: 'may hold only limited weight'.

[176] Ibid. 376. The first of these observations, however, is said not to be enough to argue for 'literary allusion', but Hermas 'seems to know the Fourth Gospel at the level of ideas' (p. 377). The second observation sounds like an echo of Massaux's analysis of the impact of John 3. 5 on *Sim.* 9. 12–16, though he is not mentioned in this respect.

[177] A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979), 289 n. 198: 'Dieses Gleichnis, das eindeutig an Mk 12,1–9 anknüpft, . . .'.

[178] Ibid. 288: 'Diese Abwertung des "nur" Glaubens erinnert geradezu an Jak 2.'

[179] Ibid. 290. The situation is not the result of any anti-Pauline stance on the part of its author.

[180] Ibid. 284: 'Es fällt schwer, anzunehmen, der Vf habe hier nicht an 1 Kor 7 gedacht.' For E. Dassmann, on the contrary, not even this passage would illustrate literary dependence. 'Gewiss gibt es in diesem Text Übereinstimmungen mit 1 Kor 7,28.39 f.—auch in sprachlicher Hinsicht—, aber die ergeben sich notwendigerweise aus dem gleichen Gegenstand, dem Hermas jedoch bei grundsätzlicher Übereinstimmung nicht nur mit Paulus, sondern mit der gesamten frühchristlichen Praxis einen unpaulinischen Verdienstakzent gibt' (*Der Stachel im Fleisch: Paulus in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Irenäus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1979), 226–31, on p. 227).

[181] Because the Christological perspective is lacking, Lindemann concludes that Hermas did not consciously make use of Ephesians (*Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 286).

members of the hierarchy have died and others not, which sounds like a 'Nachklang' of 1 Cor. 15. 6.[182]

But the positions of Braun (and Hill) and Lindemann have become the exceptions in current research. In the commentaries the question of 'the New Testament in Hermas' is a marginal issue that is discussed briefly, and answered negatively, in the introduction. Already in his first edition of 1958 Robert Joly cuts short any expectation of the reader in this respect.[183] Yet he still spoke of 'citations', and concluded that Hermas had probably read Matthew, Mark, John, some of the letters of Paul, James, and maybe even Luke.[184] In the second edition, the 'citations' have been problematized: 'Nous serions beaucoup plus réservé aujourd'hui sur ce problème difficile qui ne nous avait pas assez retenu à l'époque.'[185] Graydon F. Snyder shows more openness to discussing the possibility of literary dependence, but the end result is equally negative. He repeats with Köster, 'though Hermas surely knew the [synoptic] Gospels, there is no evidence that he used them'.[186] Manfred Leutzsch reduces the discussion to its bare minimum, and is even sceptical about whether Hermas actually knew any such Christian writings.[187] The situation is not really different in the major commentaries. For Norbert Brox, Hermas must have known about the origin of certain traditions he used,[188] but his free handling of the material prevents any sure identification of this material.[189] But if so, can one then just go on arguing that 'sämtliche

[182] Ibid. 286. Some verbal agreement notwithstanding, no influence is accepted at *Man.* 3. 4 and 10. 3. 2, because in both cases the paralleled theme is developed in quite the opposite way, and in *Man.* 10 Hermas has probably integrated a source of non-Christian origin (ibid. 287, with reference to Dibelius, *Hirt*, 535).

[183] R. Joly, *Hermas le Pasteur*, SC 53 (Paris: Cerf, 1958; 2nd edn. 1968), 46: 'Éliminons bien vite la question des textes canoniques. Il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler de sources et l'examen des réminiscences des Deux Testaments ne permet aucune conclusion certaine.'

[184] Ibid. 'Ici plus que jamais, le silence ne prouve rien.'

[185] Ibid. (2nd edn. 1968), 414.

[186] G. F. Snyder, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Apostolic Fathers, 6 (Camden, NJ: T. Nelson, 1969), 15. The same goes for James and for Paul, though the 'one-body' motif may be 'not as alien to Paul as has been claimed' (p. 14). The closest one gets to something like dependence concern the motifs of 'entering the Kingdom' (John 3. 5) and that of Christ as 'the door' (John 10. 9), but any firm conclusion is hampered by the fact that Hermas shows no interest at all in John's emphasis on defining Christian life in relation to Christ (p. 14). The agreements with Revelation are basically 'only in form' (p. 16), and the suggestion (of Goodspeed and others) that *Shepherd* might have been composed with Heb. 6. 4–6 in mind is discarded because 'based on a misreading of the history of repentance' (p. 15 n. 8).

[187] 'Das gilt auch für Jak, dessen gelegentliche Nähe zu Hermas sich aus einer gemeinsam benutzten paränetischen Tradition erklärt' (Leutzsch, *Hirt*, 134).

[188] 'Der Eindruck aus der Lektüre des PH, dass die Motive und verschiedenartigen Themen anonym auf H gekommen sind, kann kaum richtig sein' (Brox, *Hirt*, 48).

[189] Brox speaks of Hermas's 'irritierend freien Umgang mit seinen Quellen, die er hinter seiner eigenen Verarbeitung und Veränderung verschwinden lässt' (ibid. 47).

Anklänge an urchristliche Schriften erklären sich aus gemeinsamen Gedankengut bzw. aus tradiertem Formelgut'?[190] The two explanations (dependence on oral and on written tradition) are not mutually exclusive, but one cannot resolutely opt for the second only because Hermas has made it difficult to demonstrate the first. Carolyn Osiek summarizes the question with regard to the gospels in one sentence: 'Any similarity between parables in Hermas and those in the Gospels is better explained on the basis of a common oral tradition.'[191] Common tradition also accounts for the paralleled material with James (and Paul): it is 'insufficient to prove literary dependence. Both writings [the *Shepherd* and James] reflect the common world of Hellenistic Jewish moral instruction.'[192] The same picture can be found in many a monograph on *Shepherd*. Thus, L. Pernveden clearly follows in the steps of Köster when confining the whole issue to the observation that 'It would be incorrect to deny that Hermas was acquainted with Apostolic tradition.... But it seems just as incorrect for us to assume that the Apostolic tradition in its fixed written form made up the basis of Hermas' concept of faith.... It points to a closer affinity with Jewish sapiential tradition and Jewish apocalyptic ... than we can observe in general in the New Testament texts.'[193] In recent studies on the reception history of the New Testament in the early church, 'the New Testament in Hermas' has virtually, and often indeed effectively, disappeared from the discussion, Hill's recent book being an exception (see above). Wolf-Dietrich Köhler basically reduces Massaux's extensive analysis to a mere list, and his introduction says it all: 'Der "Hirt des Hermas" gibt für die Antwort auf die Frage nach der Rezeption des Mt in der frühchristlichen Literatur

[190] Ibid. 49.

[191] Osiek, *Shepherd*, 26.

[192] Ibid.

[193] L. Pernveden, *The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas* (Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 277–91, quoted from pp. 279–80. In criticizing S. Giet, *Hermas et les Pasteurs* (Paris: PUF, 1963), 157–8, for accepting literary dependence on John at *Sim.* 9. 12. 5–6 (Giet here follows Massaux, but he also cites John 20. 31), Pernveden relies on the rather strange argument that the similarity between the *Shepherd* and John is more fundamental (both use the same 'scheme' of 'hear—believe—have life' (see John 5. 24), which they have borrowed from tradition) than that of an occasional influence of one particular passage (p. 282). Besides Pernveden see also, *inter al.*, L. W. Nijendijk, 'Die Christologie des Hirten des Hermas exegetisch, religions- und dogmengeschichtlich untersucht' (diss. Utrecht, 1986), 189 (cf. 112): *Sim.* 9. 12–16 is tributary to Jewish exegetical tradition. Schneider, *Die Kirche als Geschöpf*, 15–17 and 38–42, surveys several positions and warns of an exclusive interest in the Jewish background (p. 40 n. 22), but remains sceptical about the possibility of recovering the use of a written source. Others do not even address the question at all: see, e.g., J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy: A Study of the Eleventh Mandate*, NovTSup 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 58–9 and 72, citing Matt. 7. 15–16, but without linking it to *Man.* 11. 16. The same is true for another analysis of this chapter: M. Wünsche, *Der Ausgang der urchristlichen Prophetie in der frühkatholischen Kirche*, Calwer Theologische Monographien, B/14 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1997), 103–30 (*Man.* 11).

kaum etwas her.'[194] He distinguishes three groups ('möglich', 'allenfalls theoretisch möglich jedoch nicht naheliegend', 'unwahrscheinlich'), and qualifies the first one by comparing it to the committee's already weak c rating: 'Das ist immerhin noch etwas mehr, als ich zugestehen will.'[195] Arthur J. Bellinzoni echoes Köster's position when stating, 'To be sure, some passages are close enough (Mand. 4.1.6; Sim. 9.20.2–3. 29.3; 31.2) that literary dependence on the synoptic gospels is not impossible, but neither can it be established. Passages that are similar to Mark (Sim. 9.31.2; Mand. 4.1.6; Vis. 3.7.3) may well go back to oral tradition.'[196] But what is needed to 'establish' literary dependence? *Shepherd* is not mentioned in Titus Nagel's work on John, and is also missing from Andrew Gregory's on the reception of Luke–Acts.[197]

Should it all end like this? I hope it does not, if only because nothing can be gained from no longer studying the evidence.

EVIDENCE REVISITED

The two most compelling indications that the author of the *Shepherd* may have relied on one or another of the New Testament writings for some of the paralleled material are simply lacking. Hermas does not formally quote from any of these, and he does not otherwise refer to such writings. Taylor's fanciful interpretation of the 'good news' as referring to the gospel and of 'the four legs' of the woman's couch in *Vis.* 3. 13. 1–3 as symbolizing the four canonical gospels has been rejected unanimously and often ridiculed.[198] The *Shepherd* contains only one explicit quotation. In *Vis.* 2. 3. 4 Hermas is probably quoting from the 'Book of Eldad and Modad', but the precise extent of the quotation and its wording cannot be established with any certainty.[199] The committee compared some of the paralleled material to a quotation.[200] More recently,

194 Köhler, *Rezeption*, 125.

195 Ibid. 127. He further hazards the guess that Hermas avoided using Matthew because he differed from it on the question of the sinners in the community (on p. 128).

196 A. J. Bellinzoni, 'The Gospel of Matthew in the Second Century', *Second Century* 9 (1992), 197–258, on p. 212.

197 References above, n. 9.

198 Taylor, *Witness*, 8–18. Cf. the comments of Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 253–4; Brox, *Hirt*, 46 n. 6 and 159 n. 81.

199 Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers*, gives the quotation as 'See affliction is coming. If it seems right to you, make another denial', but notes (p. 191 n. 1) that it may also have included what follows ('The Lord is near, etc.'). However, it is equally possible that the quotation is limited to this latter part only. See A.-M. Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, ii (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 477–89, esp. 481–2 and n. 12.

200 See above, n. 52.

A. Carlini has argued that the wording in *Vis.* 1. 1. 9 and 2. 3. 1–2 verbally echoes part of 2 Cor. 7. 10,[201] but even so, Hermas does not technically identify or qualify the text as a quotation.

Of course, formal quotations are not the only way to make use of written sources, even though the evidence that can be cited in this respect must necessarily always remain 'circumstantial' to some degree. A great deal of such material has been collected and studied, as the above survey has shown. In the following I will briefly illustrate with one example that it may nevertheless perhaps still be worthwhile to look once more at some of this evidence. The case I have chosen is *Man.* 4, a passage that readily invites a comparison and further study because of the strong verbal agreement and the similarity in content with particular New Testament texts, and also because the parallel is not just with general paraenetic material but seems to be more 'factual' and specific.

The structure of this chapter is somewhat odd, but that is not really exceptional in the *Shepherd.* [202] It begins with a section on chaste behaviour and forms of adultery (4. 1), continues with a longer one on conversion (4. 2–3), and ends with a short one on the possibility of marrying in widowhood (4. 4). In 4. 1. 1–3 the Shepherd warns against desiring another's wife. The same motif had been developed already in *Vis.* 1. 1. 4–8, where Rhoda accuses Hermas of having sinned against her in this way, and was mentioned again briefly in *Vis.* 1. 2. 4. Osiek is a bit hesitant about connecting *Man.* 4 with *Vis.* 1,[203] because the episode with Rhoda is not explicitly recalled again in *Man.* 4 and Hermas' experience is not used as an example for the reader (as in *Vis.* 3. 6. 7 with regard to his wealth), but the wording is very similar in both passages, as Brox rightly observes.[204] In 4. 1. 4 Hermas interrogates the Shepherd about the related but not altogether identical topic of committing adultery in marriage. The Shepherd's teaching is rather straightforward. If one (the ruling applies to both husband and wife, as Hermas notes in 4. 1. 8, 10) discovers that one's partner has committed adultery and the partner does not repent, divorce is necessary, lest one becomes guilty of the other's sin. However, one is not allowed to remarry—for that would entail being guilty of adultery oneself—in order to give the partner a chance to repent and to be reconciled. In 4. 1. 9 Hermas discusses other forms of adultery that are not further identified ('behaving like the outsiders'). He now considers the case of a partner who does not want to repent, and rules that one should avoid any

[201] A. Carlini, 'Erma (vis. II 3,1) testimone testuale di Paolo?', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 37 (1987), 235–9. See the comments by Osiek, *Shepherd*, 56 n. 16, and Brox, *Hirt*, 102: not a quotation from Paul's letter, and 'so bleibt die kleine Sensation aus'.

[202] Cf. Dibelius, *Hirt*, 504–5; Giet, *Hermas*, 22–5; Osiek, *Shepherd*, 109–10.

[203] Osiek, *Shepherd*, 110: 'Possibly, but not surely'.

[204] Brox, *Hirt*, 204.

contact and not live with such a person. In 4. 4 Hermas turns back from the Shepherd's more general teaching on conversion (4. 2–3) to discuss the case of marriage in widowhood. Again, the ruling is clear: one is allowed to remarry after the death of the partner and does not sin, but it is 'a superior honour' to remain unmarried.

Man. 4. 1 and 4. 4 contain some remarkable parallels with the teaching on marriage and adultery of Matthew and of Paul in 1 Corinthians.[205] The commandment 'not to allow any thought to rise up in your heart about someone else's wife' (4. 1. 1, with the comments at 4. 1. 2–3) reminds one of Matt. 5. 28. The verbal agreements between *Man.* 4. 1. 1–3 and Matt. 5. 28 may be rather limited (the 'obvious' *γυνή*, the phrase 'in the heart', which is connected with *μοιχεύω* in Matthew and with *ἀναβαίνω* in *Shepherd*, and a synonym for '(to) desire'[206]), but they may be more significant than the committee and Massaux were ready to admit.[207] There is some disagreement on the impact of Matthew's redaction in 5. 28. Many have argued that it is probably limited to *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ*.[208] R. H. Gundry takes the more exceptional position that 'the evidence for composition by Matthew is overwhelming'.[209] The saying has clearly been formulated in light of Exod. 20. 17 and Deut. 5. 21, which also read *ἐπιθυμέω*, but not *ἐν τῇ καρδία αὐτοῦ*. The motif of lustful desire is known from Jewish tradition, but the Old Testament passages that are usually cited as parallels do not have *ἐπιθυμέω* or *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ*.[210] The agreement with Matthew on this 'detail' may then perhaps be all the more important.

The committee compared the ruling on divorce after adultery with Matt. 19. 9 par. Mark and noted that it 'resembles the Gospels both in thought and language' and that 'we may reasonably infer some kind of literary dependence', which would be with Mark rather than with Matthew, for Hermas

[205] Cf. Hilhorst, *Sémitismes*, 121 (specifically with regard to the use of parataxis, and without explicitly arguing for literary dependence): 'les problèmes du divorce et du remariage s'expriment chez Hermas d'une manière analogue à ce que nous trouvons ailleurs'.

[206] Matthew has *ἐπιθυμέω*, Hermas *ἐνθύμησις*, but see *ἐπιθυμία* at in *Vis.* 1. 1. 4.

[207] Massaux, *Influence*, 262. Massaux nevertheless concluded in favour of dependence, because the motif is found only in Matthew in Christian literature before the *Shepherd*: 'le premier évangile pourrait dès lors être à son origine'. The committee was even more reserved: 'similar in sentiment, though not in words, to Matthew' (*NTAF*, 121).

[208] References in U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Mt 1–7), i, EKK, 1/1 5th rev. edn. (Düsseldorf and Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002), 347 n. 2, who himself is hesitant: 'Stammt vielleicht *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ* von Mt?'

[209] R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 87.

[210] See Job 31. 1; Ps. Sol. 4. 4–5; Sir. 9. 8; 26. 9–11 (23. 4–6 has *ἐπιθυμία*, but it is not said of desiring a woman); 4 Macc. 2. 5; see also *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Issachar 7. 2–3, with *πᾶν ἐπιθύμημα* in v. 3).

'omits the qualification in Matthew [i.e., μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ]'.[211] Massaux offered a similar comment: 'une influence littéraire de la part de *Mt.* sur la rédaction d'Hermas est à exclure; en effet, ce qui distingue *Mt.* des autres parallèles, c'est une restriction qu'il apporte aux affirmations de *Mc.* et de *Lc.*, et cette restriction est précisement absente du texte d'Hermas: pas de trace dans le Pasteur de παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας (*Mt.*, v,32) ou de μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ (*Mt.*, xix,9). Restent les textes de *Mc.* et de *Lc.*'[212] Köster did not discuss the exception clause and noted the strong agreement with Mark: 'fast mit den gleichen Worten wie Mk'.[213] Yet direct dependence on the gospel was excluded, because Mark did of course not create the ruling, it is not introduced as a saying of Jesus, and Hermas does not systematically comment on the divorce pericope in Mark 10.[214] It is most surprising that all three commentators seem to have missed the crucial point that Hermas introduces the question in 4. 1. 4 as a case of a man discovering that his wife is committing adultery, which is here called μοιχεία, and repeats this right after in 4. 1. 5, when the case is further developed into one of continuing adultery, now called πορνεία. Hermas deals with the problem of divorce and remarriage in the specific situation that one of the partners has committed adultery, which is precisely the specification that is found in Matthew's version of the divorce saying in both 19. 9 and 5. 32, but not in the other gospels! It is widely agreed that Matthew's exception clause represents an important but secondary development of the divorce saying.[215]

Hermas agrees with Matthew (and with Paul in 1 Cor. 7. 10–11) that as a rule divorce is not permitted. He further agrees with both Matthew and Paul in that he also envisages a situation in which divorce can occur, and like Matthew he specifies this as divorce after adultery. The prohibition to remarry after divorce (4. 1. 6) follows Paul's advice (or ruling: note the third person imperatives),[216] and has long been the dominant line of interpretation of Matthew's divorce saying in the ancient church.[217] Finally, like Paul in 1 Cor.

[211] *NTAF*, 121.

[212] Massaux, *Influence*, 284–5 (ii. 130–1). He finally opts for Mark because of the combination γαμήσῃ . . . μοιχᾶται.

[213] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 251 (cf. above, n. 166).

[214] Ibid., with quotation from Dibelius, *Hirt*, 506.

[215] See the comments by Luz, *Matthäus*: 'Matthäus zeigt durch seine Klausel auf jeden Fall deutlich, dass er Jesu Scheidungsverbot als in seiner Gemeinde gültige Ordnung versteht und eben darum eine Ausnahme formulieren kann' (p. 361) and 'In der Gemeinde des Matthäus wurde Jesu Grundsatz so praktiziert, dass Scheidung nur im Falle von πορνεία zulässig war' (p. 362).

[216] Cf. J. Dupont, *Mariage et divorce dans l'Évangile: Matthieu 19,3–12 et parallèles* (Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1959), 153: 'semble faire écho à I Cor. vii,11: μενέτω ἄγαμος'.

[217] See the discussion and references in Luz, *Matthäus*, 365–8, and *idem*, *Matthäus*, iii (1997), 98–9. Cf. Osiek, *Shepherd*, 111 (with references to older literature in n. 9).

7. 10–11, Hermas describes the case from the perspective of the wife committing adultery, but he also explicitly indicates that the ruling goes for both parties (4. 1. 8), and he likewise envisages the possibility of reconciliation.

In three ways, however, Hermas goes beyond the teaching as found in Matthew and/or Paul. All three have to do with his specific interest in offering an opportunity for repentance. First, he argues that such an opportunity should be given after the partner finds out about the adultery but before the divorce (4. 1. 5). Second, he adds an explanation of why one should not remarry after divorce (4. 1. 7–8), but the reason he gives accords with the perspective of reconciliation that is emphasized by Paul.[218] And third, and perhaps most important of all, he has the Shepherd rule that only one opportunity for repentance is allowed (4. 1. 8). This most probably implies that the prohibition on remarrying becomes obsolete if the same partner commits adultery for a second time.[219] It is important to note that Hermas does not radically oppose the views of Matthew and Paul. His position can perhaps best be regarded as a further specification, probably stemming from pastoral concerns, of a rule that in its absolute form (no divorce) was already, before Hermas, felt to be difficult to meet and had begun to be modified, in more or less similar ways, by Matthew and by Paul.[220]

In 4. 4. 1–2 Hermas asks the Shepherd about remarriage after the death of one of the partners. The topic had also been dealt with by Paul in the same context of chapter 7 of 1 Corinthians. Hermas is in full agreement with Paul's teaching. But perhaps more important still than the agreement on the praxis is the agreement in the way the argument is formulated. Remarrying is allowed, but refraining from it is 'better' (*κρεῖσσον* in 1 Cor. 7. 38, *μακαριωτέρα* in v. 40, and *περισσοτέραν τιμήν* in 4. 4. 2).[221] Moreover, Paul and Hermas agree in qualifying the rule in terms of 'sinning'. This is found only once in Paul (1 Cor. 7. 28, here with regard to marriage itself) and not in Matthew in the context of the divorce sayings, but it is used by Hermas both

[218] One can therefore not conclude that Hermas's position goes against Paul's; so, N. Baumert, *Antifeminismus bei Paulus? Einzelstudien*, FzB 68 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1992), 237: 'bürstet unseren Text [1 Cor. 7. 10–11] gegen den Strich'.

[219] In 4. 1. 9 Hermas seems to restrict the possibility of reconciliation in yet another way. Here he probably speaks of adultery in a metaphorical sense, though it is not clear what exactly he is referring to (participation in pagan rituals, or an illicit sexual relationship). The perspective is one of 'persistent adultery' with apparently no hope of conversion, which will inevitably end in separation or even excommunication (see Osiek, *Shepherd*, 112).

[220] Luz, *Matthäus*, i. 368: 'Sowohl Matthäus mit seiner Einfügung der Unzuchtsklausel als auch besonders Paulus mit seinen situationsbezogenen Weisungen von 1Kor 7,10–16 zeigen, wie flexibel im Neuen Testament auch vom Herrn selbst gesetztes Recht an die Situation angepasst werden konnte.'

[221] Brox acknowledges the similarity with Paul ('(trifft) sich in der Lösung der Frage mit Paulus'), but of course, 'ohne aber literarische Beziehung zu 1Kor 7,39f. aufzuweisen' (*Hirt*, 214).

here and in *Man.* 4. 1. At the end of his comment on Matt. 5. 32 Luz rightly observes: 'Auffällig bleibt, dass der Evangelist hier die Praxis seiner Gemeinde nicht, wie etwa bei der Exkommunikationsordnung 18,15–17, unter den Grundgedanken der Vergebung Gottes stellt. Insofern ist unser Text nicht spezifisch matthäisch.'[222] Did Hermas have the same feeling, and did he adapt the ruling accordingly? And did Matthew perhaps play a role in this after all? If 4. 1. 9 alludes to a situation of continuing refusal to repent, the outcome to separate from the adulterer could be likened to the procedure that is described in Matt. 18. 15–17. An opportunity for repentance is offered to the one who has 'sinned' (18. 15!), but there is a limit to it.

In addition to elements of verbal agreement and agreement in content with both Paul and Matthew, there is also a striking agreement with Matthew in structure. Most remarkably, Hermas moves directly from the question of lustful desire to that of divorce and remarriage after adultery, which is precisely the sequence in Matt. 5. (27–)28, (31–)32. There is of course a certain logic to this arrangement, but one does not really need the first aspect to deal with the second one, as Paul demonstrated. In 4. 1. 6 the prohibition on remarrying is formulated in a way that is slightly closer (but not identical) to Matt. 19. 9, but that is hardly an objection, for the same prohibition also occurs at 5. 32 (here with regard to remarrying a divorced wife[223]), and the two divorce sayings are otherwise closely parallel in Matthew. The 'thesis' in 5. 31 is modelled after 19. 7, and the two central verbs in the prohibition are formulated identically in both versions and in *Man.* 4. 1. 6. In Matthew *μοιχεύω*, *μοιχάω* is the keyword that links vv. 27–8 to 31–2. Hermas also clearly had the intention of connecting the two motifs right from the beginning. In 4. 1. 1 he speaks not only of *περὶ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας* (the issue dealt with in 4. 1. 1–3), but also of *περὶ πορνείας τινος ἢ περὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ὁμοιωμάτων πονηρῶν* (cf. 4. 1. 4–8. 9).[224]

Man. 4 contains material that bears traces of Matthean and Pauline authorship. It means at least that there circulated in the community of Hermas elements from traditions that went back to Matthew and to Paul. Could Hermas have been aware of this? The fact that he does not 'systematically' comment upon Paul's teaching and that he goes beyond Paul's and Matthew's teaching in 4. 1. 4–8, but without radically opposing it, is not in itself an

[222] Luz, *Matthäus*, i. 365.

[223] But that is not a problem for Luz, *Matthäus*, iii. 98–9: Matt. 5. 32 and 19. 9 'ergänzen sich'.

[224] There are several other indications of redactional activity at the beginning and the end of the chapter. In 4. 1. 1–3, and again in 4. 1. 11 ('the one who provides healing'), Hermas almost certainly looks back at *Vis.* 1. 1. 8. The words *ἁγνεία* and *σεμνότης* of 4. 1. 1. 3 return in 4. 4. 3–4, and the closing sentence 'if they guard these my commandments and proceed in this purity' (*φυλὰξωσι καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ἁγνότητι ταύτῃ*) echoes the commandment in the opening clause to 'guard your holiness' (*φυλάσσειν τὴν ἁγνείαν*).

objection to such a possibility. The first is an argument from silence. As for the second, much depends, it would seem, on the role one is prepared to assign to Hermas himself in the composition of *Man.* 4. If he is made (co-)responsible for creating the ruling in *Man.* 4. 1. 4–8 and introducing it in the community, and there is a good chance that he was, for what would be the reason to present as 'revelation' what was common knowledge and practice, he must have realized that he was adapting received teaching, and he must have known or inquired about its origins. Because of their specificity and 'developed' character, when compared to the 'pure' form of the divorce saying in Mark, these traditions were already perhaps not just identified as 'Jesus sayings' or 'Jesus tradition', but as 'Pauline' or 'Matthean'. If so, they could in principle be traced back to their origin in the gospel or the letter to the Corinthians.[225]

Does Hermas indicate in some way in *Man.* 4 that he was aware of the origins of the paralleled material? Again it would seem that much depends on how one sees his role in the composition of *Man.* 4. I can imagine that some at least may be convinced that the combined argument of agreements with Matthew/Paul in redactional vocabulary, in the basic principles regarding divorce and remarriage, and also in structure (from 'lustful desire' to 'adultery in marriage'), forms a strong indication that Hermas was aware of it. The chapter also contains a few elements that are not really crucial in explaining the ruling on divorce and remarriage, and that again remind one of similar phrases in Matthew and in Paul. In 4. 1. 11 Hermas concludes the section on remarriage after divorce with the warning, 'I am not giving an occasion for things to turn out this way'. He is clearly concerned that some might abuse the opportunity for repentance that he is offering. He expresses the same concern again in 4. 3. 6. Does one hear the Paul of Rom. 6. 1 when formulating a similar warning to those who might think that one can continue to live in sin after having received baptism? In the same context of 4. 3. 6 (also in 4. 3. 4) Hermas speaks of Christians being 'called' (*κλῆσις*). Paul uses the same image in 1 Cor. 7. 17–24, and in both Paul and the *Shepherd* it may be an allusion to baptism.[226] In 4. 1. 3 the Shepherd concludes his teaching on lustful desire with a final warning: 'where reverence dwells, lawlessness should not rise up in the heart of an upright man' (*ἀνὴρ δίκαιος*). The reference to 'the upright

[225] This can perhaps be argued more plausibly for Paul than for Matthew. *1 Clement* contains strong indications that Paul's letter to the Corinthians was known in Rome. Cf. in this respect the comment of Osiek, and how she struggles with the issue of Hermas's acquaintance with Christian writings: 'The teaching on remarriage in widowhood follows closely that of Paul in 1 Cor. 7:39–40. The language is so different that no literary dependence can be claimed, but *1 Clement* shows that 1 Corinthians was known very early in Rome, so that the Pauline text may well be the direct or indirect inspiration' (*Shepherd*, 116).

[226] Thus, Brox, *Hirt*, 213; Osiek, *Shepherd*, 115.

man' is one of several that links this section to *Vis.* 1. 1. 8, where one reads the same warning. It is in a sense a completely unnecessary element in its immediate context. The phrase occurs a couple of other times in the *Shepherd* with different applications. The same phrase is used in Matt. 1. 18 to qualify 'the just man' Joseph deliberating about divorcing his wife in order not to expose her as an adulterer. Could such 'minor' elements make the difference in arguing the case?

Finally, does all this make it a plausible conclusion (for plausibility rather than certainty is all to which we can aspire) that Hermas effectively made use of the gospel of Matthew and of one of Paul's letters to the Corinthians? I can live with this idea, and with the idea that others will probably remain unconvinced. *Man.* 4 may be somewhat special, because it contains concrete teaching that can be linked more directly to specific texts than would perhaps be possible with some of the paraenetic teaching of a more general kind, but the chapter certainly offers a solid basis for revisiting material that is paralleled in Matthew and in 1 Corinthians, and perhaps also in other writings.

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TRAJECTORIES THROUGH THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers

Edited by

ANDREW F. GREGORY
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Preface

The essays and studies included in these two volumes are intended to update, to develop, and to widen the scope of the issues considered by members of 'A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology' in their landmark and still valuable reference book, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*. That volume was published by the Clarendon Press in 1905, and it is to acknowledge the importance of that famous book that these companion volumes are published in its centenary year. The 1905 volume was very much a product of Oxford, albeit by a number of scholars who may have been on the fringes of university life (as John Muddiman explains, in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 107); Kirsopp Lake is listed among the contributors as Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Leiden, but he was curate of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin in Oxford until his appointment to that chair in 1904.

Oxford connections remain important in these centenary volumes. Both editors are members of the Oxford Theology Faculty, and these papers represent the first-fruits of an ongoing research project on the New Testament and the second century that is supported by the Theology Faculty. Yet there is also a strong international dimension to the research presented in these volumes, for the contributors are drawn from Belgium, Germany, Canada, the USA, and South Africa, as well as from Oxford and elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Many of the papers were presented and discussed at a conference held at Lincoln College, Oxford, in April 2004; others were written solely for publication. But this collection is by no means just another Conference Proceedings; all the contributions printed here have been through the process of peer review that is customary in academic publishing.

The chapters that appear in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* offer a comprehensive and rigorous discussion of the extent to which the writings later included in the New Testament were known, and cited (or alluded to), by the Apostolic Fathers, and they do so in the light of contemporary research on the textual traditions of both corpora. The chapters in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* are also sensitive to these issues, but offer a representative sample of a range of issues that arise in the comparative study of these texts. They cannot be comprehensive, because they address wider questions than those addressed in the companion volume, but they advance contemporary discussion and understanding of each of the Apostolic Fathers and much of the New Testament in the wider context of Christian origins and development in the first and second centuries.

Both editors are glad to thank various people for their help in producing these volumes. We are grateful to Hilary O'Shea, who brought the proposal before the Delegates of Oxford University Press, and to Lucy Qureshi, who saw the volumes through from their acceptance by the Press until their publication. Dorothy McCarthy, Enid Barker, Amanda Greenley, Samantha Griffiths, and Jean van Altena each helped us to keep to a tight production schedule and gave valuable advice on many points of detail. Particular thanks are due to the anonymous reader who read a large typescript with great speed and equal care, and offered a number of helpful and incisive suggestions.

OUP provided financial support for our conference, as did the British Academy, the Zilkha Fund of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the Theology Faculty of Oxford University. We are glad to acknowledge the assistance of each. Adam Francisco provided indispensable help in running the conference website, which allowed delegates to read papers in advance, and was of great assistance throughout the planning and administration of the conference, as were Mel Parrott and her colleagues at Lincoln College.

Most importantly, both editors were overwhelmed by the support and interest shown by such a range of international experts in the study of the New Testament and early Christianity, and we are grateful to all who have allowed us to include their work in this publication. We hope that that these volumes will become a standard reference work for many years to come, and that they will provide a useful resource for future researchers in New Testament and Patristics.

AFG
CMT

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed D. N. Freedman, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972–)
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BR	*Biblical Research*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BVC	Bible et vie chrétienne
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CIG	A. Boeck, *Corpus Inscriptorum Graecarum* (Berlin: George Reimer, 1828–77)
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)
Comm	*Communio*
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CTQ	*Concordia Theological Quarterly*
DR	*Downside Review*
ÉBib	Études Bibliques
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

EQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ET	English Translation
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpT	Expository Times
FC	Fontes Christiani
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HTS	*Hervormde Teologiese Studies*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IGRom	R. Cagnat and G. Lafaye (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas Pertinentes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906)
IGUR	L. Moretti (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae* (Rome: G. Bardi, 1968–)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
JTC	*Journal of Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament

LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LJ	*Liturgisches Jahrbuch*
LTP	*Laval théologique et philosophique*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTAF	*The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford, 1905)
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OpMinSel	*Opuscula Minora Selecta*
ÖTKNT	Ökummesicher Taschenbuch Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
PRE	*Pauly's Real-Encylcopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft*
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RAC	*Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*
RArc	*Revue archéologique*
RDC	*Revue de droit canonique*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
SBFLA	*Studii Biblici Franciscani liber annus*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SC	*Second Century*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–)
SE	*Studia evangelica*
SHAW	Sitzungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SL	*Studia Liturgica*
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series

SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and its World
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STL	Studia theologica Lundensia
StPatr	*Studia Patristica*
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
*Syll.*³	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. (1915–24)
SVTP	Studia in veteris testamenti pseudepigrapha
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1964–76)
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TS	Texts and Studies
TS	*Theological Studies*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VC	*Vigilae Christianae*
VCSup	Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und die Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

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Introduction and Overview

Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett

The first modern editor to refer to a collection of early Christian writings as the Apostolic Fathers appears to have been J. Cotelier, whose edition was published in 1672. The most recent is Bart D. Ehrman, a contributor to this collection, whose Greek–English edition in the Loeb Classical Library replaces the original and much-used Loeb volumes produced by Kirsopp Lake. Lists of those who are included in the conventional but largely arbitrary collection known as the 'Apostolic Fathers' do vary slightly (Ehrman takes a more inclusive approach than both Lake and the Oxford Committee),[1] but included in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* and in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* are treatments of the central texts in this category, as found also in the 1905 volumes, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*: the *Didache*, *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, the letters of Ignatius, Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, the *Letter of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Also included in the second of these 2005 volumes is the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, which the Oxford Committee did not consider.

The 1905 volume treated a relatively narrow set of issues: namely, the extent to which the documents of the New Testament were known, and cited (or alluded to), by the Apostolic Fathers. Such issues remain important, so they are the central concern of *The Reception of the New Testament and the*

[1] Lake included the *Letter to Diognetus*, in addition to those named above and discussed in the present volumes; Ehrman includes all these texts, as well as the fragments of Papias and Quadratus. This collection, he notes, is comparable to other similarly arbitrary collections of second- and third-century Christian writings: e.g., the apologists, the heresiologists, and the Nag Hammadi Library. Understood as a collection of writings based only on convention, the Apostolic Fathers, he continues, 'is not an authoritative collection of books, but a convenient one, which, in conjunction with these other collections, can enlighten us concerning the character of early Christianity, its external appeal and inner dynamics, its rich and significant diversity, and its developing understandings of its own self-identity, social distinctiveness, theology, ethical norms, and liturgical practices'. See, further, B. D. Ehrman, 'General Introduction', in *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, LCL 24 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1–14, quotation on pp. 13–14.

Apostolic Fathers. Each Apostolic Father is treated in turn, as in the 1905 volume, but these studies are now prefaced by a careful discussion of methodological issues that must be addressed in seeking to determine what might constitute a reference in the Apostolic Fathers to one of the writings that later became the New Testament, and also a number of investigations of the text and transmission of both the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. Thus contemporary scholars continue to ask questions that have remained important and relevant since the publication of the 1905 volume, but they do so in light of manuscript evidence that was not available a century ago (newly discovered papyri of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers, as well as of other early Christian writings), and on the basis of a century's continuing work on these texts. Questions of canon and authority are rarely far from the surface, but difficulties in assessing the relative likelihood that individual Apostolic Fathers were drawing on proverbial expressions and free traditions or on contemporary versions or copies of texts that would emerge in the surviving manuscripts of the late second or early third century papyri such as $P^{4-64-67}$, P^{75}, and P^{45} make these questions difficult to answer. Some of these studies reach conclusions not dissimilar to those of the Oxford Committee (see, for example, Gregory on *1 Clement*), whereas others find more (for example, Verheyden on *Hermas*) or less (for example, Foster on Ignatius) evidence for the use of the New Testament in the Apostolic Father whom they discuss than did the authors of the corresponding discussion in 1905. Questions of method are of great consequence, and readers will note how individual contributors, most notably William Petersen, in his essay on the Apostolic Fathers as witnesses to the text of the New Testament in the second century, have chosen to assess the evidence in a way different from that proposed by the editors. Such questions remain controversial and controverted, and we hope to have provided both useful discussion of these methodological issues and also a major reference tool for those who wish to take further the discussion of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.

The contributions contained in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* are also sensitive to these difficulties. Many of its papers contribute to and advance the discussion of similar questions to those addressed in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (most obviously Andreas Lindemann's discussion of Pauline influences in *1 Clement* and Ignatius, the discussions of Helmut Koester and Arthur Bellinzoni of gospel traditions in the Apostolic Fathers and other second-century texts, and Boudewijn Dehandschutter's discussion of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*), but they also range more widely.

One significant development since 1905 has been the renewed recognition that the interpretation of any text can be significantly enriched by considering its 'effect' and its usage in subsequent history, i.e., its *Wirkungsgechichte*, as well as its antecedents. Thus some papers note how distinctive emphases or ideas that are present in certain writings of the New Testament are taken up and developed by certain Apostolic Fathers, and the continuities or discontinuities in the trajectories that are traced cast new light on both the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. It is not, of course, that all authors understand development to have taken place in the same way. Frances Young's treatment of the relative absence of terms relating to Wisdom in the Christology of the Apostolic Fathers raises questions about the way in which such language is understood by interpreters who confine themselves largely to the New Testament and the earlier Jewish tradition, on which it draws, whereas Thomas Weinandy argues strongly for clearly discernible continuity from Pauline Christology through that of Ignatius and ultimately to that of the Chalcedonian definition.

Attention is also given to literary as well as theological issues: for example, in Michael Holmes's discussion of how the genre of a 'passion narrative' is developed as one moves away from accounts of the death of Jesus to accounts of the death of later martyrs such as Polycarp. Nor are issues of sociology neglected: Clayton Jefford offers an illuminating account of how an examination of two apparently related texts—the *Didache* and Matthew—may provide some sort of insight into the development of Christianity in one place, as does Peter Oakes in his discussion of the situations that may be reflected in the letters of Paul and of Polycarp to the Philippians. Also significant in this respect is Paul Hartog's discussion of similar concerns found in Polycarp's letter (written from Smyrna) and 1 John (probably associated with nearby Ephesus), not least in the light of what Hartog considers to be the almost certain literary dependence of the former on the latter.

The arrangement of chapters in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* is self-evident and straightforward, but something of the rich interplay between many of the texts considered can be seen in the range of ways in which *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* might have been ordered. Were we to have given greater prominence to the place of the New Testament (or at least some of it) than to that of the Apostolic Fathers, we might have arranged chapters with more emphasis on how they fell (at least primarily) into what might be considered synoptic, Johannine, Pauline, or other trajectories defined by their apparent relationship to New Testament books. Were we to have given greater prominence to the place of the Apostolic Fathers (or at least some of them) than to that of the New Testament, we might have arranged chapters with more emphasis on how they relate (at least primarily) to the study of individual Apostolic Fathers.

Equally, decisions might have been made to arrange these essays primarily on thematic grounds, rather than on the basis of the ancient text or texts with which each is primarily concerned. Jonathan Draper's treatment of prophets and teachers in the *Didache* and the New Testament might have been presented alongside Alistair Stewart-Sykes's discussion of charismatic functionaries and household officers; and the discussions of Paul and Ignatius by David Reis, by Harry Maier, and by Allen Brent might stand alongside the essay by Andreas Lindemann, thus accentuating the interplay between the influence of the apostle and that of the Graeco-Roman world—and in particular the impact of the Second Sophistic—on how early Christians such as 'Clement' and Ignatius presented themselves in their writings.

Similarly, the discussions of Boudewijn Dehandschutter and Michael Holmes of gospel and other New Testament traditions in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* might have been juxtaposed with the discussions of Arthur Bellinzoni and Helmut Koester, not to mention those of John Kloppenborg and Charles Hill; but, as it is, these different essays emphasize the central place of early Christian reflection on the person of Jesus. Thus discussions of the development and reception of gospel tradition not only book-end the volume, but also appear prominently in the middle.

So fluid and unclear are many of the boundaries between these closely related texts and issues that no neat or definitive boundaries may be drawn. Thus the approach that we have chosen is intended both to reflect the complexity and diversity of these writings and also to be of practical assistance to other researchers who can see at a glance which contributions may be of most use to them.

Some of the Apostolic Fathers receive more attention than others (most notably Ignatius and the *Didache*), but none is neglected. Neither *1 Clement* (strictly speaking) nor *Barnabas* appears in the table of contents for *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, but the former features prominently in the discussions of Andreas Lindemann and Alistair Stewart-Sykes, and the latter is considered by David Wright. John Muddiman and Alistair Stewart-Sykes each discuss a range of texts (the former, *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; the latter, the *Didache*, Ignatius, *1 Clement*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*), and their essays on ecclesiology and church order, together with those of Carsten Claussen and David Wright on the sacraments, help to make valuable connections between individual Apostolic Fathers as well as between the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament. Their contributions, together with the rest of the papers collected in this volume, serve as important reminders of the benefits to be gained from reading the New Testament in the wider context of other early Christian writings, and show why even later texts are an essential component of what is sometimes referred to as ‘New Testament background’. It was only thanks to later Christians, perhaps some of the Apostolic Fathers among them, that the writings that became the New Testament were preserved and transmitted, so—as both these volumes demonstrate—knowledge of their concerns is a useful tool in interpreting both the New Testament and the development of Christianity from the late first to the mid- or late second century. Most, if not all, of the Apostolic Fathers may well have written later than most of the authors whose writings were later included in the New Testament, but almost certainly all of them wrote before even an early form of the canon of the New Testament, such as that witnessed to by Irenaeus, had yet emerged. The extent to which they witness to the existence of earlier collections such as the fourfold Gospel or (perhaps more likely) a Pauline corpus are among the questions that these studies address.

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Part I

Paul in the Apostolic Fathers

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1

Paul's Influence on 'Clement' and Ignatius

Andreas Lindemann

The writings of the early Christian authors called 'Apostolic Fathers' are different from most of the New Testament texts written during the last decades of the first century and the early decades of the second century: the authors do not hide their identities behind pseudonyms such as 'Paul' or 'Peter' or 'James'. Rather, they try to convince their addressees not by using the authority of famous persons of the past but by the strength of their own theological argumentation. But often they refer to biblical and apostolic authorities, especially to the apostle Paul, as support for their arguments. Since in my view the most important texts in the corpus of the 'Apostolic Fathers' are the *First Letter of Clement* and the seven letters of Ignatius, bishop (*ἐπίσκοπος*) of Antioch, I will restrict my short study to these writings.

I

1. The epistle usually called *First Clement*[1] was written by the church of Rome (*ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ἱῶμην*) and was sent to the church of Corinth (*τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον*).[2] With regard to the dating of *1 Clement*, the last years of the 90s CE can be assumed as most likely.[3] In this letter to Corinth, the Roman church does not claim any

[1] *1 Clement* does not mention the name of its author but certainly the Roman Christian community did not write it 'collectively'.

[2] The Greek text is taken from A. Lindemann and H. Paulsen (eds.), *Die Apostolischen Väter: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe auf der Grundlage der Ausgaben von F. X. Funk/K. Bihlmeyer und M. Whittaker, mit Übersetzungen von M. Dibelius und D.-A. Koch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992).

[3] Cf. A. Lindemann, *Die Clemensbriefe*, HNT 17 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 12: 'Eine Datierung des 1 Clem [before 100 CE] wird am ehesten durch die Analyse der vorausgesetzten Kirchenstruktur ermöglicht.' There is no allusion to any persecution of Christians by Domitian, as has often been argued; cf. L. L. Welborn, 'The Preface to *1 Clement*: The Rhetorical Situation and the Traditional Date', in C. Breytenbach and L. L. Welborn (eds.), *Encounters with Hellenism:*

formal authority over the Corinthian church (or any other Christian communities); but the author apparently expects that his critical comment on the actual situation in Corinth will be very important for the future of the Corinthian church. In the context of his argumentation, he makes use of biblical texts (OT) and of Paul and Pauline letters, especially the (first) letter to the Corinthians.[4]

2. For the first time in the letter, Paul is mentioned by name in 5. 5–7. After the prescript, which obviously seems to be very 'Pauline' in its form,[5] the author begins to discuss the *στάσις* which has started in the Corinthian church. As a contrast, he describes the glorious past of his addressees, surprisingly making the statement that 'every sedition and every schism was abominable to you' (2. 6).[6] After a quotation of Deut. 32. 15, LXX ('My beloved ate and drank, and he was enlarged and waxed fat and kicked'), the author concludes that from this came 'jealousy and envy' (3. 2), and then he demonstrates how 'jealousy and envy' are reasons for any wickedness in the past and the present: 'Each goeth after the lusts of his evil heart, seeing that they have conceived an unrighteous and ungodly jealousy, through which also death entered into the world' (3. 4; cf. Wisd. 2. 24). Then he gives several examples drawn first from the scriptures and the history of Israel, then from the most recent past: 'Let us come to those champions who lived very near to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the church were persecuted and contended even unto death' (5. 1–2).

Then, two of these 'pillars' are mentioned by name (5. 3–7), the 'good apostles' (*ἀγαθοὶ ἀπόστολοι*) Peter and Paul. Here the author obviously employs the rhetorical device of 'Achtergewicht'—the most important person is not Peter but Paul.[7] About Peter the author says that he 'endured not one or two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his

Studies on the First Letter of Clement, AGAJU 53 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 197–216: the words *συμφορά* and *περίπτωσις* do not belong to the language of persecution (cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 26).

[4] Paul's first letter to Corinth was well known in Rome as *1 Clem.* 47. 1 clearly shows; we cannot say anything about the knowledge of 2 Corinthians (or its original parts). Cf. *NTAF*, 41 and also 51–2 (comparing *1 Clem.* 36. 2 with 2 Cor. 3. 18: 'It would appear that the phrase (*ἐνοπτριζόμεθα*) is not distinctive enough to enable us to infer that Clement knew this Epistle.'

[5] Cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 25. It is unlikely that the author had 1 Cor. 1. 1–2 in mind (*παροικοῦσα* is not found in the NT).

[6] English translations of the text of *1 Clement* are taken from J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part 1, 2: *S. Clement of Rome: A Revised Text with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations* (repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1973 (= London, 1890)).

[7] Against K. Beyschlag, *Clemens Romanus und der Frühkatholizismus: Untersuchungen zu I Clemens 1–7*, BHT 35 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966), 280; he thinks that Paul is put in Peter's shadow, but the opposite interpretation seems to be correct.

appointed place of glory' (5. 4). The description of Paul and his work is much more impressive: 'he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned.' Paul 'had preached in the East and in the West', which means 'everywhere': 'he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world.' And 'having reached the farthest bounds of the West', having 'borne his testimony before the rulers', Paul 'departed from the world and went unto the holy place'—that is, he was put to death. We really are not able to recognize which historical details of Paul's life the author of *1 Clement* was familiar with or which sources he may have used.[8] But it seems clear that in the view of the author of *1 Clement* Paul for the readers in Corinth is a unique pattern of patient endurance, and thus the antitype of those Christians in Corinth who had fallen into *στάσις* instead of standing firm in *ὑπομονή*. The word *ὑπομονή* is not used by Paul in his (first) letter to Corinth, but the verb *ὑπομένειν* is used in 1 Cor. 13. 7: *ἡ ἀγάπη πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει*. Moreover, in Romans *ὑπομονή* is used several times in an important way (5. 3–4; 8. 25; esp. 15. 3–5); it is possible that the author of *1 Clement* may have learned about the importance of *ὑπομονή* from Paul's letter to Rome.

In the following parts of his letter, the author of *1 Clement* stresses in different ways the need for 'obedience and submission'. He draws examples from almost every sphere of life, including the relations of workers and their employers (34. 1) and even the structure of military authority in the army (37. 1–4).[9] Then the principle of right 'order' (41. 1) is carried over into the idea of what in later times was called 'the apostolic succession' (42. 1–4): 'The Apostles received their Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God... [The Apostles] preaching everywhere in country and town... appointed their first-fruits... to be bishops and deacons (*ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι*) unto them that should believe.'[10] The author does not claim that the Corinthian presbyters, now being deposed from their office by a majority (?) of the community, were invested by Paul himself. But apparently he wants to give his addressees the impression that this in fact had been the case. The idea of 'succession' is repeated in 44. 1–4, and here the author emphasizes that the presbyters should not be 'unjustly thrust out from

[8] There are linguistic parallels on the topic in Cynic and Stoic literature; cf. the excursus in Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 40.

[9] There is a discussion as to whether the author refers to the *Roman* army or to a kind of 'messianic' army; cf. H. E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 410–11; T. Schmitt, *Paroikie und Oikoumene: Sozial- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum 1. Clemensbrief*, BZNW 110 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 26–36, who argues for the latter interpretation.

[10] As a biblical reference the author quotes Isa. 60. 17 (very different from LXX and the Hebrew text).

their ministration'. In support of this rule, in 45. 1–46. 3 the writer cites several biblical passages as well as a statement of the Lord himself (46. 7–8).[11]

In this context we find the second explicit reference to Paul. In 47. 1, the Corinthians are urged to 'take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle' (*ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου*). 'Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit' (*πνευματικῶς*), when he was writing about the 'parties' and was criticizing them.[12] What Paul had to say forty years ago is still valid and gives help for the argumentation and for the hoped-for repentance in the present situation. 'Clement' reminds the Corinthian Christians of the recognized value of Paul's apostolic authority from 'the beginning of the gospel' (47. 2)—that is, from the opening chapters of Paul's (first) letter to the Corinthians. Once this reminder is given, no further argumentation is needed: in 48. 1 the writer can call the addressees to repentance: 'Let us fall down before the Master (*προπέσωμεν τῷ δεσπότῃ*), and entreat Him with tears, that He may show himself propitious, and be reconciled unto us.' *1 Clem.* 47 shows that in the last decade of the first century a copy of the first Pauline letter to Corinth was extant in Rome, and that the Roman church could assume that this letter was also 'at hand' in Corinth.[13] This seems to be taken for granted, both in the communities in Corinth and in Rome itself.[14]

Since the church at Rome and the church at Corinth apparently had no theological differences, the only point of dissension was the removal of the Corinthian presbyters from their office. So, we have found references to Paul at two important points in the line of argument in the Roman letter: first, the writer uses the example of Paul to show his addressees the high value of *ὑπομονή* (5. 5–7); second, even more important, he declares that Paul, writing to the Christians in Corinth in former times, had already provided the solution to the present problem. But why is Paul not mentioned by name in the passage on 'apostolic succession' (42. 1–4)? Did the author not count Paul as one of those who had received the gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ? In that case, we would not expect Paul to be called an 'apostle' at all in *1 Clement.*

[11] Cf. *NTAF*, 62: 'We have here the combination of the words spoken by our Lord with regard to Judas, recorded by Matthew [Matt. 26. 24; 18. 6–7] and Mark [Mark 14. 21; 9. 42], with a saying which is recorded in another connexion in the three Synoptic Gospels [cf. Luke 17. 1–2].' It is perhaps probable 'that we have here . . . a quotation from some form of catechetical instruction in our Lord's doctrine'.

[12] The author here uses the term *προσκλίσεις* (in the NT only 1 Tim. 5. 21) instead of *σχίσμα* (1 Cor. 1. 10). This is 'bewußte Abschwächung (vgl. *ἥττων ἁμαρτία*); immerhin waren die damals von den Adressaten . . . anerkannten Parteihäupter ausgezeichnete Männer gewesen', which now is not the case (Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 139).

[13] Cf. *NTAF*, 41.

[14] For early collection of Paul's letters cf. A. Lindemann, 'Die Sammlung der Paulusbriefe im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert', in J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge (eds.), *The Biblical Canons*, BETL 153 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 321–51.

It is more likely that, without any discussion, 'Clement' included Paul among the apostles who were authorized for the *εὐαγγέλιον* by Christ. Moreover, the line of argument in 42. 1–4 appears to show the 'apostolic succession' in Corinth started by Paul's missionary activity; in 'Clement's' view this was not a special case, but rather followed the usual way.

3. The author of *1 Clement* knows and makes use not only of Paul's first letter to Corinth but also of the letter to the Romans, though this letter is not mentioned or quoted explicitly.[15] There seems to be an allusion to a Pauline argument in the epistle to the Romans in the passage on 'justification' (or 'righteousness') in *1 Clem.* 31. 1–32. 4.[16] At the beginning we see an indirect reference to Paul's idea that the *imperative* of what Christians have to do is founded in the *indicative* of what has been done for them by God. In 30. 1 already, we find an almost 'classic' sentence: 'Seeing then that we are the special portion of a Holy God (*ἅγια οὖν μέρις ὑπάρχοντες*), let us do all things that pertain unto holiness (*ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα*).'[17] The statement in 30. 3, that Christians are justified 'by works and not by words' (*ἔργοις δικαιούμενοι καὶ μὴ λόγοις*) is not anti-Pauline (or a contradiction of the argument in 32. 3–4; see below), but should be understood in its actual paraenetical context: Christians must realize their status of 'holiness' by doing works, not merely by speaking words. We might remember the words of Paul in 1 Cor. 7. 19: 'Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.' The biblical and dogmatic aspect of the doctrine of justification is asserted in *1 Clem.* 31. 2 ('Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith'... (*οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνηην καὶ ἀλήθειαν διὰ πίστεως ποιήσας*;)) and in 32. 4: 'And so we, having been called through His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified (*δικαιούμεθα*) through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified (*ἐδικαίωσεν*) all men that have been from the beginning.' The use of the verb *δικαιοῦν* clearly indicates Pauline influence. This influence might be present also in the author's definition of the relation between 'righteousness by faith' (32. 4) and 'every good work' (*πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν*) in 33. 1. 'Clement' is here using the style of the diatribe, as Paul had done in the transition from Rom. 5 to

[15] Cf. A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979), 173 f.

[16] Cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 97–108.

[17] The following catalogue of vices is probably traditional, and not to be read as a picture of reality in the Corinthian community.

Rom. 6.[18] But, unlike Paul, 'Clement' does not put his argument in *christological* but rather in *theological* terms: it is God, called ὁ δημιουργός and ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἁπάντων (cf. 32. 4: ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός), who is said to 'rejoice in His works'—that is, in the creation. By comparing God and the righteous 'man' in this way, the author of *1 Clement* shows that he is not a teacher of 'justification by works'. It is the righteous person who produces good works—that is, works according to righteousness (cf. 33. 8: 'let us with all our strength work the work of righteousness'); it is not good works that produce the righteous person.

The main theme of *1 Clement* is the order of the church or, with respect to the Christian individual, his or her submission to God's will, to 'His faultless ordinances' (37. 1). The examples used by the author at this point are the command structure of the army (37. 1–4)[19] and the image of 'the body and its members' (37. 5–38. 1).[20] The term χάρισμα (38. 1) and the allusion to the problem of 'the weak and the strong' suggest dependence on 1 Cor. 12 and especially on Rom. 14.[21] It is rather surprising that 'Clement' in 37. 5 does not employ the (deutero-)Pauline image of Christ as 'the head of the body', though this figure would have suited his ecclesiology very well; thus the conclusion seems certain that the 'Pauline' epistle to the Ephesians was not known to him.[22] 'Clement' is apparently not interested in an ecclesiological theory, but rather in the concrete consequences of the 'body'-image for the life of the church. He seems to assume that the addressees are familiar with that image without reminding them that they should know it from any of Paul's letters. When in 46. 7 he again refers to that image, he once again has no particular Pauline text in mind, but is certainly influenced by the Pauline metaphor of σῶμα. After the reference to the image of 'body and members' ('Wherefore do we tear and rend asunder the members of Christ [τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ], and stir up factions against our own body [τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον], and reach such a pitch of folly, as to forget that we are members one of another

[18] *NTAF*, 38: 'It seems most probable that Clement is here writing under the impression of the passage in the Romans. It is true that there is little verbal coincidence between the passages, but their thought is closely related.' *NTAF* particularly refers to the respective contexts.

[19] On the problem of which army the author is referring to, see n. 9 above.

[20] Cf. A. Lindemann, 'Die Kirche als Leib: Beobachtungen zur "demokratischen" Ekklesiologie bei Paulus', in *idem*, *Paulus, Apostel und Lehrer der Kirche: Studien zu Paulus und zum frühen Paulusverständnis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 132–57.

[21] The formula ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ seems to be an allusion to Rom. 12. 4. In 1 Cor. 12, Paul does *not* speak about the 'strong', but uses the term δυνατός only in Rom. 15. 1.

[22] Cf. *NTAF*, 52–3. The committee discusses the possible coincidence of *1 Clem.* 46. 6 and Eph. 4. 4–6, but comes to the conclusion 'that the passages both in Ephesians and in Clement are very possibly founded upon some liturgical forms, and it thus seems impossible to establish any dependence of Clement upon Ephesians' (p. 53).

[μέλη ἔσμεν ἀλλήλων]'), he quotes a saying of the Lord: 'Woe unto that man' who is offending or perverting 'one of Mine elect' (46. 8).[23] Then he applies it to his readers: 'Your division (σχίσμα) hath perverted many; it hath brought many to despair, many to doubting, and all of us to sorrow. And your sedition (στάσις) still continueth' (46. 9). The terms σχίσμα and στάσις are the key words that prompt the reference to 'the blessed Paul the Apostle' and to his letter to the Corinthians (47. 1–3; see above). Thus, it can be observed that in chs. 46 and 47 'Clement' is deliberately appealing both to Jesus and to Paul, the two most important authorities of the church, and at the same time both traditions and texts on which the New Testament canon later will be mainly based.

Almost at the end of *1 Clement*, we read a long prayer (59. 3–61. 3),[24] which includes prayers for 'our rulers and governors upon the earth' (60. 4, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσιν καὶ ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), the text of the prayer then following in 61. 1–2. It has been argued that those rulers and governors are not Caesar or any Roman authorities but Christian church leaders ('Amtsinhaber der Kirche').[25] But this seems improbable, since neither in the prescript nor at the end of the letter are any 'Amtsinhaber der Kirche' mentioned.[26] The theological basis for the prayer for (political) 'rulers and governors' can be found in texts of Judaism in the Hellenistic diaspora; it reflects the same kind of understanding of the (Roman) state as is evident in Rom. 13, though there is no indication that 'Clement' made use of Rom. 13. 1–7 here. But one may compare this prayer with 1 Tim. 2. 1–3 ('First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for everyone, for kings and all who are in high positions, so that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and dignity. This is right and is acceptable in the sight of God our Savior').[27] Since it seems to be possible that the pastoral epistles were written in Rome, not much earlier or (more probably) later than

[23] See n. 11. Cf. Lindemann, *Clemensbriefe*, 137.

[24] On that text see the important study by H. Löhr, *Studien zum frühchristlichen und frühjüdischen Gebet: Untersuchungen zu 1 Clem 59 bis 61 in seinem literarischen, historischen und theologischen Kontext*, WUNT 160 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). His conclusion: 'Mit 1 Clem 59 bis 61 besitzen wir das nach dem Unser Vater zweite bedeutende Zeugnis frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit und Gebetssprache vom Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts nach Christus, d.h. aus der Zeit von Mt, Lk und Joh' (p. 531).

[25] Cf. Schmitt, *Paroikie*, 40–60, at p. 58: There is no doubt 'daß das Fürbittgebet am Ende des Briefes um Gottes Unterstützung der ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγούμενοι allein auf Amtsinhaber der Kirche bezogen werden kann'.

[26] Cf. also the, to this extent, 'traditional' (and in my view correct) exegesis of that prayer by Löhr, *Studien*, 282–301.

[27] NRSV. For contemporary sources cf. Löhr, *Studien*, 334–60 (excursus 'Die Fürbitte für die politischen Herrscher in ihrem frühchristlichen Kontext').

1 Clement, both texts might represent the ecclesiology of the Roman Christian community at the turn of the first and second centuries.[28]

4. The Roman letter to Corinth is certainly not a primarily 'theological' or even 'dogmatic' writing. The author does not present his readers with difficult reflections on theological problems, but is concerned to set out his view (or his community's view) regarding a major error in the Corinthian church: namely, the 'sedition' against the presbyters. Thus for 'Clement', Pauline texts and positions were of interest only in so far as they could serve to refute this 'error'. So, *1 Clement* tells us little about the influence of Pauline *theology* in the Roman church in the last years of the first century. But the letter does show that Paul was of great importance for the church of Rome, both as an apostle and as a teacher of the church, even several decades after Paul's death. One might deplore the fact that only such problems of church order, rather than theological questions, were at the forefront of the discussion. But we must not suppose that the theological concerns of Roman Christians at the end of the first century CE were *exclusively* dominated by problems of this kind. One may ask what we would think about Paul's theology if we had read only his first letter to the Corinthians and nothing else he had written.

II

1. The epistles of Ignatius were written under circumstances quite different from the writing of *1 Clement*. The bishop of Antioch, sending his seven letters to several communities and to his Smyrnean colleague Polycarp,[29] is a prisoner on the way to martyrdom in Rome. His letters are responses to churches whose representatives had visited him, the only exception being the letter to the Christians in Rome. Thus the Ignatian letters might be read

[28] *NTAF*, 54–5, compares 1 Tim. 1. 17 with *1 Clem*. 61. 2: 'The phrase is striking, but Dr. Lightfoot has pointed out in his notes on the passage, that it is probably based upon Jewish liturgical forms.'

[29] The question arises why Ignatius wrote a letter to the Smyrneans *and* to their bishop. Cf. A. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus: intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe*, NTOA 52 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004), 177: 'Diese Frage wird, wenn sie überhaupt gestellt wird, nur unzureichend beantwortet.' Her own thesis is that Ignatius is imitating Paul's (pseudonymous) letters to Timothy and Titus. 'Das Vermächtnis des Paulus, wie es Ignatius vor Augen stand, setzte sich zusammen aus Briefen an Gemeinden und aus Briefen, die Gemeindeleiter zur rechten Amtsführung anleiten sollten. Ignatius wollte es ihm darin gleich tun, darum schrieb er an Polykarp einen "Pastoralbrief".' Cf. also the literature mentioned ibid. n. 129.

as 'last words' of a bishop facing death,[30] and therefore we should not expect extensive references either to biblical (OT) texts or to Christian literature.[31]

During recent exegesis of the Ignatian letters,[32] a new discussion has started on the date and the authenticity of these letters.[33] One result in my view seems to be that the traditional dating of the letters (going back to Euseb. *HE* 3. 36. 2–4) very early in the second century in the time of the emperor Trajan is probably no longer acceptable. On the other hand, there are no convincing reasons to date the letters late in the second century;[34] moreover, it is not necessary to read them as pseudepigraphical writings.[35] Since a Christian person called Ignatius is otherwise unknown,[36] there is no evidence that any author in the second half of the second century would have been interested in writing such letters under this name as a pseudonym.[37]

2. Ignatius mentions the name of Paul in two of his letters. In *Eph.* 12. 2, he praises the church to which he is sending his letter: 'Ye are the highroad (*πάροδος*) of those that are on their way to die unto God.'[38] The Ephesian Christians are 'associates in the mysteries with Paul' (*Παῦλου συμμύσται*); Ignatius speaks of Paul as the one who 'was sanctified (*τοῦ ἡγιασμένου*), who obtained a good report (*τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου*, sc. from God), who is worthy

[30] This corresponds to the (fictional) situation of 2 Timothy. Cf. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 145.

[31] Cf. W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 7–10, on the literary character of those letters.

[32] For discussion of research from 1870 to 1988 see C. Munier, 'Où en est la question d'Ignace d'Antioche?: Bilan d'un siècle de recherches', *ANRW* 2. 27. 1, 359–484.

[33] R. M. Hübner, 'Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien', *ZAC* 1 (1997), 44–72; A. Lindemann, 'Antwort auf die Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien', *ZAC* 1 (1997), 185–94; G. Schöllgen, 'Die Ignatianen als pseudepigraphisches Briefcorpus: Anmerkung zu den Thesen von Reinhard M. Hübner', *ZAC* 2 (1998), 16–25; M. J. Edwards, 'Ignatius and the Second Century: An Answer to R. Hübner', *ZAC* 2 (1998), 214–26.

[34] Hübner, 'Thesen', dates the letters as late as 170/180. Cf. my critical argumentation against this (see n. 33).

[35] See Hübner, 'Thesen', and esp. T. Lechner, *Ignatius adversus Valentinianos? Chronologische und theologiegeschichtliche Studien zu den Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien*, VCSup 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 64: Polycarp wrote his letter 'um 150', and 'zwischen 165 und 175 wird der *Philipperbrief* vom Verfasser der *Ignatianen* interpoliert'; the texts referring to Ignatius' letters (Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1 and 13) were interpolated by the author of the Ignatian letters. See my review (*ZAC* 6 (2002), 157–61). Cf. also Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 133–40, esp. 141 n. 1.

[36] With exception of the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians (cf. note above).

[37] Cf. H. Paulsen, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Brief des Polykarp von Smyrna: zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage der Auslegung von Walter Bauer*, HNT 18 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 4; Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 5–7.

[38] The English translation of the Ignatian letters is taken from J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers, Part 1I,2: S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp: A Revised Text with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations* (repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1973 (= 2nd edn., London, 1889)).

of all felicitation (ἀξιομακαρίστου)'. Ignatius wants to be found in his footsteps (ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι), and this expression might remind us of a sentence written by Paul.[39] The epithets given to Paul by Ignatius are without parallel in the Christian literature of the early second century; but this does not indicate special knowledge of the biography of Paul. When Ignatius writes that Paul makes mention of the Ephesians 'in every letter' (ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ), he is obviously wrong. But certainly it was not his aim to give his addressees precise information on the frequency of the word *Ephesus* (or *Ephesians*) in Pauline letters known to him; he is simply trying to link Paul and the church of Ephesus together as intimately as possible.[40]

Ignatius mentions Paul again, this time in conjunction with Peter, in *Rom.* 4. 3. After his plea that 'all the churches' should not hinder his martyrdom but let him be given to the wild beasts, he writes to the Roman Christians: 'I do not enjoin (διατάσσομαι) you, as Peter and Paul did. They were Apostles, I am a convict; they were free, but I am a slave to this very hour.' And he continues: 'Yet if I shall suffer, then I am a freed-man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise free in Him.' This text also shows no specific knowledge of any of Paul's letters, including Romans. But especially the last part of 4. 3 shows influence of Pauline language,[41] and in some way, Ignatius refers implicitly to an authority, though he seems to want to avoid making such a claim explicit.[42] Putting Paul and Peter side by side, Ignatius' argument reminds us of *1 Clem.* 5. 4–7. Of

[39] Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 152–3, sees a possibility that we have here 'einen gewichtigen intertextuellen Verweis' on 2 Cor. 12. 18. 'Die Frage muss offen bleiben, da über die Kenntnis des 2Kor durch Ignatius keine letzte Sicherheit zu gewinnen ist, aber die Möglichkeit, dass Ignatius sich durch die gewählte Formulierung in die Reihe der unmittelbaren Apostelschüler stellt, ist m.E. nicht von der Hand zu weisen.' The committee of *NTAF*, 70, sees some links with 2 Corinthians; none of them, 'taken singly, is more than a possible allusion; but taken together they make the use of the Epistle by Ignatius fairly probable' (category d). But 2 Cor. 12. 18 is not mentioned.

[40] A different interpretation is given by Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 143: 'Will man . . . Ignatius nicht unterstellen, er habe den Ephesern ein rhetorisch ungeschicktes, da unzutreffendes Kompliment gemacht, muss man entweder annehmen, Ignatius und die Epheser hätten Kenntnisse von weiteren Paulusbriefen gehabt, in denen Ephesus erwähnt wurde, oder—naheliegender—auf beiden Seiten mit der Kenntnis der Pastoralbriefe rechnen (1Tim 1,3; 2Tim 1,16–18; 4,12.19).'

[41] *NTAF*, 65, refers to 1 Cor. 7. 22 and 9. 1 (ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου/ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); moreover, ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος resembles the often used Pauline formula ἐν Χριστῷ. Cf. Ign. *Pol.* 4. 3.

[42] Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 152: 'Indem Ignatius das zweite (ἐλεύθερος) als (zukünftig) auch für sich geltend erweist, rückt er sich selbst deutlich in die Nähe der Apostel.' Ignatius three times stresses that he is not giving any commands to his addressees (*Eph.* 3. 1; *Trall.* 3. 3; *Rom.* 4. 3). Cf. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 150: 'Das klingt bescheidener als es ist. Denn man muss sich fragen, warum Ignatius diese Bemerkungen überhaupt für nötig oder angebracht hält.' It seems to be clear that Ignatius 'mit seinen Briefen eine den Aposteln bzw. besonders Paulus entsprechende Vollmacht zur brieflichen Ermahnung und Lehre in Anspruch genommen hat'.

course, Ignatius did not know that letter, but possibly he knew traditions about Peter's and Paul's destinies, and possibly their deaths in Rome.[43]

3. Regarding the question of theological influence of Paul in Ignatius' letters, four texts are important: *Eph.* 18–20, *Magn.* 8–9, *Trall.* 9–10, and *Phld.* 8.

In the first of these texts *Eph.* 18–20, Ignatius is developing the idea of the 'paradox' of revelation. In 17. 2, it is understood as 'the knowledge of God (*θεοῦ γνῶσις*), which is Jesus Christ'. In the opening sentence of the next passage in 18. 1,[44] Ignatius calls the cross a 'stumbling-block (*σκάνδαλον*) to them that are unbelievers, but to us salvation and life eternal (*σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος*)'. Then he continues with three rhetorical questions: 'Where is the wise? Where is the disputer?[45] Where is the boasting of them that are called prudent?' It seems to be evident that this passage has been composed in literary dependence on 1 Cor. l. 18–25, although we should remember that Ignatius certainly did not have a copy of l Corinthians with him in prison on the way to Rome.[46] The incarnational christology expressed in *Eph.* 18. 2 seems to be reminiscent of the early christological formula quoted by Paul in Rom. 1. 3–4.[47] But Ignatius calls Jesus 'our God' (*ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός*), and this goes beyond any Pauline christology.[48] *Eph.* 19, which is a highly mythological text, in v. 1 contains the so-called *Relevationsschema* ('And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her

[43] A special connection between both apostles seems to be assumed by the mention of Paul's letters (letter corpus?) in 2 Pet. 3. 14–16.

[44] Lechner, *Ignatius*, 221, referring to K. Berger, 'Hellenistische Gathungen in Neuen Testament', *ANRW* II. 25.2 (1984), 1149–71, argues that Ignatius in *Eph.* 18. 1–20. 1 has used 'das Formschema des hellenistischen Hymnus'. *Eph.* 18 as well as *Eph.* 19 in themselves are built as a 'hymns' after that 'Formschema', and both hymns 'bilden zusammen einen groaen ... "Christushymnus" '. See below.

[45] This traditional translation of the Greek *συζητητής* (only here and in 1 Cor. 1. 20) should be revised, as has been shown by M. Lautenschlager, 'Abschied vom Disputierer: zur Bedeutung von *συζητητής* in 1 Kor 1,20', *ZNW* 83 (1992), 276–85; he suggests 'philosophischer Forscher'; cf. A. Lindemann, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, HNT 9.1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 45.

[46] *NTAF*, 64: 'That Ignatius is quoting St. Paul is made more certain by the echo of 1 Cor. 1. 18 in the preceding sentence.' The Oxford Committee rightly thought that Ignatius without doubt made use of 1 Cor. (category A).

[47] Paul is writing about Jesus, the Son of God, *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*. For analysis and interpretation of the pre-Pauline formula see recently E. Lohse, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 64–7.

[48] Lechner, *Ignatius*, 218: Ignatius is arguing against a specific Gnostic—i.e. Valentinian—christology. 'Im Zentrum der Glaubensformel Eph. 18.2 steht das heilsgeschichtliche Ereignis der Jungfrauengeburt'; Ignatius stresses the real pregnancy of Mary (*ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας*). But if this were an explicit polemic against Gnostic christology, one would expect at least an allusion to the *incarnation*: i.e., the use of the key word *σάρξ*. Cf. my discussion of Lechner's argumentation (*ZAC* 6 (2002), 160).

child-bearing and likewise also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be cried aloud—the which were wrought in the silence of God. How then were they made manifest to the ages?'). Paul alludes to that 'Schema' in l Cor. 2. 6–9; it became important in the deutero-Pauline literature.[49] The language of the 'christology of epiphany' in *Eph.* 19. 2, 3, however, is different from Paul's thought. At the beginning of *Eph.* 20, Ignatius in v. 1 interrupts his line of thought, announcing the writing of a 'second tract' (*ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλιδίῳ, ὃ μέλλω γράφειν ὑμῖν*) on the christological theme.[50] Whether or not the phrase *εἰς τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν* resembles 1 Cor. 15. 45, 47 and/or Eph. 2. 15; 4. 24, is very difficult to say.[51] But in *Eph.* 20. 2 Ignatius makes extensive use of Pauline terminology,[52] in particular the 'In Christ' formula (including the idea of 'living in Jesus Christ', *ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*). Thus, the three chapters *Eph.* 18–20 indicate that Ignatius was substantially influenced by Paul; but Pauline theological categories seem to be presumed, rather than made explicit to the epistle's readers.

In *Magn.* 8–9, Ignatius gives a strict warning against life 'after the manner of Judaism' (*κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν*). Although it is unlikely that Ignatius knew Paul's letter to the Galatians,[53] we can observe that in his discussion with his opponents Ignatius uses arguments similar to those of Paul in his epistle to the churches in Galatia. Moreover, the first sentence in 8. 1 ('Be not seduced by strange doctrines nor by antiquated fables, which are profitless') actually resembles arguments used by the author of the Pastoral Epistles against 'godless and silly myths', 'stupid controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels over the law' and 'Jewish myths' (1 Tim. 4. 7; Titus 3. 9; 1. 14, 16; cf. 2

[49] Cf. D. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden*, WMANT 16 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), 124–33. For the interpretation of the Ignatian text see Paulsen, *Briefe des Ignatius*, 43–5, and Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 87–94; cf. also Lechner, *Ignatius*, 234–42, 246–300.

[50] This book or letter was never written. It seems clear that *Eph.* 20. 1 cannot be part of a 'hymn' as Lechner, *Ignatius*, has suggested (see n. 45). Lechner thinks that *Eph.* 18 is the 'Prooimion' of that hymn, *Eph.* 19 'Epischer Mittelteil', and *Eph.* 20. 1 '(Ersatz für ein) Gebet' (ibid. 222). Ign. *Eph.* 20. 1 is no prayer, for Ignatius is addressing the Ephesians themselves.

[51] *NTAF*, 68: 'St. Paul uses the phrase in a slightly different sense; but, as Lightfoot suggests, Ignatius may have taken "to put on the new man" as meaning "to put on Christ", an explanation, we may add, which St. Paul would have not repudiated.' Cf. also 1 Cor. 15. 45 *ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος*.

[52] We cannot be sure that the phrase about Christ 'who after the flesh was of David's race' (*τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαυίδ*) resembles the formula quoted by Paul in Rom. 1. 3, 4 (see n. 47) or Rom. 9. 5.

[53] *NTAF*, 70–1, compares esp. *Phld.* 1. 1 (*ὃν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων*) and Gal. 1. 1 (*οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου*) and four other texts (category d). The conclusion: 'The passage in Philad. is the only one which strongly indicates knowledge of this Epistle [sc. Galatians] by Ignatius; and as it stands almost alone, we cannot claim a very high degree of probability for the reference.'

Tim. 4. 4).[54] Ignatius says that if we live κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν, 'we avow (ὁμολογοῦμεν) that we have not received grace' (8. 1).[55] Life κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν, as Ignatius writes in 9. 1, means 'walking (ἀναστραφέντες) in ancient practices' and 'observing sabbaths' (σαββατίζοντες). Ignatius' problem in *Magn.* 8–9 is the distinction between the sabbath and the Lord's day (κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες).[56] That distinction is not a merely formal one, but from Ignatius' point of view is a part of the Christian confession (ὁμολογεῖν). Writing 'we avow that we have not received grace', Ignatius probably means more than just a failing of an intellectual 'acknowledgement' of the reception of grace. On the contrary, for Ignatius, if a Christian person lives κατά Ἰουδαϊσμόν, that person has made the 'non-reception' of grace the content of his or her confession (ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι). That is a highly polemical position. But Ignatius' theological argument seems clear: life κατά Ἰουδαϊσμόν, as described in 9. 1, is incompatible with the confession of God's revelation in Jesus Christ.[57] Since the phrase χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι (8. l) is reflected in the unique expression ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεύειν in 9. 1, grace and faith are closely linked. So, we can see that the details of Ignatius' arguments in *Magn.* 8–9 differ from those of Paul. But the structure of the Ignatian theological thinking in this passage seems to recall Paul, in whose theology it may have originated.

[54] Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 160–1: 'Auffällig ist neben den offensichtlichen Parallelen der Gebrauch von ὁμολογεῖν am Schluss der Polemiken. Beide Male wird den Gegnern das, was sie für sich in Anspruch nahmen (Gott zu kennen, die Gnade empfangen zu haben), durch ein Wortspiel entrungen.' According to Merz, there is no proof that *here* Ignatius has used the Pastoral Epistles, but in her study she argues with very good reasons that Ignatius knew and used these deutero-Pauline texts.

[55] Cf. Titus 1. 16: The opponents 'profess to know God, but they deny him by their actions' (θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀρνοῦνται); cf. Merz (n. 54).

[56] Paulsen, *Briefe des Ignatius*, 53: κυριακή zählt 'zu jenen Adjektiven, bei denen das üblicherweise dazugehörende Hauptwort (ἡ ἡμέρα) so allgemein feststeht, daß es auch fehlen kann'. G reads κυριακὴν ζωήν, L has *dominicam*.

[57] Paulsen, *Briefe des Ignatius*, 52: 'Ablehnung des Ἰουδαϊσμός bedeutet keineswegs, wie die Gegner des Ign behauptet zu haben scheinen, die Verwerfung der göttlichen Offenbarung in der Schrift und damit der Gnade, die mit ihr nicht im Widerspruch stehen kann. Denn für Ign deckt sich die prophetische Predigt mit der in Christus erschienenen Gnade, die sie vorausverkündet hat.' For the text-critical problem in *Magn.* 8. 2 concerning Ignatius' statement on Christ's revelation see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 126–8; also Paulsen, *Briefe des Ignatius*. Lechner, *Ignatius*, p. xxiii, without discussion accepts Hübner's thesis that the original text should be read 'Christ ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών', this being 'Polemik gegen die *valentinianische* Vorstellung vom Hervorgang des *Logos* aus der *Sige*: "Damit kommen wir in jedem Fall in die Zeit nach 155/160".' Paulsen, *Briefe des lgnatius*: 'Jedoch dürfte die Lesart λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών (bezeugt durch A und Severus von Antiochien) als lectio difficilior dem Ign Verständnis entsprechen.'

In *Trall.* 9–10, Ignatius is arguing polemically against a kind of docetic christology.[58] The Christians in Tralles are not to accept any teaching which is 'apart from Jesus Christ' (χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). Ignatius interprets 'Christ' in 9. 1, 2 by quoting a credal formula: 'Jesus Christ, who was of the race (ἐκ γένους) of David, who was [the son] of Mary, who was truly (ἀληθῶς) born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and on earth and those under the earth;[59] who moreover was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him (ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ).' Ignatius then continues by saying that God 'in the like fashion (κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα) will so raise us also who believe on Him' (9. 2). This way of arguing shows distinct similarities to the train of thought in 1 Thess. 4. 13–18 as well as in l Cor. 15; in both texts, Paul moves from the implicitly or explicitly quoted creed (1 Thess. 4. 14a; 1 Cor. 15. 3–5) to its anthropological and ecclesiological consequences regarding the resurrection of the dead (1 Thess. 4. 14b; 1 Cor. 15. 12–20).[60] In this context giving hints of his own destiny (*Trall.* 10), Ignatius seems to recall Paul's similar comments in l Cor. 15 (cf. esp. v. 32).[61] But Ignatius does not mention Paul explicitly, as the apostle has written nothing against docetism. Thus, once again it is not so much in the content but in the structure of Ignatius' argument that he took his orientation from Paul.

In *Phld.* 8. 2, Ignatius gives a report of a discussion with some adversaries ('certain persons', τινες). They had said: 'If I find it not in the charters (ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις), I believe it not in the Gospel (ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω).'[62] The opponents apparently declared that they believe in the Christian gospel only

[58] The polemical character is visible already in the first word used by Ignatius: κωφώθητε ('Be ye deaf…').

[59] The triad … τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ ὑποχθονίων recalls the hymn in Phil. 2. 6–11 (v. 10); this parallel is not mentioned in *NTAF.* Paulsen, *Briefe des Ignatius*, 63: 'Daß die Mächte bei der Passion zuschauen, bleibt bemerkenswert (zumal es sonst eher ein "häretisches" Motiv ist; vgl. NHC VII 55,10ff.).'

[60] Cf. Lindemann, *Paulus*, 207–8.

[61] Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 156: 'Dass θηριομαχεῖν auch mit Blick auf 1Kor 15,32 gewählt ist, sollte man nicht bestreiten'; cf. 166: 'Am leichtesten erklärt sich das Nebeneinander von Erwartung des realen Tierkampfes (IgnRöm 5,2; IgnEph 1,2; Ign Trall 10) und metaphorischer Verwendung von θηριομαχεῖν (IgnRöm 5,1) durch die Annahme, dass Ignatius sich die Chance nicht entgehen lassen wollte, sich auch in diesem Punkt mit dem verehrten Paulus zu vergleichen.' This seems to be correct (against Lindemann, *Paulus*, 208 n. 240).

[62] The phrase ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω should rather be translated 'I do not believe in the gospel'; cf. Lindemann, *Paulus*, 212–14, referring to Mark 1. 15 (πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ). Paulsen, *Briefe des Ignatius*, 86: 'glaube ich nicht an das Ev., glaube ich dem Ev. nicht'; this translation better fits the 'Radikalität der gegnerischen Position'. For different argumentation see Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 207: Mark 1. 15 is a 'slim authority'. 'Ignatius could not have accomplished anything by twisting his opponents' words that badly (I take it for granted that they regarded themselves as believers in the gospel).'

in so far as it coincides with 'the charters', which probably means the Bible ('Old Testament').[63] Ignatius' first reply was the assertion: 'It is written (γέγραπται)', this certainly to be understood not just as a reference to a biblical text but as an appeal to the Bible as interpreted in the Christian way. But when he calls into question (πρόκειται) this assertion by the opponents, Ignatius changes and strengthens his response in a different way: 'As for me my charter is Jesus Christ, the inviolable charter is His cross and His death and His resurrection, and faith through Him' (8. 2). This line of christological thought might again be thought to be reminiscent of Paul's own style of theological argumentation. This is shown especially by Ignatius' use of the Pauline key word δικαιοῦσθαι at the very end of *Phld.* 8 (ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι).[64]

4. The study of 'Ignatius and Paul' has a long tradition.[65] Both, the ἐπίσκοπος of Antioch and the ἀπόστολος to the Gentiles wrote letters to Christian communities and individuals.[66] As far as we know, Ignatius was the first Christian author after Paul to write such letters under his own name. But, certainly there are important differences: Paul was the organizer of an extensive 'world mission'; most of his letters were addressed to churches founded by himself.[67] He gave responses to questions or commented on information he had received. Writing his letters, Paul knew that in the churches he addressed his authority was recognized, at least in principle. Where this authority seemed to be doubted or even denied, as was apparently

[63] Schoedel (see n. 62) is certainly right that the opponents are Christians. But the special point seems to be the claim for a complete agreement of the gospel (tradition) and the (OT) Bible. So, it is possible to understand Ignatius' further arguments (see text above).

[64] Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 179 (refering to Ign. *Rom.* 5. 1): 'Ignatius speaks of his justification in terms that are directly dependent on 1 Cor 4:4 (echoed again in *Tr.* 5.2); but "justification" for Ignatius is apparently nothing other than becoming a disciple (cf. *Tr.* 5.2) and gaining perfection (cf. *Phd.* 8.2) through martyrdom; Paul's words serve to emphasize the fact that Ignatius' justification is still future and thus to discourage the Roman Christians from interfering with his attaining it.' Cf. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 166 (see above n. 29).

[65] See R. Bultmann, 'Ignatius und Paulus', in E. Dinkler (ed.), *Exegetica: Aufsätze zur Erforschung des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967), 400–11; H. Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe*, TU 99 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967).

[66] The only authentic letter of Paul to an individual is the epistle to Philemon, certainly unknown to Ignatius; but Ignatius knew the letters to Timothy and Titus, and thus he seemed to have imitated Paul; cf. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 145: 'In bewusster Nachahmung der beiden unter dem Namen des Paulus überlieferten Briefformen verfasst Ignatius Briefe an Gemeinden und ein Schreiben an einen Amtsträger.'

[67] The only exception is the letter to the Romans. Colossians is written pseudonymously as an epistle of Paul to a community not founded by Paul himself. Cf. A. Lindemann, 'Die Gemeinde von "Kolossä": Erwägungen zum "Sitz im Leben" eines pseudopaulinischen Briefes', in *Paulus, Apostel und Lehrer* (see n. 20), 187–210.

the case in Galatia and in Corinth in the situation of 2 Cor. 10–13,[68] Paul could be sure that his argument would nevertheless be a factor of considerable weight. Ignatius, by contrast, had no formal authority with respect to the churches to whom he wrote his letters.[69]

III

From this short review of *1 Clement* and Ignatius, we might draw a double conclusion. Neither of these early Christian authors show signs of an intensive interest in an explicit use of Paul, either of his letters or of his theology; nor do they demonstrate a deep interest in a 'critical discussion' of Pauline theology. But this does not mean that Paul was 'forgotten' or had become unimportant in the churches to whom 'Clement' and Ignatius addressed their work. In fact, the letters of the apostle and his theological ideas were employed when and where 'Clement' or Ignatius thought it might be important to call upon the apostolic authority in support of their own arguments. At the end of the first century and during the thirties of the second century, Paul's theological arguments were 'needed' in Rome as well as in Corinth, as *1 Clement* shows, and the same was the case in Asia, as Ignatius' letters (and Polycarp's letter to the Philippians[70]) demonstrate.

[68] 2 Cor. 10–13 was originally an independent letter in my view. Cf. M. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994, 2000), 5–13, 596. 2 Cor. 10–13 is not the 'painful letter' ('Tränenbrief'), but it is not the latest of the letters now incorporated into 'Second Corinthians' (cf. H. Conzelmann and A. Lindemann, *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament*, UTB 52, 14th edn. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 270–4).

[69] Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 145: The allusions and quotations of Pauline letters should be interpreted 'im Dienste der Selbstwahrnehmung und Selbstdarstellung des Ignatius als Paulusnachfolger'. But Ignatius could not be sure that this image was accepted by his addressees.

[70] Cf. Lindemann, *Paulus*, 87–91, 221–32.

Part II

Gospel Traditions in the Apostolic Fathers

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2

Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century

Helmut Koester

THE SITUATION A HUNDRED YEARS AGO AND THEREAFTER

At the time of the publication of *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*,[1] the four canonical gospels ruled supreme as the almost exclusive source for the knowledge of Jesus' words and deeds. In some respect, interest in the study of the gospel quotations in the Apostolic Fathers was dictated by the quest for the dating of these gospels: if the dates of the writing of the Apostolic Fathers could be ascertained, their gospel quotations could be used as *terminus ante quem* for the writing of the New Testament gospels.

There was, to be sure, a good deal of knowledge about other, so-called apocryphal gospels. But full texts of such gospels that could possibly be dated before the end of the second century were rare. One could mention here the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. The knowledge of other early apocryphal gospels, such as the Jewish-Christian gospels, the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, and some other Gnostic gospels, was derived mostly from occasional quotations of the Church Fathers (especially Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius). And there was, of course, the elusive search for the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, believed to have been the Hebrew original of the Gospel of Matthew. Only on rare occasions did any of these gospels yield information that could be useful for answering the question of the use of gospels in the Apostolic Fathers. The period of the discovery of new gospel materials had just begun in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The first fragments with sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus (*P Oxy.* 1, 654, 655) had been published in 1897 and 1904 and had generated considerable interest,

[1] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

although there was no knowledge at the time that these were in fact fragments of the Greek original of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Rather, the category under which these fragments were classified was 'Extra-canonical Sayings of Jesus', of which Alfred Resch had published a very extensive collection.[2] Manuscripts of larger portions of the extra-canonical gospels were scarcely available, with the exception of a fragment presenting the passion narrative of the *Gospel of Peter*, which had been published in 1892.[3]

Although most of the more important discoveries of the twentieth century were yet to come, the careful, balanced assessment of the evidence by the Oxford Committee was at that time a signal for a fresh understanding in the midst of the battle for an early or a late dating of the canonical gospels on the basis of the evidence to be derived from the Apostolic Fathers.[4] The committee's findings often permit the presence of traditions that are independent of the canonical gospels. At that time, however, a free oral tradition of Jesus' sayings had hardly been widely acknowledged, and form criticism was still in its infancy and had not yet been systematically applied to the study of the New Testament. Major non-canonical gospels or fragments of such gospels were still waiting to be discovered—not to talk of the possibility of dating some of such gospels to the time of the Apostolic Fathers. In what follows, my aim is to survey these recent discoveries, not available in 1905, and to assess their potential significance for our current understanding of the development of gospel tradition both during and after the time of the Apostolic Fathers. The possible witness of the Apostolic Fathers to the use of the canonical gospels has been considered at length elsewhere in this volume and its companion.[5] Here I focus on other gospels that are not considered in such detail elsewhere in these volumes, some or all of which may have their origins in the period in which the Apostolic Fathers were active. In so doing I provide the fuller

[2] A. Resch, *Agrapha: Außerkanonische Schriftfragmente gesammelt und untersucht*, 2nd edn., TU n.s. 15, 3–4 (Leipzig, 1906; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967; 1st edn. published in 1889 as *Agrapha: Außerkanonische Evangelienfragmente*, TU 5, 4)). See also J. H. Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu, die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind: eine kritische Bearbeitung des von D. Alfred Resch gesammelten Materials*, TU 14, 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896).

[3] U. Bouriant, 'Fragments du texte grec du livre d'Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués a saint Pierre', in *Mémoirs publiés par le members de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, 12, 1 (Paris, 1892); H. B. Swete, *The Gospel of Peter: The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St Peter*, 2nd edn. (London: Macmillan, 1893). The so-called 'Fayyum Fragment' had been published in 1887, and the Strasbourg Coptic Papyrus in 1900; although both texts may be fragments of apocryphal gospels, these gospels do not seem to have been written before the year 200.

[4] For some literature see H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 1–2.

[5] See the contributions in Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett (eds.), *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and the essays by Bellinzoni, Dehandschutter, Hill, and Holmes in this book.

context in which the analysis of their potential use of Jesus traditions that later became canonical must be conducted.

When I worked on my dissertation in the early 1950s under the guidance of Rudolf Bultmann,[6] a few additional early gospel materials had come to light, most significantly the 'Unknown Gospel' of Papyrus Egerton 2,[7] but the Nag Hammadi Library had not yet seen the light of publication. I also profited, of course, from the pioneering works of gospel form criticism by Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Dibelius and others. This enabled me to argue for the presence of a continuing oral tradition as the source of most of the gospel materials referred to in the Apostolic Fathers. After the publication of my dissertation, I intended to work on a book dealing with the gospels of the second century; but the dream of an early completion of such work was shattered providentially by the publication of the gospel materials from the Nag Hammadi Library, in which I took an active part.

The publication of the gospels from the corpus of the Nag Hammadi Library, as well as a few other discoveries during the past half-century, opened up the possibility of a fresh understanding of the development of gospel literature in the second century. Four different insights seem to me to be most valuable.

1. The *Gospel of Thomas* demonstrated the existence at an early time, possibly as early as the second half of the first century, of written collections of the sayings of Jesus.
2. Numerous fragments of gospels as well as quotations and references in the Church Fathers attest to a proliferation of gospel literature in the second century, whether or not such literature is dependent upon the canonical gospels. Most important is here, among other discoveries, the Papyrus Egerton 2.
3. Several documents attest the development of dialogues of Jesus with his disciples, which are interpretations of traditional sayings of Jesus, also beginning in the second half of the first century. Direct or indirect evidence comes from the *Dialogue of the Saviour,* the *Apocryphon of James (Epistula Jacobi)*, and the *Gospel of Mary.*[8]

[6] Later published as *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern.*

[7] H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel* (London: British Museum, 1935); *idem*, *The New Gospel Fragments* (London: British Museum, 1935). Preceding this important discovery, the fragments of gospel manuscripts *P Oxy.* 840 and 1224 had been published in 1908 and 1914, respectively.

[8] These dialogues and discourses seem to provide the basis for the more extensive 'discussions of Jesus with his disciples', such as the *Pistis Sophia,* which are characteristic of later Gnostic literature; they will not be included in the discussion here.

4. The discovery and publication by Morton Smith of the *Secret Gospel of Mark*[9] provides a fresh insight into the question of the stability of the texts of the canonical gospels during the second century before their eventual canonization.

WRITTEN COLLECTIONS OF THE SAYINGS OF JESUS AND THE ORAL TRADITION

The earliest major collection of sayings of Jesus is, of course, the synoptic sayings gospel Q,[10] which was incorporated into the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. It is not possible to know anything about the continued existence of this common source of these two synoptic gospels. Most likely, it was no longer copied, because it was superseded by the Gospels of Matthew and Luke,[11] just like the Gospel of Mark, which, after its incorporation into Matthew and Luke, left only very few traces in the second century.[12]

Another early written collection of sayings of Jesus underlies the *Gospel of Thomas,* although it cannot be assumed that this collection was identical with the Greek text that was translated into the preserved Coptic text of this gospel. The *Gospel of Thomas,* as it appears in the fourth century in its Coptic translation, reflects the instability of such sayings collections. It would probably prove to be very difficult to reconstruct the history of the text of this gospel from its earliest composition to its latest form. But it would give valuable insight into the factors that influenced the ongoing revisions in the transmissions of such collections of sayings.

Evidence for the continued existence of sayings collections is not easy to obtain. Preserved fragments of 'apocryphal gospels'[13] often do not yield much

[9] M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); *idem*, *The Secret Gospel: The Discovery and Interpretation of the Secret Gospel of Mark* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

[10] J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann, and J. S. Kloppenborg (eds.), *The Critical Edition of Q*, Hermeneia Supplements (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); see also *idem*, *The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English with Parallels from Mark and Thomas* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).

[11] W. Bousset, *Die Evangelienzitate Justins des Märtyrers* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1891) endeavoured to demonstrate that Justin Martyr drew his quotations of sayings of Jesus from Q; this thesis, however, proved to be unconvincing. On Justin Martyr and his use of gospels, see below.

[12] The only trace of the Gospel of Mark before Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria appears in Justin, *Dial.* 106. 3, where Justin refers to the sons of Zebedee as *βοανεργές*; see Mark 3. 17 (this special name for the sons of Zebedee is missing in Matthew and Luke). The oldest manuscript of the Gospel of Mark appears about half a century later than the first fragments and manuscripts of Matthew, Luke, and John. On Mark and *Secret Mark*, see below.

[13] *P Oxy.* 840 and Papyrus Egerton 2 seem to be portions of gospels that also contained narrative sections.

evidence, and numerous later quotations of non-canonical sayings may derive from the free oral tradition of sayings, from gospels that have perished, or from additions to the canonical gospel manuscripts.[14] In any case, the free oral tradition continues well into later centuries, and influenced both apocryphal and canonical gospel manuscripts. Sometimes the setting for the free transmission of sayings of Jesus is evident. The quotation of the Lord's Prayer in *Did.* 8 derives from the liturgical tradition of the early church.[15] A baptismal setting is evident for the saying about rebirth quoted by Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 60. 3.[16] Other free sayings derive from catechetical instructions—for example, the group of sayings quoted in *1 Clem.* 13. 3.

The primary source for the existence of sayings collections in the second century is also Justin Martyr. To be sure, Justin uses the first three canonical gospels, and he utilizes both narrative and sayings materials from these gospels. Both the narrative materials and the sayings appearing in Justin's writings are harmonizations of the parallel texts of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. It could be argued, however, that in his quotations of groups of sayings, Justin is not quoting from a gospel harmony that included also the narrative sections of the gospels but from compositions of sayings derived from this harmony. Some of these clusters of sayings reveal signs of composition for instruction of the community, especially the sayings in *1 Apol.* 15–16. In another instance, *Dial.* 35. 3, a collection of prophetic sayings drawn from Matthew and Luke, includes the apocryphal saying *ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἱρέσεις*. Also the non-canonical saying *Ἐν οἷς ὑμᾶς καταλαβῶ, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ* (*Dial.* 47. 5) may come from such a collection of prophetic sayings.[17]

The existence of written sayings collections that are based on the canonical gospels but also include non-canonical materials is confirmed by *2 Clement*. The sayings quoted in this mid-second century writing show mixtures of readings from Matthew and Luke, just like those that appear in Justin Martyr. Twice, *2 Clement*'s quotations of sayings show the same harmonizations of sayings from Matthew and Luke as the quotations appearing in Justin Martyr. *2 Clem.* 5. 2–4 harmonizes Matt. 10. 28 and Luke 12. 4–5 in a way that is similar to the quotation in Justin, *1 Apol.* 19. 7.[18] An almost identical

[14] This is the case with respect to the famous apophthegm of the worker on the sabbath that appears in Luke 6. 5 in Codex D. The saying 'And only then shall you be glad, when you look on your brother in love' is derived, according to Jerome, from the *Gospel of the Hebrews*.

[15] In spite of some criticism, I am not inclined to abandon my earlier arguments (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, 203–7) for the independence of this quotation from the Gospel of Matthew.

[16] The form of this saying, as quoted by Justin, is more original than the form that appears in John 3. 3, 5. John changes the original *ἀναγεννηθῆτε* to *γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν*, and *εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν* to *ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν* (John 3. 3; John 3. 5 still preserves the original *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν*).

[17] A. J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

[18] On the parallel in *P Oxy.* 4009, most likely a fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*, see below.

harmonization of this saying appears in *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 17. 5. 2.[19] In the other instance, *2 Clem.* 4. 2, 5, the quotation reflects not only the same harmonizations but also the same combination of sayings from different contexts from Matthew and Luke[20] that appear in the quotations of the same saying in Justin Martyr.[21] At the same time, this harmonized quotation is combined in *2 Clement* with a non-canonical variant that appears as a marginal notation to Matt. 7. 5 in the so-called *Gospel Edition Zion* (MS 1424).[22] The sayings collection used by *2 Clement* reveals the inclusion of non-canonical sayings also in its quotation, 'When the two become one, and the outside like the inside' (*2 Clem.* 12. 2, 6) that is paralleled in the *Gospel of Thomas* (saying 22)[23] and the *Gospel according to the Egyptians.*[24] The latter, written before the middle of the second century, may also have been a collection of sayings, although direct relationships to materials of the synoptic tradition are not visible. There is, however, too little material left in order to make a certain judgement about its character. Though it was written in Greek, it does not seem to have enjoyed a wider distribution.[25]

It is possible to conclude that, while the earlier sayings collection Q soon disappeared in the second century, one or several new sayings collections appeared, which were based on harmonizations of Matthew's and Luke's texts but also included additional free sayings that found their way also into other non-canonical gospels that circulated or were written at that time. It is remarkable that this development does not assign any special dignity to the canonical gospels, but could freely combine materials drawn from these gospels with non-canonical materials.

THE PROLIFERATION OF GOSPELS DURING THE SECOND CENTURY

Of the written gospels composed before the end of the second century, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the latter separated from its original companion, the Acts of the Apostles, began to emerge from their original local context

[19] See my analysis of this quotation in *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 94–102.

[20] Matt. 7. 21–3; 13. 42–3; Luke 6. 46; 13. 26–8.

[21] *1 Apol.* 16. 9–12 and *Dial.* 76. 5.

[22] Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 83–94.

[23] Ibid., 102–5. Of course, I did not yet know the latter parallel at the time of the publication of my earlier book.

[24] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III 4. 63–4.

[25] On the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, see W. Schneemelcher, 'The Gospel of the Egyptians', in *idem* (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, rev. edn., 2 vols. (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), i. 209–15.

and to circulate more widely in Asia Minor and Greece. While Ignatius of Antioch still seemed to be dependent mostly upon oral traditions, his younger colleague Polycarp of Smyrna certainly knew Matthew and Luke. These two gospels were also known well in Rome before the middle of the century, as Justin Martyr and Marcion attest.

On the other hand, the Gospels of Mark, John, and Thomas—all written in their original form before the end of the first century—did not enjoy a more general circulation. That the Gospel of Mark was known in Rome in the middle of the second century is evident from Justin's reference to this gospel, but it remains otherwise hidden until Clement of Alexandria and Irenaeus; the *Secret Gospel of Mark,* however, could indicate that Mark's Gospel was popular in Egypt earlier in the second century.[26] The *Gospel of Thomas* was at first used in eastern Syria as the special gospel of a sectarian group. But it was brought to Egypt some time during the second century, as fragmentary papyri[27] demonstrate.[28] Also the Gospel of John must have remained the property of a small group of churches somewhere in Syria or Palestine for some time. Polycarp of Smyrna, writing some time before the middle of the second century, did not know this gospel,[29] though a generation later Irenaeus, originally from Smyrna, knew and defended it. But these gospels appear in Egypt at an early time. John appears in Egypt early in the second century, as P^{52}[30] attests, as well as its use by Valentinus.

The first decades of the second century thus show that there were a number of older gospels in existence, which were originally used in limited geographical locations by special groups, but found their way into Egypt at an early date. A note of caution must be inserted here. The available evidence is biased towards Egypt. Not only do all the papyri with gospel fragments come exclusively from Egypt, but also the two Church Fathers, Clement and Origen, who give the most valuable evidence for the existence and use of gospels in the second century, were located in Alexandria. Were it not for the single reference to a passage from Mark in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue,* we would not have any evidence for the presence of that gospel in Rome in the middle of the

[26] For further discussion of the *Secret Gospel of Mark*, see below.

[27] *P Oxy.* 1, 654, 655.

[28] H. W. Attridge, 'Appendix: The Greek Fragments', in B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, NHS 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), i. 95–128.

[29] Whether Ignatius of Antioch knew the Gospel of John is still debated; see the literature in W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 9 n. 52.

[30] A date in the early second century for this papyrus, however, is not as certain as generally believed; see D. Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien: Studien zu neuen Texten und zu neuen Fragen*, NovTSup 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 134 (*c.* 170 CE).

second century.[31] Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that written gospels were in the beginning the property of limited circles of churches or special groups and achieved a more general circulation only during the second and third centuries.

The gospel writings produced in the first century were soon joined by an increasing number of additional writings that claimed to be legitimate presentations of the teachings and works of Jesus. It is doubtful, however, whether they appeared under the title 'gospel' (εὐαγγέλιον), because this term was not yet used for written documents in the first half of the second century.[32] The title 'Gospel according to ...'[33] was in most instances added only by later scribes in the colophons—and often for writings that had no real relationship to gospel literature—that is, writings that recorded the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth. The often-discussed question, whether or not any of these gospels were dependent on one or several of the canonical gospels, is immaterial for the following survey. What we shall find is a blend of older traditions and sources, free materials, and influence from those gospels that later became canonical.

The *Gospel of Peter*, originating in Syria,[34] was also brought to Egypt before the end of the second century; this is attested by two papyrus fragments (*P Oxy.* 2940 and 4009), which confirm a date before 200 CE.[35] While the first of these fragments (*P Oxy.* 2940) belongs to the passion narrative of this gospel that had become known through the sixth-century Akhmim Codex Papyrus Cairo 10759, the second (*P. Oxy.* 4009)[36] presents a combination of Matt. 10. 16 // Luke 10. 3 and Matt. 10. 28 // Luke 12. 4–5 that resembles the harmonized quotation of these synoptic passages in *2 Clem.* 5. 2–4, although the similarities are not close enough to justify the hypothesis that *2 Clement* is dependent upon the *Gospel of Peter*. If it is correct that this fragment indeed belongs to the *Gospel of Peter,* it is evident that this gospel also contained

[31] I am, of course, aware of the widespread assumption of scholars that the Gospel of Mark was written in Rome. There is, however, no single piece of evidence. Mark was used by Matthew in Syria and by Luke in Antioch or in Ephesus in the last third of the first century. That a gospel written in Rome should have been brought to the East at such an early time seems most unlikely.

[32] See H. Koester, 'From the Kerygma-Gospel to Written Gospels', *NTS* 35 (1989), 361–81.

[33] With Schneemelcher ('Gospels: Non-Biblical Materials about Jesus: Introduction', in *idem* (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 77–85) I disagree with the assumption of M. Hengel, (*Die Evangelienüberschriften*, SHAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1984.3 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1984)) that these titles of the canonical gospels were already used at the beginning of the second century.

[34] This is suggested by the claim of Peter as the author and by the report of Serapion of Antioch quoted by Euseb. *EH* 6. 12. 2–6.

[35] *P Oxy.* 4009 may even date from as early as the middle of the second century; Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 60–7.

[36] As it was reconstructed with the help of 2 *Clem.* 5. 2–4 by Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 74–82.

sayings of Jesus, not just a passion narrative. Should one also consider the story of the transfiguration reported by the 'eye-witness' Peter in 2 Pet 1. 16–18 as possibly derived from this gospel? In that case, the *Gospel of Peter* would have been a gospel writing with narratives and sayings, resembling the synoptic gospels of the New Testament canon.[37]

The *Gospel of the Hebrews* was, according to the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*, almost as long as the Gospel of Matthew. It is now generally accepted that this gospel was a Greek writing that must be distinguished from two other Jewish-Christian gospels, the *Gospel of the Ebionites* and the *Gospel of the Nazareans*.[38] But in spite of numerous references to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* in antiquity, only as few as seven quotations have been assigned to it in recent scholarship, among these also a saying about finding rest, which is paralleled in the *Gospel of Thomas*.[39] Considering the information from the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*, this seems precious little. Recently, Dieter Lührmann[40] has argued persuasively that the story of the woman taken in adultery, quoted by Didymus the Blind in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*,[41] may also belong to the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*, although it is introduced by Didymus as coming from 'certain gospels' (*ἐν τισιν εὐαγγελίοις*). Lührmann demonstrates that this story as reported by Didymus cannot have been derived from John 8. 3–11,[42] but is an independent variant of the same story, which was also known to Papias of Hierapolis as a story that was included in the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* (*ἣ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει*).[43] Whatever is quoted elsewhere from this gospel reveals elements of a gnosticizing wisdom theology. This has led to the conclusion that this gospel was essentially characterized by a mystic piety and shared very little material with the synoptic gospels. One other reference in Didymus the Blind, however, may direct further inquiry in a different direction. In his *Commentary on the Psalms*[44] he says that in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (*ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦτο φαίνεται*) the Levi of Luke

[37] It must remain doubtful whether also the Fayyum Fragment PapVindob. G 2325, presenting a parallel to Mark 14. 27–30, could be shown to have been a part of the *Gospel of Peter* (Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 87–90).

[38] P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, 'Jewish-Christian Gospels', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 134–78.

[39] Ibid. i. 172–8.

[40] Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 191–215.

[41] Tura Papyrus IV 7–7, 18.

[42] The story appears in Greek manuscripts of the New Testament only in the Middle Ages, although it was a part of the text of John in Latin manuscripts much earlier (the Greek version of Codex D may be a translation from Latin; see Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 221–8).

[43] Quoted in Euseb. *HE* 3. 39. 16.

[44] Tura Papyrus III, 184. 9–10.

5. 27, 29 is identical not with the tax collector Matthew of Matt. 9. 9 but with the newly appointed twelfth apostle Matthias (Acts 1. 23, 26).[45] This would indicate that the author of this gospel was familiar with materials from the canonical writings and probably included a good deal of material parallel with, or even drawn from, the synoptic gospels. The reference in Papias also gives a firm date of composition before the middle of the second century.

The only other Jewish-Christian gospel that can be dated to the second century is the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* so designated because it was used by a special group calling themselves 'Ebionites' (its actual title may possibly have been *Gospel of the Twelve*). It was a harmonizing Greek composition on the basis of the three synoptic gospels that shows some similarities with the gospel harmony of Justin Martyr. Non-canonical materials do not seem to have been included.[46] The third of the Jewish-Christian gospels, the *Gospel of the Nazareans,*[47] an Aramaic translation of the Greek Gospel of Matthew that was expanded with some extra-canonical materials, is not attested until the late fourth century; it is not likely to have existed much earlier.[48]

The only other, and most important, evidence for the gospels in the second century is the 'Unknown Gospel' of Papyrus Egerton 2. The fragments were first published by Bell and Skeat in the year 1935.[49] A new fragment of this gospel has been identified in Papyrus Köln 255.[50] These gospel fragments preserve the story of the healing of the leper (Mark 1. 40–4 and parallels, including a parallel with John 5. 14), the discussion about paying taxes to Caesar (Mark 12. 13–15 and parallels, with materials also found in Luke 6. 46, Mark 7. 6–7 // Matt. 15. 6–9), and the debate about searching the Scriptures and the authority of Moses (cf. John 5. 39–47), followed by a reference to an attempt to arrest Jesus (cf. John 7. 30; 10. 30, 39). In addition, the fragments of this gospel contain some damaged sentences that seem to introduce materials which have no parallels in other known gospels (apparently a miracle story). The question of whether and to what degree the text of this

[45] D. Lührmann, 'Das Bruchstück aus dem Hebräerevangelium bei Didymus von Alexandrien', *NovT* 29 (1987), 265–79; *idem*, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 182–91.

[46] Vielhauer and Strecker, 'Jewish-Christian Gospels', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 166–71; H. Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, 2nd edn. (New York: De Gruyter, 2000), 208–9; Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 231–3.

[47] Vielhauer and Strecker, 'Jewish-Christian Gospels', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 154–65.

[48] On the complex history of the search for the original Hebrew Matthew, based largely on Jerome's claims that he had found this original Hebrew in the *Gospel of the Nazareans*, see Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 233–58.

[49] Bell and Skeat, *Fragments from an Unknown Gospel*; *idem*, *The New Gospel Fragments*.

[50] M. Gronewald, 'Unbekanntes Evangelium oder Evangelienharmonie (Fragment aus dem "Evangelium Egerton")', in *Kölner Papyri*, 6 (PapyCol, 7) (Cologne: 1987), 136–45.

gospel is dependent upon the four canonical gospels is a much debated issue. With respect to the three synoptic gospels, one could argue that their text has indirectly influenced the composition of materials in the 'Unknown Gospel'.[51] With respect to the passage paralleling John 5. 39–47; 7. 30; 10. 30, 37, however, there can be little doubt that the 'Unknown Gospel' preserves a text that is more original than the respective passages in the Gospel of John; all characteristic Johannine elements are missing here.[52] Moreover, Papyrus Egerton 2 must date from well before the year 200.[53] That makes it unlikely that the author could have chosen sundry passages from the four canonical gospels and combined them at random to create new units. Rather, we must assume that the composition of this gospel—by all means a full gospel text with narrative materials and sayings—is dependent upon some independent written source (the portion paralleling John 5. 39–47), orally transmitted stories and sayings of Jesus, albeit in wording influenced by the synoptic gospel texts, and apocryphal materials.[54] The 'Unknown Gospel' may therefore stand as a key example of the development of gospel literature in the second century. We find a mixture of written materials, some pre-dating the canonical gospels, memories of sentences from written gospels combined into new units, and oral materials not otherwise attested or paralleled in hitherto known witnesses.

New discoveries during the past 100 years have unveiled fragments of gospel materials existing in the second century that cannot be assigned to any known gospel writing. Here belong the story of the discussion of Jesus with a 'Pharisaic Chief Priest' (*P Oxy.* 840),[55] Pharisees and priests challenging Jesus' participation in a meal with sinners (*P Oxy.* 1224),[56] a fragment discussing Mary's and Joseph's flight to Egypt and Mary's encounter with Elizabeth (Papyrus Cairensis 10735),[57] and a scene at the last meal of Jesus

[51] I am not certain whether my arguments (presented in *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International; London: SCM, 1990), 211–15) for independence can be upheld. Lührmann (*Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 125–33) expresses some serious doubts; see also J. Jeremias and W. Schneemelcher, 'Papyrus Egerton 2', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 96–9.

[52] Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 208–11.

[53] The dates have been debated since its first publication, which put it early in the second century; the present scholarly consensus prefers a later date: cf. Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 127; Jeremias and Schneemelcher, 'Papyrus Egerton 2', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 96–8.

[54] See the assessment of P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*, De Gruyter Lehrbuch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), 638.

[55] J. Jeremias and W. Schneemelcher, 'Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 94–5.

[56] W. Schneemelcher, 'Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1224', in *idem* (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 100.

[57] *Idem*, 'Papyrus Cairensis 10735', in *idem* (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 101.

(the so-called Fayyum Fragment).[58] Some of these may belong to the second century. All of these, except *P Oxy.* 840, have parallels in the synoptic gospels and may demonstrate some knowledge of these gospels, in whatever way. They attest the fact that memories of gospel texts could be freely expanded, amplified, and joined with 'apocryphal' traditions.

DIALOGUES OF JESUS WITH HIS DISCIPLES

Dialogues of Jesus with his disciples, often including longer monologue-type discourses of Jesus, became an increasingly popular form of gospel literature beginning at the end of the first century. Such dialogues must be already presupposed for the Gospel of John, whose author revised such dialogues in both parts of his gospel. They are not necessarily 'dialogues of Jesus with his disciples *after* the resurrection'. During the second and third centuries, dialogue gospel literature was further developed into what is commonly known as Gnostic gospel literature, where the relationship to older and independent gospel traditions is often no longer visible, and the setting of a discussion of Jesus with his disciples is no more than an artificial framework.[59] I shall present here three dialogues, which are still related to materials of the gospel tradition and deserve to be dated fairly early.

The *Dialogue of the Saviour*[60] is based on an older dialogue of Jesus with his disciples that is composed as a discussion of traditional sayings, possibly closely related to the sayings of the *Gospel of Thomas.* Although external evidence for the dating of this document is lacking, its character and some similarities to the farewell speeches of the Gospel of John argue for a date of the older dialogues no later than the beginning of the second century. The sayings that are interpreted here, as Jesus talks with Mary, Judas (Thomas!), and Matthew, deal with the topics of the light, seeking and finding, marvelling, and finding rest. Sometimes a traditional saying is used to formulate a question of a disciple, at other times a saying is the basis for the answer of Jesus. While in these older dialogue sections no dependence upon extant written gospels can be established, the later editor, who added several longer speeches of Jesus, is clearly dependent upon several letters of Paul.[61]

58 *Idem*, 'The So-called Fayyum Fragment', in *idem* (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 102.

59 This is clearly the case in the *Sophia Jesu Christi* (Nag Hammadi Codex III and V) and in the *Book of Thomas* (Nag Hammadi Codex II; see H.-M. Schenke, 'The Book of Thomas', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 232–40).

60 S. Emmel (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Saviour*, NHS 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1984); see also Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 173–87.

61 The preserved writing that incorporated these dialogue materials may have been written at the end of the second century or later; it reveals some knowledge of the Pauline corpus.

The *Apocryphon of James*[62] claims to be a letter of James regarding the transmission of the 'secret book' that was revealed to James and Peter by the Lord. But this is only an external framework for what is essentially a discussion of the meaning of Jesus' sayings and parables.[63] The document was originally written in Greek early in the second century, probably in Syria/Palestine. There are close parallels to the sayings and discourses of the Gospel of John[64] as well as to some sayings[65] and parables[66] of the synoptic tradition, but dependence upon a canonical gospel is unlikely. Remarkably, there is also a list of parables (*Apocr. Jas.* 8. 1–4): the shepherds, the seed, the building, the lamps of the virgins, the wages of the workmen, the didrachmae, and the woman. The author must have had access to a special collection of parables that also included the parable of the palm shoot (*Apocr. Jas.* 7. 22–8), which has no synoptic parallel. The dialogues of the *Apocryphon of James,* like those of the *Dialogue of the Saviour,* are in any case less developed than those of the Gospel of John and can be characterized as precursors of the dialogues of the Fourth Gospel.

The *Gospel of Mary* must also be mentioned among the early dialogue gospels. It was discovered in 1896 as one of four writings of the fifth-century Coptic Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 but was only published for the first time in 1955.[67] Meanwhile, two Greek fragments[68] have come to light, which prove that the Greek original of the *Gospel of Mary* must have been written in the second century. These fragments also prove that the Coptic translator made some not insignificant changes.[69] Unfortunately, the Coptic translation as well as the two Greek papyri are very fragmentary. The first six pages are missing completely in the Coptic text, and there is a major lacuna from page 11 to page 14. Thus much of the initial dialogue is lost. Only the end, with a question of Peter, Jesus' answer, and the farewell of Jesus, is left from the first

[62] H. W. Attridge (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, 2 vols., NHS 22–3 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), i. 13–35, ii. 7–37. This writing is also known as the *Epistula Iacobi.*

[63] R. Cameron, *Sayings Traditions in the Apocryphon of James*, HTS 34 (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1984); Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 187–200; D. Kirchner, 'The Apocryphon of James', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 285–91.

[64] Cf. John 12. 35–6; 14.9; 16. 23, 26, 29; 20. 29.

[65] Matt. 5. 11 (Q).

[66] The parable of the sower (cf. Mark 4. 3–8) is quoted in *Apocr. Jas.* 8. 16–23, introduced with an allegorical interpretation (8. 10–15), which is completely different from the allegorical interpretation in the synoptic gospels.

[67] W. C. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, TU 60 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955; 2nd edn. by H.-M. Schenke, 1972).

[68] *P Oxy.* 3525 and P. Rylands 463, published in 1983 and 1938 respectively; only the latter papyrus was available for Till's edition. For a reconstruction of the Greek texts with help of the Coptic version, see Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 107–20. A very helpful English translation with the Coptic and Greek parallels side by side can be found in K. L. King, *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala: Jesus and the First Woman Apostle* (Santa Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge, 2003), 13–18. I am indebted to King's book for my comments.

[69] Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 107–20.

part of this writing. While the question of Peter and Jesus' answer are probably based on Rom. 7,[70] Jesus' farewell speech includes several allusions to sayings of the gospel tradition. The preserved text consists mostly of a dialogue between Mary and the disciples. Mary consoles the disciples, who are distressed because of Jesus' departure, and tells them what Jesus had revealed to her in a vision. While Andrew and Peter object, saying that Jesus could not have revealed all this to a woman, Levi (= Matthew!) sides with Mary and, according to the older Greek version of Papyrus Rylands 463, goes alone to fulfil the command of Jesus to go out and to preach the good news. The later Coptic translator says that all the disciples went out to teach and to preach. Whatever appear as gospel tradition are free sayings of Jesus that can hardly be traced back to an origin in the canonical gospels.[71]

THE GOSPELS THAT LATER BECAME CANONICAL IN THE SECOND CENTURY

The fluid state of gospels and gospel traditions in the second century that is evident in a number of so-called apocryphal gospels raises the question of whether the gospels that later became canonical were not also subject to changes, additions, and new editions. Except for the small fragment of the Gospel of John in p^{52}, no gospel manuscript written in the second century or fragments of such gospel manuscripts have survived. All earliest manuscripts of the canonical gospels date from around the year 200, mostly John and Luke, while Matthew appears less often, and Mark only 50 years later. What happened to these gospels in the time from their autographs to the earliest manuscript evidence? This does not concern the changes in the texts of the canonical gospels that are evident in the later manuscript tradition, such as the addition of the secondary endings of the Gospel of Mark and the addition of the story of the woman taken in adultery in John 7. 53–8. 11.

The question is made even more urgent because of what we know about the use in the second century of the four gospels that later became canonical. Marcion radically edited the Gospel of Luke for his new authoritative scriptures. Justin Martyr composed a harmony of the synoptic gospels, for the most part neglecting the Gospel of Mark. A bit later his student Tatian composed a harmony of all four canonical gospels, including the Gospel of John. Gospels and some non-canonical materials that were later called

[70] King, *Gospel of Mary of Magdala*, 119–27.
[71] See King's careful analysis, ibid. 93–118.

'apocryphal' liberally used materials from the gospels that later became canonical and often combined their borrowings freely with surviving older sources and free 'apocryphal' materials. Other gospels expanded sayings of Jesus to form dialogues of Jesus with his disciples—a process that had apparently begun already in the last decades of the first century, as is evident in the dialogues and discourses of the Gospel of John. Moreover, the memory of Jesus, especially in his sayings, was alive as the voice of the Saviour that spoke again in new pronouncements through prophets and speakers of wisdom.

There are a number of indications that the earliest manuscripts of the canonical gospels do not represent the text of the original that circulated right after they were first distributed. The Gospel of John was originally circulated without chapter 21, which contains the narrative of Jesus' appearance at the lake,[72] and without the several corrections of John's radically realized eschatology[73] and the eucharistic interpolation in chapter 6.[74] Moreover, the question of the original order of some chapters in the Gospel of John has been discussed repeatedly. Did John 15–17 originally stand after John 13. 34–5, and did chapter 6 originally follow directly upon chapter 4?[75] Even if such suggestions for the reordering of the sequence of some chapters are not generally accepted, it must be conceded that the extant manuscripts do not present the Gospel of John in its original form.

While the text of the Gospel of Matthew, as far as can be known, seems to have been quite stable throughout the second century,[76] the work of Luke has survived in two different versions, the Alexandrian text and the so-called Western text. As the differences of these two text forms persist throughout the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts, both versions must have been circulated before the separation of Luke's work into two different books. While the Alexandrian text is preferred by most scholars as the original version, the Western text is also known to have been used in the middle of the second century.[77] That the text of Luke's gospel (as also that of the Gospel of Matthew!) was by no means sacrosanct is evident not only in Justin Martyr's free expansions of Lucan materials in his harmonizations of the texts of the

72 The beginning of a variant of this story stands at the end of the Akhmim fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*.

73 John 5. 27b–29 and the phrase 'and I shall raise him on the last day' (6. 39b, 40b, 44b).

74 John 6. 51b–59; see G. Bornkamm, 'Die eucharistische Rede im Johannesevangelium', *ZNW* 47 (1956), 161–9; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 2 vols., AB 29–29A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966, 1970), i. 289–94, 303–4.

75 R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (ET Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 459–60, 209–10.

76 Matthew appears later in a revised version, supplemented with apocryphal sayings, in Aramaic translation, known as the *Gospel of the Nazareans*.

77 See my essay 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century', in W. L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*,

synoptic gospels;[78] it is also evident in Marcion's radical new edition of that gospel.

With respect to the Gospel of Mark, it has long been suspected that the text of Mark preserved in the manuscript tradition may not be identical with the text of this gospel that was used by Matthew and Luke. This suggestion is based on the observation of many 'common agreements' of the texts of Matthew and Luke, whenever both are dependent upon the text of Mark. Many of these common agreements could perhaps be explained without assuming a different Marcan text as Matthew's and Luke's common source.[79] There is also the possibility that the extant text of Luke may have been influenced by the better-known text of Matthew.[80] These possible explanations, however—even if seemingly persuasive—call for a re-evaluation in the light of the publication of a fragment of a letter of Clement of Alexandria, which quotes and discusses two passages from a *Secret Gospel of Mark*.[81] In spite of some doubts regarding the authenticity of the letter,[82] what these references to the *Secret Gospel of Mark* might suggest for the history of the text of Mark's Gospel should be given some serious consideration.[83] I have observed that in a number of instances of the canonical text of Mark there are special Marcan features that are absent in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke but fit very well with the tendency and wording of the story of the raising of a young man that is told in the *Secret Gospel*.[84] That story of the raising of the young man, though no longer present in the canonical text of Mark, is itself remarkable as form-critically much older than the version of this story in John 11. The version of the story of the epileptic boy in Mark 9. 14–29 must be the product of a later editor, who changed the much simpler account

Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 3 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 19–37, as well as other contributions in this volume.

[78] See Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 360–402.

[79] F. Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark*, BETL 37 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979).

[80] This possibility is repeatedly discussed in F. Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), *passim*.

[81] Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*; English translations of the two quotations from Clement's letter and a listing of relevant literature can be found in H. Merkel, 'Appendix: The "Secret Gospel" of Mark', in Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 106–9.

[82] See the above-mentioned contribution of Merkel to Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, where the relegation of this text to an 'Appendix' already indicates the gratuitous negative judgement. See also C. W. Hedrick, G. G. Stroumsa, and B. D. Ehrman, 'The Secret Gospel of Mark: A Discussion', *JECS* 11 (2003), 133–63.

[83] H. Koester, 'History and Development of Mark's Gospel (From Mark to *Secret Mark* and "Canonical" Mark)', in Bruce Corley (ed)., *Colloquy on the New Testament* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983), 35–57.

[84] See also Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 275–84, 293–303.

of an exorcism, still well preserved in both Matt. 18. 14–21 and Luke 9. 37–42a, into a much more elaborate story of the raising of the boy from the dead. This rewriting thus forms a parallel to the raising of the young man that was inserted in the *Secret Gospel* after Mark 10. 34. Closely related is the note in Mark 14. 51–2 about a young man at the arrest of Jesus letting his linen cloth go and fleeing naked, which is missing in both Matthew and Luke. It recalls the appendix to the story of the young man who was raised from the dead, of whom the *Secret Gospel* tells that he went to Jesus to be initiated into the mystery (*μυστήριον*) of the kingdom of God 'dressed with a linen cloth over his naked body'. Finally, there is the use of the term 'mystery' in the singular in Mark 4. 11, where both Matthew (13. 11) and Luke (8. 10) use the much more appropriate plural. There are thus several passages in the extant text of the canonical Gospel of Mark which reveal changes and additions introduced by the author of *Secret Mark*.[85] The story of Mark's Gospel may thus be a paradigm of the instability during the second century of a text of a Gospel that later became canonical.

A CONCLUDING REMARK

The time-honoured division of canonical gospels and apocryphal gospels falsifies the actual story of gospel literature in the second century. The extant witnesses attest, rather, that there were multiple gospels in circulation that were not distinguished at the time with respect to their authority and authenticity. Nor were their texts considered to be inviolable. On the contrary, their texts could be reused freely in new forms of writing, be expanded by new materials, and be shaped otherwise according to the demands of the community. All these gospels were primarily produced not as 'literature' but as writings destined for oral performance; memory of texts heard and interpreted could also find its way into the copying of texts. Some of these gospels seem to have been restricted in their usage geographically or as the special property of one or another group of a very diversified Christianity, while others circulated freely.

[85] There are other instances, not related to the text of the *Secret Gospel*, where the question can be raised, whether the extant text of Mark is identical with the text of Mark used by Matthew and Luke. The most striking example is the expansion of the question of the Great Commandment in Mark 12. 28–31 with the quotation of Deut. 6. 4 ('Hear, O Israel . . .') and Jesus' debate with the scribe who is not far from the kingdom of God. See G. Bornkamm, 'Das Doppelgebot der Liebe', in W. Eltester (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, BZNW 21 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954), 85–93.

The process that eventually resulted in the production of the four-gospel canon at the end of a hundred years of a very rich proliferation of gospel literature cannot be pursued here. It is most likely related to the fact that those gospels became canonical which were the property of Christian groups committed to the building of socially viable communities and whose central ritual was the Eucharist interpreted by the memory and reading of the story of Jesus' suffering and death. Only gospels with a passion narrative were authorized for use in the emerging early catholic church.

3

The Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers: An Overview

Arthur J. Bellinzoni

I. INTRODUCTION

In an article published in 1992, I traced the use of the Gospel of Matthew in second-century Christian literature from the Apostolic Fathers through Irenaeus.[1] Such a study, I maintained, is central to an understanding of the origin and development of the church's fourfold gospel canon.

Then, in 1998, in a *Festschrift* in honour of Joseph B. Tyson, I examined the use of the Gospel of Luke in writers from the middle of the second century, specifically Marcion, Justin Martyr, and Tatian, all three of whom clearly knew, used, and substantially reworked the Gospel of Luke.[2] In that article, I argued that it was clearly in Rome that the process of canonization began, with Marcion (who created a new edition of Luke as his *one* gospel), with Justin (who harmonized texts or perhaps created a full-blown harmony of Matthew and Luke as his *one* gospel, for reading, along with the 'writings of the prophets', in Christian worship services in Rome), and with Tatian (who wrote the *Diatessaron*, a harmony of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as his *one* gospel). Marcion, Justin, and Tatian apparently all agreed that there could be only *one* gospel. They disagreed, however, on the nature and the content of that single gospel.

Inasmuch as Marcion, Justin, and Tatian all took steps in the process of creating a single gospel to serve as the core of what would later become a New Testament canon, even if unwittingly so, it is important to look more closely at the decades between the initial composition of the gospels and the

[1] Arthur J. Bellinzoni, 'The Gospel of Matthew in the Second Century', *SC* 9 (1992), 197–259. The present article draws freely on the 1992 study.

[2] Arthur J. Bellinzoni, 'The Gospel of Luke in the Second Century CE', in R. P. Thompson and T. E. Phillips (eds.), *Literary Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 59–76.

decisions to identify one or more gospels as authoritative. The period of the Apostolic Fathers was undoubtedly crucial, as it seemingly laid the foundation for these striking mid-second-century developments. It is, consequently, imperative once again to revisit the question of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.

In what follows I examine the knowledge and use of the Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers. This study is but an overview, a prolegomenon, a contribution to a foundation for future and more detailed studies of the early use of all four of what later became the canonical gospels. By focusing on only one text later included in the New Testament—namely, Luke—it complements both my own earlier work on the use of the third canonical gospel in the period after that of the Apostolic Fathers and the discussions of possible references to all the writings later included in the New Testament that are collected together in the companion volume to this work.

As in my previous studies on gospel tradition in the second century, I use as my points of departure the foundational studies of Édouard Massaux[3] and Helmut Koester,[4] together with Andrew Gregory's recent study of the reception of Luke and Acts in the period before Irenaeus.[5]

II. METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

In my 1992 article, I indicated that there are methodological concerns that complicate any study of the use of gospel tradition in the second century. First, there are enormous difficulties involved in reconstructing the textual histories of both Luke and the Apostolic Fathers, especially during the first century(ies) of their transmission. Such difficulties make it virtually impossible to know to what extent the third-century archetypes of our best manuscript families conform either to the autograph of Luke or to the text(s) of Luke that were available to writers in the early second century. Neither, of course, do we have the autographs of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

[3] Édouard Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1950, repr. 1986), Eng. trans. by Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, 3 vols., ed. with an introduction by Arthur J. Bellinzoni (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990–3). All references to and quotations from Massaux in this paper are from the English version.

[4] Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

[5] Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003).

Second, to the extent possible, we must attempt to determine the dates and the places of composition of the Apostolic Fathers in whose writings we hope to identify possible citations of or allusions to Luke. And third, scholars must continue to try to establish and refine the criteria that serve to determine what constitutes 'use' of the Gospel of Luke by these early Christian writers. I will address briefly each of these methodological issues.

1. The Textual Histories of Luke and of the Apostolic Fathers

In a study of the text of the synoptic gospels in the second century, Helmut Koester observed that for the period before the third century, 'we have no manuscript evidence at all, and text types can be identified only by that evidence that comes from those who used Gospels', such as the Apostolic Fathers and early Christian apologists.[6] Koester further indicated that 'a text, not protected by canonical status, but used in liturgy, apologetics, polemics, homiletics, and instruction of catechumens is most likely to be copied frequently and is thus subject to frequent modifications and alterations'.[7] Koester also observed that:

> All of that evidence . . . points to the fact that the text of the Synoptic Gospels was very unstable during the first and second centuries. . . . With respect to Matthew and Luke, there is no guarantee that the archetypes of the manuscript tradition are identical with the original text of each Gospel. The harmonizations of these two Gospels demonstrates that their text was not sacrosanct and that alterations could be expected, even if they were not always as radical as in the case of Marcion's revision of Luke, the *Secret Gospel*'s revision of Mark, and Justin's construction of a harmony.[8]
>
> New Testament textual critics have been deluded by the hypothesis that the archetypes of the textual tradition which were fixed ca. 200 CE—how many archetypes for each gospel?—are (almost) identical with the autographs. This cannot be confirmed by any external evidence. On the contrary, whatever evidence there is indicates that not only minor, but also substantial revisions of the original texts have occurred during the first hundred years of the transmission.[9]

[6] Helmut Koester, 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century', in William L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 19.

[7] Ibid. 2.

[8] To add to Koester's list of radical revisions to the gospels, I would call attention to the fact that scholars who subscribe to the priority of Mark could certainly consider the Gospels of Matthew and Luke as radical editorial revisions of Mark's Gospel.

[9] Koester, 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels', 28. So too François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 1: 'Copyists in the second century worked on the text [of Luke] with the best of intents, but thus concealed the original shape of the text. Theologians either tried to purify the work by abridgment (like Marcion) or to harmonize it with other Gospels (like Tatian). . . . The variant readings within

The issues raised by Koester make it abundantly clear that we cannot simply assume that our best reconstruction of the text of Luke, the text which we must compare to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, is the same as the autograph of Luke or the same as the text or texts of Luke that were available to and used by our second-century writers. To compound the problem, manuscript evidence for the Apostolic Fathers is scant, often late, and sometimes in a language other than the original Greek.[10]

We can, therefore, never be confident that we are comparing the texts that demand comparison. Specifically, we can never be sure that we are comparing the autograph of Luke or the text(s) of Luke available to the Apostolic Fathers with the autograph of each of the Apostolic Fathers. We must resign ourselves instead to comparing later witnesses to such texts, with all of the hazards that such comparisons involve.

2. The Dates and Places of Composition of the Relevant Documents

Establishing the dates and places of composition of New Testament and extra-canonical Christian writings is exceedingly difficult. Some writings are easier to date and place than others. Specific internal and/or external evidence may make the task less difficult, but sometimes there is little or no such evidence, or the significance of the evidence is equivocal and disputed by equally reputable scholars. Yet, in order to study the use of the Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers, we must endeavour within the limits of historical reason to place the relevant documents in their historical and geographical contexts.[11]

the manuscript tradition have various causes: copyists' mistakes, the influence of oral tradition or of the other Gospels (esp. Matthew), recensions, and tendencies in theological development or ecclesiastical sensibilities.' See also William L. Petersen's 'What the Apostolic Fathers Tell Us about the Text of the New Testament in the Second Century,' in the companion volume, ch. 2. Petersen finds 'profoundly flawed' the view that the text of the New Testament was fixed, for the greater part, in the form known to us today. Petersen asks poignantly: are we 'to presume that in the period when the text was the *least* established, the *least* protected by canonical status, and the *most* subject to varying constituencies . . . vying for dominance within Christianity, the text was preserved in virginal purity, magically insulated from all those tawdry motives? To assent to this thesis not only defies common sense, but mocks logic and our experience with the texts of other religious traditions. . . . The text of the documents which would later be included in the New Testament was neither stable nor established' (ibid., pp. 45–6).

[10] The Codex Sinaiticus (fourth century) included texts of *Barnabas* and *Hermas*; Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century) included texts of *1* and *2 Clement*; and the Bryennios manuscript (a codex from 1052) included texts of *Barnabas*, *1* and *2 Clement*, the *Didache*, and the long recensions of the letters of Ignatius of Antioch.

[11] The placing of documents in their historical and geographical contexts is a matter with which Massaux seems to have been largely unconcerned.

According to François Bovon, the Gospel of Luke is usually dated 'between 80 and 90 CE, after the death of Peter and Paul, and definitely after the fall of Jerusalem'.[12] The place of composition is more difficult to fix. Bovon places it in Macedonia (Philippi), an area apparently familiar to the author of Luke–Acts, with Rome as the next best alternative.[13] Raymond Brown agrees with the early church tradition that Luke 'was written in and to an area of Greece', and that 'the best date would seem to be 85, *give or take five to ten years*'.[14] Joseph Fitzmyer dates the composition of Luke *c.*80–5, and maintains that 'As for the place of composition of the Lucan Gospel, it is really anyone's guess. The only thing that seems certain is that it was not written in Palestine. Ancient tradition about the place of composition varies greatly: Achaia, Boetia, Rome. Modern attempts to localize the composition elsewhere are mere guesses.'[15] Helmut Koester locates the place of composition as 'somewhere in the geographical realm of . . . Antioch, Ephesus, or Rome', and argues that 'the time of the gospel's writing . . . cannot have been any later than ca. 125'.[16]

It is evident that the second century was critical for the formation of the fourfold gospel canon. The canon at the beginning of that century was the scriptures that the church had inherited from Judaism (the Old Testament); but by the end of the second century the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, largely through the efforts of Irenaeus, began to achieve a status equal to that of the Jewish scriptures.[17] To trace developments over that critical century, we need to know, whenever possible, which documents were written when and where.

The status and the use of the gospels were, of course, not the same throughout the second century, and were certainly not the same in every region of the Christian world. What were regarded in Rome by 150 CE as authoritative writings were not necessarily the same as what were so regarded

[12] Bovon, *Luke 1*, 9.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 273–4.

[15] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel of Luke (I–IX)*, AB 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 57.

[16] Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, ii (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 310.

[17] Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, writing at the end of the second century, essentially created the core of the New Testament canon of Holy Scripture. It was he who placed side by side with the Old Testament a New Testament canon consisting of the Pauline letters, some of the Catholic epistles, and the four separate gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Many Fathers of the Church, beginning apparently with Marcion in the middle of the second century and continuing with Justin, Tatian, and others, appear to have adhered to *one* exclusive gospel authority. On the basis of a curious cosmological argument that there were four winds and four ends of the earth, Irenaeus argued against the apparently widespread belief that there could be only *one* gospel (*Adv. Haer.* 3. 11. 1–11).

in Alexandria, or Ephesus, or Antioch. The virtually universal agreement of the various regions of the Christian world regarding the fourfold gospel canon came late in the second or more probably early in the third century. To understand the regional issues and to trace their development, we must endeavour to determine whether a particular text was written in Rome, or Ephesus, or Antioch, and when and for what purpose it was written. Without such information, the picture is incomplete. In this regard, scholarly arguments tend at times to be circular. With writings that are less easy to identify by date and/or place of composition, scholars are sometimes tempted to make material fit where it best suits an already working hypothesis. In so doing, however, we must then avoid using that new information as evidence to confirm the hypothesis. Stated simply, we must avoid circular reasoning entirely, or at least recognize such reasoning for what it is and for what it is not.

3. Criteria that Constitute 'Use'

In looking for evidence of the 'use' of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers, scholars must develop and refine the criteria required to determine that it is, in fact, Luke that has been used and not some non-Lucan pre-synoptic oral or written tradition that simply resembles Luke.[18] In that regard I have identified three criteria for detecting what might constitute knowledge or use of one or more of the gospels in second-century Christian literature.[19]

First, the criterion of *accessibility* asks whether an author could have had physical access to the document or documents in question. In that regard the dates and places of composition of the respective documents are of foremost

[18] In a response to my 1992 study on the Gospel of Matthew in the second century, H. Edward Everding, jun. ('A Response to Arthur J. Bellinzoni', *SC* 9 (1992), 259–60) observed that the word 'use' has various meanings throughout my paper: 'use' as 'allusion'; 'use' as 'knowledge of the gospel'; 'use' as 'freely used'; 'use' as 'clear citation from the text'; 'use' as 'reworked harmonizations'; 'use' as an 'authoritative source' or as 'sacred scripture' or 'canonical'; 'use' *not* as interpretation. In fact, ancient Christian authors 'used' the Gospel of Luke quite differently, especially from the beginning as compared to the end of the second century. Having said that, it is important to recognize that Everding has identified the heart of the methodological dilemma: what constitutes 'use'?

[19] In his recent study, *Reception of Luke*, 7–15, Andrew Gregory has provided an excellent discussion of methodology, specifically the earlier debate as to what constitutes 'use' of synoptic tradition in the writings of the second century. Gregory's discussion focuses primarily on the work of Massaux, Koester, and Köhler (Wolf-Dietrich Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit von Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987). See also the insightful essay by Gregory and Christopher Tuckett in the companion volume: 'What Constitutes the Use of the Writings that later formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers? Reflections on Method' (ch. 4).

importance. I submit that this criterion is a *sine qua non* in considering the question of use. Second, the criterion of *textual distinctiveness* implies that it is essential to identify and distinguish specific redactional characteristics of a prospective source and then to look for clear evidence of the presence of those redactional characteristics in our second-century writings.[20] This criterion is critical to the analysis of every passage in question; but, as we shall see, it is generally the most difficult criterion to apply to the passages in question. Third, the criterion of *rate of recurrence* asks how often there appear to be parallels between the texts in question. Numerous parallels indicate more probable knowledge and/or use of a source, whereas a single isolated allusion may signify something other than knowledge or use of a known written source. The fact that there may be only one passage in which a writer appears to cite one of the gospels does not disqualify the possibility that the gospel itself was the actual source of a citation or allusion. Nevertheless, more instances of possible use obviously strengthen the case. Only by employing such criteria rigorously and in concert can we conclude that we have good evidence for the use of Luke by an Apostolic Father. Alternatively, obviously non-Lucan material mixed with what may seem like Lucan tradition should alert us to the possible use of a source other than the gospel itself, perhaps a post-synoptic harmony of Luke and one or more other gospels.

In his 1986 preface to the reprint of Édouard Massaux's *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, Franz Neirynck notes that since its appearance in 1950 'Massaux's book was destined to become one of the classical works on the acceptance of New Testament writings in primitive Christianity'.[21] Neirynck remarks that 'Massaux's basic thesis of the influence of the canonical gospels and of the preponderance of Matthew found a formidable opponent in the book of Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*',[22] which was written without knowledge of Massaux's work. These two studies are in sharp conflict with respect to their interpretation of the evidence regarding gospel tradition, particularly Matthean tradition, in the Apostolic Fathers. When it comes to finding citations of or allusions to the synoptic gospels in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Massaux is a maximalist, Koester a minimalist.

In this time of renewed interest in the use of gospel tradition in the second century, the contributions of Koester and Massaux are still invaluable, not only for their very different assessments of the same evidence, but also for

[20] Koester expresses this requisite thus: 'Hängt die Frage der Benutzung davon ab, ob sich in den angeführten Stücken Redaktionsarbeit eines Evangelisten findet' (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, 3).

[21] F. Neirynck, in Massaux, 'Preface to the Reprint', *Influence of the Gospel*, i, p. xiv.

[22] Ibid.

their exhaustive collection of relevant texts.[23] The studies of Koester and Massaux, therefore, serve once again as the focus of this study, although I will draw other relevant secondary sources into the discussion as appropriate, most especially Andrew Gregory's recent comprehensive monograph.[24]

The studies of Massaux and Koester are very different, not only in their conclusions, especially with respect to the Gospel of Matthew, but even more significantly in their approach to the evidence, which is to say in their methodology. Massaux's study was first published in Belgium more than fifty years ago at a time when Roman Catholic scholarship outside Germany had taken little note of form criticism, and before the emergence of redaction criticism. Accordingly, Massaux predictably explains virtually all similarities between the gospels and second-century Christian writings as evidence of direct literary dependence on the gospels themselves. More specifically, Massaux assumes that the Apostolic Fathers not only knew, but also frequently quoted from, the Gospel of Matthew. Oral tradition is not an option for Massaux.

Since the publication of Koester's *Synoptische Überlieferung*, however, many scholars maintain with Koester that, in citing dominical sayings, Christian writers in the first half of the second century borrowed either from oral tradition or from a pre-synoptic collection, such as has been postulated by those scholars who claim the existence of the so-called Q source. This position nuances the work of Massaux, who simply did not ask with sufficient rigour whether the second-century writings reflect a tradition that has clear and characteristic redactional features of the gospel for which he argues literary dependence.[25]

[23] In addition to the studies of Koester and Massaux, the collection of gospel parallels that are relevant to second-century Christian literature in *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, i: *Dès origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975) is invaluable. I have provided relevant information from *Biblia Patristica*, and from other studies as well, about possible use of Matthew in the second century in appendices to the individual chapters in the English translation of Massaux's 3-vol. work.

[24] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*. Although Gregory provides a comprehensive discussion of the literature and a careful analysis of the data for most of the writings from the second century, I am puzzled as to why he devotes virtually no attention to two of the Apostolic Fathers, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. There are passing references to both works in Gregory's book, but no examination of how Luke was 'received' by the authors of these two presumably second-century writings.

[25] This problem is admittedly more problematic in Massaux in the case of the Gospel of Matthew than in the case of the Gospel of Luke. That portion of Massaux's work on Matthew that examines *1* and *2 Clement*, Ignatius, Polycarp, *Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Didache* (which Massaux dates after 150), has, in my opinion, been superseded by Koester's work. Massaux's study on Matthew continues to be valuable, especially for its examination of Christian writings from the second half of the second century.

III. LUKE AND THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Before embarking on our journey through the Apostolic Fathers, it is essential to state at the outset that there is no possible way in the pages allotted to this paper to examine and analyse in detail each and every possible citation of or allusion to the Gospel of Luke. Rather, I intend in the pages that follow to make brief reference to the studies of Massaux, Koester, Gregory, and others in those instances in which they substantially agree in their understanding of the evidence. I will present details of evidence only in those few instances when Massaux, Koester, or Gregory concludes that one of the Apostolic Fathers knew or actually used the Gospel of Luke.[26]

In addition, at the end of the sections on each of the Apostolic Fathers, I will provide with regard to the Gospel of Luke the information from *Biblia Patristica*, which purports to be totally inclusive, of all possible Lucan citations and allusions in the Apostolic Fathers.

1 Clement

1 Clement was written to the church at Rome probably between 90 and 100. Koester dates it to 96–7.[27] This letter is possibly our oldest extra-canonical Christian writing and pre-dates several canonical books. Assuming that Luke was written in the mid to late 80s, *1 Clement* may have been written just a few years later.

Already in 1832 Karl August Credner rejected the view that *1 Clement* made use of the synoptic gospels and maintained that the author was dependent rather on oral tradition.[28] So too Massaux maintains that 'No text of Lk. seems to have exercised a definite literary influence on 1 Clement'.[29] Massaux notes that there are a few passages in *1 Clement* in which some scholars find possible reminiscences of Luke; however, Massaux himself finds no evidence of literary dependence on Luke. Yet, he obviously equivocates when he states that 'No text of Clement . . . seems to have been under the literary influence of

[26] In this section I borrow freely material from my earlier paper on the use of the Gospel of Matthew in the second century, especially with regard to contextual information about the various writings under consideration.

[27] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 288. Likewise Laurence L. Welborn ('Clement, First Epistle of', in *ABD* i. 1060) states: 'The epistle is customarily dated to the end of the reign of Domitian (95 or 96 C.E.).'

[28] Karl August Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften* (Halle, 1832), 27.

[29] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, i. 33.

the Gospel of Lk. or of the Acts of the Apostles. But it could be said that the similarity of vocabulary comes from a certain familiarity of Clement with these writings.'[30]

Koester is confident that *1 Clement* never used any of the written gospels. The only authority that *1 Clement* recognized apart from the Old Testament (the only scripture known to the earliest Christian communities) was 'What the Lord said'.[31] According to Koester, the author of *1 Clement* knew none of our synoptic gospels.[32]

Gregory concurs that the few passages in which possible parallels between Luke and *1 Clement* have been noted 'provide no strong evidence for the reception of *Luke*'.[33]

Indeed, if Luke was written about 85 (or even later) somewhere in Greece, and if *1 Clement* was written in Rome just a few years later (or at about the same time), we should not be surprised if the author of *1 Clement* was unfamiliar with the Lucan gospel (the criterion of *accessibility*). The author of *1 Clement* might conceivably have been familiar with the Gospel of Mark, assuming that Mark was written in Rome two to three decades earlier than *1 Clement*, but that issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

Although the case for *1 Clement*'s use of Luke is exceedingly weak based on all three criteria (*accessibility*, *textual distinctiveness*, and *rate of recurrence*), *Biblia Patristica*, nevertheless, lists six citations or allusions to Luke in *1 Clement*:

1 Clement	Luke
13. 2	6. 31
13. 2	6. 37–8
24. 5	8. 5
7. 7	11. 32
46. 8	17. 1–2
23. 4	21. 29–33

[30] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, i. 35.

[31] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 291.

[32] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 23. Donald A. Hagner ('The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr', in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels*, Gospel Perspectives, 5 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 239) likewise maintains that 'The data of Clement taken together are best explained as the result of dependence upon oral tradition similar to, but separate from, the written Synoptic Gospels'.

[33] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 125–9, esp. 128–9.

Didache

Massaux dates the *Didache* after 150 CE based on what he mistakenly assumes is *Didache*'s use of the 'Two Ways' tradition in *The Epistle of Barnabas*.[34] Although Koester also proposed a relatively late date for the *Didache* in his *Synoptische Überlieferung*,[35] in his *Introduction* Koester places the writing in Syria toward the end of the first century.[36] In his recent commentary on the *Didache*, Kurt Niederwimmer locates the place of composition probably in 'Syria or the borderland between Syria and Palestine', and states that 'In sum, the date of the *Didache* is a matter of judgment. An origin around 110 or 120 C.E. remains hypothetical, but there are as yet no compelling reasons to dismiss this hypothesis.'[37]

Massaux maintains that 'Other than those passages in the first section [*Influence*, iii. 144–76] in which I pointed out a literary influence [viz., *Did.* 1. 4d // Luke 6. 29b and *Did.* 1. 5a // Luke 6.30], the third gospel seems to have exerted no literary influence on any other text of the Teaching'.[38] In these few instances, Massaux at best picks up a word here and a word there to prove use of Luke. Specifically, with regard to *Did.* 1. 4d, Massaux gives preference to Luke 6. 29b over Matt. 5. 40 because 'contrary to Mt., the Didache mentions the cloak (*ἱμάτιον*) in the first part of the sentence, and the tunic (*χιτῶνα*) in the second, thus following the order of Luke. Moreover, Mt. uses the verb *λαμβάνω*, whereas the Didache and Lk. use the word *αἰρεω*.'[39] With regard to *Did.* 1. 5a, Massaux states that 'the text is even closer to Lk. 6:30 than to Mt. 5:42. In fact, only Lk. has, like the Didache, the adjective *πάντι* in the first part of the sentence, and *ἀπαίτει* in the second part, as opposed to *ἀποστραφῃς* in Mt.'[40]

[34] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, iii. 160–1. See also Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 18–19, who likewise rejects Massaux's thesis.

[35] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 159.

[36] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 158. Robert A. Kraft ('Didache', in *ABD* ii. 195–6) states that 'assigning firm dates and locations to this type of material has been especially challenging', and remarks that although most commentators have opted for Syria, or Syria-Palestine, as the place of origin of the *Didache*, Egypt and Asia Minor also have their supporters.

[37] Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache* (ET Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 53. Niederwimmer is admittedly tentative in his position regarding both the date and the place of composition ('Such argumentation, placing the *Didache* in Syria-Palestine, is not very strong but has some things in its favor,' 54). The fact that some portions of the *Didache* have an archaic flavour (the prayers in *Did.* 9–10 and the references to itinerant apostles and prophets in *Did.* 11–15) does not necessarily indicate an early date for the *Didache*; it may mean that the author of the *Didache* incorporated earlier traditional material into his work (Kraft, 'Didache', 197).

[38] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, iii. 177.

[39] Ibid. 151.

[40] Ibid.

With regard to the question of the *Didache*'s knowledge of our synoptic gospels, Koester maintains that if the author of the *Didache* knew the synoptic gospels, he certainly did not use them. Rather the material in the *Didache* stems from the same oral traditions from which the compilers of the synoptic gospels drew their material.[41]

Regarding *Did.* 1. 4d and 1. 5a, the two passages in which Massaux observed a literary influence from Luke, Niederwimmer, in agreement with Koester, states that 'Verse 4d is again close to Luke (6:29b)', and that 'v. 5a is more strongly reminiscent of the Synoptic tradition (and particularly Lk. 6:30)'.[42] Nevertheless, Niederwimmer concludes: 'For the whole pericope it is again easy to suppose that we have before us an oral tradition parallel to that of the synoptics, or (better) the use of the same apocryphal sayings collection that was already suggested for [*Didache*] 1:3b–5a.'[43]

Hagner examines eleven sayings of Jesus in the *Didache* and concludes that 'Although the *Didache* contains an abundance of material similar, and related in some way, to the Gospels, it is very interesting that the case for dependence upon the Gospels is so particularly weak. The phenomenon can be readily explained as the result of dependence upon oral tradition.'[44]

Christopher Tuckett maintains that the *Didache* may have drawn material from Luke in *Did.* 16. 1 (// Luke 12. 35, 40) and in *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1 (// Luke 6. 27–8, 32–5),[45] although, Gregory maintains, there may be other explanations.[46] Indeed, if Luke was written about 85 (or even later, as several scholars, including Koester[47] and Gregory,[48] seem to argue), somewhere in Greece (which is by no means certain), and if the *Didache* was written in Syria just a few years later (which is also not certain), then we should not be surprised that the author of the *Didache* was likely unfamiliar with Luke

[41] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 239–41.

[42] Niederwimmer, *The Didache*, 79.

[43] Ibid. 80.

[44] Hagner, 'Sayings of Jesus', 241–2. See also Richard Glover ('The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 5 (1958), 12–29), who argues that the sources used by the author of the *Didache* are the same as the sources used by Matthew and Luke; and Bentley Layton, 'The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.1', *HTR* 61 (1968), 343–83.

[45] Christopher M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity: La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitif*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 197–230, esp. 212–14, 217, 219–20, 228.

[46] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 120, 124. In fact, Gregory states that 'it is not possible to adduce the *Didache* as a firm witness to the reception and use of *Luke*' (p. 124).

[47] Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International; London: SCM, 1990), 334. See also Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 310.

[48] Although Gregory does not assign a firm date to the composition of the Gospel of Luke, he says that 'the earliest external evidence for *Luke* can be dated no earlier than the activity of Marcion and Justin in the mid second-century, which means that it must have been written in some form by c140' (*Reception of Luke*, 353).

(the criterion of *accessibility*). The author of the *Didache* would more likely have been familiar with the Gospel of Matthew, assuming Matthew was written in Syria a few years earlier, but that issue too is beyond the scope of this paper. Clearly the application of the criterion of *accessibility* depends on too many variables in the case of the Didachist's knowledge and use of the Gospel of Luke. Yet, as in the case of *1 Clement* and based on at least two criteria (*textual distinctiveness* and *rate of recurrence*), and possibly on all three, there is no convincing evidence that the author of the *Didache* either knew or used Luke.

Nevertheless, *Biblia Patristica* lists seven citations or allusions to Luke in the *Didache*:

Didache	Luke
1. 3	6. 27–33
1. 4	6. 29
1. 4	6. 30
1. 7	6. 31
13. 1+	10. 7
8. 2	11. 2–4
16. 1	12. 35

Ignatius of Antioch

The writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria, include letters to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, and to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. They were written between 110 and 117, when Ignatius was being taken to Rome as a prisoner.

One passage, *Smyrn.* 3. 2, dominates the debate among scholars as to whether Ignatius knew and used the Gospel of Luke. Massaux maintains that a comparison of *Smyrn.* 3. 2 and Luke 24. 39 initially suggests a literary dependence.[49] However, Origen connects these words to the *Doctrina Petri*;[50] Eusebius says that he does not know the source of Ignatius' text;[51] and Jerome states that the passage in Ignatius is drawn from the *Gospel of the Hebrews*.[52] In the end, Massaux concludes that the tradition of these Church Fathers makes literary dependence on Luke doubtful.[53]

[49] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, i. 98.
[50] Origen, *De princ.* 8. praef.
[51] Euseb. *HE* 3. 36.
[52] Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 2.
[53] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, i. 99.

The larger context of this verse in *Smyrn.* 3. 1–3 concerns Ignatius' discussion of the reality of Christ's passion and resurrection. In his commentary on Ignatius, William Schoedel maintains that the tradition in *Smyrn.* 3. 2[54] 'is closely related to Luke 24. 39 ("see my hands and my feet that it is I; handle me and see that a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you have"). Yet, Ignatius is probably not simply presenting a loose version of the Lukan text since further evidence for dependence on Luke is virtually absent in Ignatius'[55]—the criterion of *rate of recurrence.*

Koester's analysis of Ignatius leads him to conclude that there is no citation drawn decidedly from the synoptic gospels;[56] he is unequivocal in stating that use of the synoptic gospels by Ignatius is out of the question. What little evidence has been advanced is unconvincing.[57] Hagner also cites the similarities between *Smyrn.* 3. 2 and Luke 24. 39, and between *Pol.* 2. 1 and Luke 6. 32; however, he summarizes his observations by saying that 'in every instance it is impossible to deny the possibility that oral tradition rather than dependence upon the Gospels may explain the words'.[58]

Gregory concurs that 'there is no compelling reason to suggest that Ignatius drew on *Luke*, and there are strong, if not compelling, reasons that he may not have done'.[59]

As in the case of *1 Clement* and *Didache*, and using the same criteria, there is no convincing evidence that Ignatius either knew or used the Gospel of Luke. If Ignatius of Antioch knew any of our canonical gospels, he would likely have known and used the Gospel of Matthew, if, indeed, Matthew was written in Antioch, or elsewhere in Syria.

Biblia Patristica lists the following five citations or allusions to Luke in Ignatius:

Ignatius	Luke
Eph. 11. 1	3. 7
Poly. 2. 1	6. 32
Eph. 14. 2	6. 44
Eph. 6. 1	12. 42
Smyrn. 3. 2	24. 39

[54] Which reads: 'And when he came to those about Peter, he said to them: "Take, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon." And immediately they touched him and believed, being intermingled with his flesh and spirit. Therefore they despised even death and were found to be above death.'

[55] William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 226.

[56] Koster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 24, 61.

[57] Ibid. 61.

[58] Hagner, 'Sayings of Jesus', 239–40.

[59] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 69–75, esp. 74.

Polycarp of Smyrna

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna at the time of Ignatius' martyrdom, left a document (not well preserved) known as his *Letter to the Philippians.*

It is the view of Percy Harrison that Polycarp's letter, as we know it, is actually two different letters that were addressed to the church at Philippi at very different times. The earlier of the two writings consisted of chapter 13, and possibly chapter 14, and served as a cover letter from Polycarp to accompany the letters of Ignatius that the church at Philippi had requested of him. This early letter can be dated to 110–17. *Phil.* 1–12, on the other hand, reflects a totally different situation, and was probably written toward the end of Hadrian's reign (which extended from 117 to 138), two or more decades later than the first letter.[60] Harrison's thesis may provide an important key to the question of Polycarp's knowledge and use of the Gospel of Luke.

In examining the relationship between Polycarp and Luke, Massaux states: 'No passage in the letter of Polycarp bears a trace of a definite literary dependence on the Gospel of Mk. or Lk.'[61] Unlike Massaux, however, Koester finds contact between Polycarp and Luke (*Phil.* 2. 3a // Luke 6. 38) in the single word *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται*, a word that occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.[62] Koester specifically cites Harrison in claiming that Polycarp, at *Phil.* 2. 3a, is familiar with *1 Clem.* 13. 14, as well as with the gospels of Matthew and Luke.[63] Koester concludes that if his understanding and analysis of this text is correct, then Polycarp must have known the Gospel of Luke.[64] In his *Introduction*, looking at a different passage in *1 Clement*, Koester again notes that Polycarp 'corrects the quotations of sayings of Jesus in 1 Clem. 13:2 according to the text that had been established by the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (Phil. 2:3); a knowledge of the text of those gospels is also shown elsewhere (Phil. 7:2)'.[65] Gregory finds no 'decisive element for Polycarp's knowledge and use of *Luke*'.[66]

The question of the use of Luke in Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians* is simplified somewhat by Harrison's thesis, because it is not in the earlier letter

[60] Percy N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: University Press, 1936), 286. See also Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 306.

[61] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, ii. 34. Hagner also concludes that any similarity between Polycarp and the Gospels of Matthew and Luke may 'derive equally well from oral tradition as from the written Gospels' ('Sayings of Jesus', 240). Hagner further maintains that Harrison's thesis of two distinct letters 'has no bearing on our study' (ibid. 263 n. 34), and Gregory effectively agrees with Hagner's comment in this regard (*Reception of Luke*, 136).

[62] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 117.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid. 118. Koester, of course, argues for Polycarp's knowledge and use of both Matthew and Luke.

[65] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 306.

[66] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 129–36, esp. 136.

of 110–17 that we find possible use of Matthew, Luke, and *1 Clement*. Rather, if there is knowledge and use of these writings, it appears in the second letter from 135 or later. These results confirm our conclusions about the other early Apostolic Fathers: that they reflect no knowledge of Luke or, for that matter, any of the canonical gospels. If there is a reference to Luke in Polycarp, it comes in the later letter written approximately twenty years after Polycarp's original letter. Even then the case for the use of Luke in the letter from 135 or later is not convincing. Koester's argument hangs largely on the single word *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται* in the six-word sequence *ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν* (the absence of *γὰρ* in *Philippians* is, of course, inconsequential).[67] The striking differences in the rest of the texts of *Phil.* 2. 3a and Luke 6. 38 make it difficult to conclude that there is, indeed, clear evidence of Polycarp's use of Luke:

Phil. 2. 3a	Luke 6. 38
μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν	
ὁ κύριος διδάσκων· Μὴ κρίνετε,	*δίδοτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον*
ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ	*καλὸν πεπιεσμένον σεσαλευμένον*
ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα	*ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν*
ἐλεηθῆτε· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε,	*κόλπον ὑμῶν· ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μέτρεῖτε*
ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν·	*ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

Polycarp's second letter clearly meets the criterion of *accessibility*. It is not entirely clear, however, that it meets the criterion of *textual distinctiveness*, because the only textual distinctiveness between Polycarp and Luke (as opposed to Matthew) lies in the prefix *ἀντι* before the verb *μετρηθήσεται*. The total dissimilarity of the material immediately preceding the saying in the texts of Polycarp and Luke makes one wonder whether it is the Gospel of Luke that Polycarp was using rather than an oral saying that happened, perhaps coincidentally, to match the Lucan version.[68] In addition, it is clear that Polycarp does not meet the criterion of *rate of recurrence* with regard to use of Luke, as this is the only passage in which there is, perhaps, distinctive verbal agreement between them. But how much importance should be assigned to that criterion alone? I conclude that the evidence for Polycarp's use of Luke (in either the earlier or the later letter, assuming Harrison's thesis) is decidedly 'underwhelming'.

[67] The parallel in Matt. 7.2 reads : *ἐν ᾧ μετρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν*.

[68] Yet, according to Moulton's concordance, the verb *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται* is not found in the LXX or in other Greek versions of the OT, including the Apocrypha, nor is it found in Greek writers earlier than the NT (W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden (eds.), *A Concordance to the Greek Testament according to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1957), pp. viii, 80).

Biblia Patristica lists the following citations or allusions to the Gospel of Luke in Polycarp:

Polycarp	Luke
2. 3	6. 20
12. 3	6. 27
2. 3	6. 36–8
7. 2	11. 4
2. 1	11. 50–1
7. 2	22. 46

The Epistle of Barnabas

It is particularly difficult to establish the date and place of composition of *The Epistle of Barnabas*. Suggestions range from *c.* 100 to 132–5; however, the truth of the matter is that we know virtually nothing about the author of *Barnabas* or its place and date of composition.[69]

Massaux states that 'neither the Gospel of Mk. nor the Gospel of Lk. seems to have exercised a literary influence on the Epistle of Barnabas'.[70] Koester observes that although use of Matthew, Luke, and an apocryphal gospel has sometimes been argued, generally judgement is either withheld or denied, or else use of the Gospel of Matthew alone is argued.[71] According to Koster, all that can be said for certain is that *Barnabas* and the synoptic gospels both used the same oral tradition.[72] If gospels were in circulation during the time of *Barnabas*, Koester maintains, they were apparently of little or no interest to the author. In fact, the failure of *Barnabas* to use the gospels may possibly be because the epistle was written close to the turn of the first century rather than later.[73] *Barnabas* fails on all three criteria.

Biblia Patristica lists the following citations or allusions to the Gospel of Luke in Barnabas:

[69] Jay Curry Treat, 'Barnabas, Epistle of', in *ABD* i. 611–13. Treat indicates that scholars have variously suggested Alexandria, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor as the place of composition. The date of composition is sometime before 135.

[70] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, i. 74.

[71] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 124–5.

[72] Ibid. 126.

[73] Ibid. 158. Hagner too sees no direct dependence on the synoptic gospels ('Sayings of Jesus', 242). For reasons that are not clear to me, Gregory does not discuss the reception of Luke in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Barnabas	Luke
14. 9	4. 18–19
5.9	5. 32
6. 13	13. 30
12. 11	20. 44
15. 5	21. 25–7

The *Shepherd of Hermas*

According to the reference in the Muratorian Canon, the *Shepherd of Hermas* was written in Rome toward the middle of the second century.[74] Massaux maintains that the Gospel of Luke does not seem to have afforded much inspiration to the *Shepherd*.[75] He claims that there may be a slight reminiscence of Luke in *Mand*. 9. 8 just after he states that 'as for the Gospel of Lk., Hermas seems to have drawn very little from it'.[76]

Koester confirms the absence of any clear references to synoptic tradition in the *Shepherd*. He notes that although external evidence requires a date of composition no later than the middle of the second century, it is impossible to establish a more exact dating.[77] He observes that at best the *Shepherd* contains material that agrees only very faintly with passages in the synoptic gospels. There is not a single passage that reflects clear use of synoptic material.[78] Koester argues that the *Shepherd*'s failure to quote from early Christian writings does not necessary mean that the author did not know them, because

[74] Graydon F. Snyder, ('Hermas' The Shepherd,' in *ABD* iii. 148) proposes 'a preferred date' of 140. Carolyn Osiek (*Shepherd of Hermas*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 18–20) notes that 'There are three pegs upon which all theories regarding of the dating [of Hermas] hang: 'the Hermas of Rom 16:14, the reference to Clement in *Vis*. 2.4.3, and the *Muratorian Canon*'. All three 'pegs' cannot be correct, because they range over a period of eighty years. Osiek concludes that 'The best assignment of date is an expanded duration of time beginning perhaps from the very last years of the first century, but stretching through most of the first half of the second century' (p. 20).

[75] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, ii. 130, and again on 132.

[76] Ibid. 132. The Oxford Committee refers *Mand*. 1. 9. 8 to Luke 18. 1 and points out that 'the idea of Hermas' is related to that of Luke, and that the texts bear enough similarity to suggest literary dependence (*NTAF*, 120).

[77] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 258.

[78] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 254–6; *idem*, *Introduction*, ii. 258. Hagner observes: 'Since the Shepherd of Hermas may date as late as the middle of the second century, the probability that the written Gospels would be quoted seems proportionately higher than for the earlier Apostolic Fathers. It is all the more striking, then, to observe that the quotations do not yield any high degree of confidence that Hermas used the written Gospels. Instead, tradition can adequately account for the data examined. It is worth noting that this is true despite the probability that Hermas knew the Gospels' ('Sayings of Jesus', 243–4).

the *Shepherd* also does not quote from the Old Testament.[79] Although Koester is technically correct, the lack of citations or allusions to any of the gospels may be because the *Shepherd* was written earlier, rather than later, in the second century. It meets none of the criteria to establish knowledge or use of the Gospel of Luke.[80]

Nevertheless, *Biblia Patristica* lists two citations or allusions to the Gospel of Luke in the *Shepherd of Hermas*:

Hermas		Luke
98. 1	(*Sim.* 9. 21. 1–4)	8. 13
6. 8	(*Vis.* 2. 2. 8)	12. 9

2 Clement

2 Clement was written sometime between 120 and 160. It is generally located in Rome because of its association with *1 Clement*; however, Koester suggests Egypt before the middle of the second century.[81]

With respect to *2 Clement*'s knowledge and use of Luke, Massaux states: 'The author of 2 Clement certainly knew the Gospel of Lk. He does not refer to it explicitly, he does not quote from it word for word, but he is at times very close to it, demonstrating clearly that he is inspired by it. Yet, the texts are few where the literary dependence on the third gospel is certain; in most instances, the dependence is very probable and does not exclude the hypothesis of the use of an apocryphal source.'[82]

Koester's conclusions with respect to *2 Clement*'s use of Luke and the other synoptic gospels are more detailed than Massaux's and reflect a better appreciation of the role of oral tradition in the early church: (1) many of the *logia* of Jesus cited in *2 Clement* display a form that they could have had in the oral tradition before being taken over into our written gospels; (2) several citations reflect a revisional reworking of the Gospel of Luke (*2 Clem.* 6. 1; 13. 4a; and possibly 8. 5); (3) several citations reflect revisional reworking of the Gospel

[79] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 258.

[80] For reasons that are not clear to me, Gregory does not discuss the reception of Luke in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

[81] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 236.

[82] Massaux, *Influence of the Gospel*, ii. 17. Massaux discusses the following passages that in his opinion reflect definite or probable use of the Gospel of Luke: (1) *2 Clem.* 4. 5 //Luke 13. 27; (2) *2 Clem.* 5. 2–4 //Luke 13. 3; 12. 4–5 and Matt. 10. 16, 28, possibly in combination, although Massaux believes that use of an apocryphal source is more likely; (3) *2 Clem.* 6. 1 //Luke 16. 13; (4) *2 Clem.* 8. 5 //Luke 16. 10–12; and (5) *2 Clem.* 13. 4 //Luke 6. 27, 32–5 (*Influence of the Gospel*, ii. 12–16).

of Matthew (*2 Clem.* 2. 4; 3. 2; 6. 2); (4) in many citations in *2 Clement* parallel passages in Matthew and Luke have clearly been harmonized and bear striking similarities to harmonizations of Matthew and Luke found in the writings of Pseudo-Clement and Justin Martyr (*2 Clem.* 9. 11; 4. 2, 5; 5. 2–4); (5) other departures from or variations of the texts of Matthew or Luke go back to the author of *2 Clement*; (6) there is, in addition, clear evidence of the use of extra-canonical apocryphal tradition (*2 Clem.* 12. 2, 6). Koester concludes that the author of *2 Clement* did not use the gospels of Matthew and Luke directly. Rather, he used a written collection of sayings of Jesus that was similar to the collection known to us in the Oxyrhynchus papyri. The specific collection known to the author of *2 Clement* was based on the gospels of Matthew and Luke and contained, in addition, apocryphal material as well as further development of synoptic sayings. The collection known to the author of *2 Clement* was probably designated as a collection of sayings of the Lord 'from the Gospel'.[83]

Koester makes much the same claim in his *Introduction*:

> There is clear evidence that *2 Clement* cannot have been written at the earliest period of Christianity. The sayings of Jesus that are quoted in the writing presuppose the NT gospels of Matthew and Luke; they were probably drawn from a harmonizing collection of sayings which was composed on the basis of these two gospels. *2 Clem.* 8:5 refers to the written 'gospel' as a well-established entity (though it is not necessary to understand the reference to the 'apostles,' *2 Clem.* 14:2, as a reference to writings under apostolic authority).[84]

On the basis of Koester's detailed analysis of the evidence, I would argue that the similarity of the gospel harmonies available to *2 Clement* and Justin Martyr make Rome a likely place of origin for the letter.[85]

Gregory is particularly guarded in his conclusions regarding *2 Clement*'s knowledge and reception of Luke. He finds possible Lucan redaction in *2 Clem.* 9. 11 in one of its three sayings, implying possible use of Matt. 12. 49–50 and Luke 8. 21 or of a post-synoptic harmony of these two gospels. In addition, Gregory observes that *2 Clem.* 2. 7 may paraphrase Luke 19.10, although he states that this is by no means certain. In summary, Gregory finds little evidence to support *2 Clement*'s use of Luke.[86]

[83] Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 110–11. See also *idem*, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 349–60.

[84] Koester, *Introduction*, ii. 235.

[85] I have argued elsewhere that Justin Martyr, writing in Rome in the middle of the second century, had available to him a text (or texts) that harmonized the gospels of Matthew and Luke (and possibly Mark), that this harmony was known to other Fathers in substantially the same form as that used by Justin, and that texts in 2 *Clement* prove the existence of this harmonization of Matthew and Luke prior to Justin (Arthur J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 25, 108–11).

[86] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 136–49.

The evidence indicates that *2 Clement* likely meets all three criteria: *accessibility*, *rate of recurrence*, and *textual distinctiveness*. Yet, it is likely that *2 Clement* did not use Luke itself, but instead used a post-synoptic harmony that combined elements of Matthew and Luke and, in at least two instances (*2 Clem.* 12. 2, 6) extra-canonical apocryphal tradition.

Biblia Patristica lists the following citations or allusions to the Gospel of Luke in *2 Clement*:

2 Clement	Luke
17. 7	3. 17
2. 4	5. 32
13. 4	6. 32
13. 4	6. 35
9. 11	8. 21
6. 2	9. 25
5. 2	10. 3
3. 4	10. 27
5. 4	12. 4–5
3. 2	12. 8
4. 5	13. 27
8. 5	16. 10–12
6. 1	16. 13
2. 7	19. 10
8. 5	19. 17
14. 1	19. 46
11. 2	21. 29–33

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This study of the Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers reveals little difference between the positions of Édouard Massaux, Helmut Koester, and Andrew Gregory. When I examined the use of the Gospel of Matthew in the Apostolic Fathers in my 1992 study, I found Massaux and Koester in sharp disagreement. Whereas Massaux found substantial use of Matthew by the Apostolic Fathers, Koester found very little use of Matthew. The difference of opinion between Massaux and Koester is minimal on the question of the use

Table 3.1 Summary overview

Author or writing	Date	Place of composition	Use of the Gospel of Luke
1 Clement	90–100	Rome	none
Didache	95–120	Syria or Palestine-Syria	none
Ignatius of Antioch	110–17	Syria (Ignatius' place of origin)	none
Polycarp of Smyrna	#1 110–17	Asia Minor	none
	#2 post-135	Asia Minor	at most one example of use
Epistle of Barnabas	100–35	Alexandria?	none
Shepherd of Hermas	100–50	Rome	none
2 Clement	120–60	Rome (or Egypt?)	used material harmonized from Matthew and Luke, etc.

of the Gospel of Luke: both find little use of Luke by the Apostolic Fathers. Andrew Gregory concurs in this assessment. It is only as we approach the Apostolic Fathers toward the middle of the second century, specifically *2 Clement*, and possibly the later writing included in Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, that there may be evidence of use of Luke (see table 3.1). Even then, it is not entirely clear that it is Luke itself that was actually used.

In the course of this paper I have attempted to trace the use of the Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers. Specifically, I have looked at seven writers or writings covering the period from the end of the first century to the middle of the second century.[87]

Among these writings, there appears to have been little or no use of the Gospel of Luke *per se*, but rather use of pre-synoptic oral and/or written tradition. This literature from the first half of the second century reflects use not of the synoptic gospels but of the same tradition that underlies the synoptic gospels. The source of that tradition was individual Christian communities, which, based on their practical needs, handed down and made use of synoptic-like oral and written tradition.

Exceptions to the use of pre-synoptic tradition among the Apostolic Fathers appear possibly in the latter portion of Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, probably written in Smyrna after 135, and more clearly in *2 Clement*, probably written in Rome toward the middle of the second century.

[87] I have limited my study to these seven writers/writings and have not examined the question of the Gospel of Luke in Papias, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, Diognetus, or Quadratus. Scholars have for centuries debated which works properly belong to the collection of Apostolic Fathers. In fact, many scholars, including myself, wonder whether the category 'Apostolic Fathers' is itself meaningful.

Polycarp's second letter may reflect use of the Gospel of Luke, but even that is not entirely clear, and I very much doubt it. However, *2 Clement* unmistakably reflects knowledge and use of Luke or, more accurately, use of a post-Lucan harmony of material from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, combined perhaps with extra-canonical apocryphal tradition.

Quite obviously, none of the Apostolic Fathers had an understanding of the Gospel of Luke as sacred scripture. Such an understanding of Luke, or of any of the gospels, as Scripture likely occurred first with Marcion, who was active in Rome in the mid-second century. In fact, it was Marcion, Justin Martyr, and Tatian who apparently set the stage and laid the foundation for the initial formation of the Christian canon a half-century later.[88]

Other second-century Christian writings, mostly later than the Apostolic Fathers, reflect knowledge and use of Luke. Writings from the second half of the second century reflect circumstances in which writers continued to modify Luke freely, often making significant alterations and changes to the text of the gospel, sometimes harmonizing it with Matthew and/or other gospels.[89] There is nothing in the literature before Irenaeus to suggest that Church Fathers in the second century might have felt obligated to preserve the Gospel of Luke in its original form.

Although my primary focus in this paper has been the Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers, this study has, I believe, important implications for an understanding of the development of the New Testament canon and serious ramifications for textual criticism and for the study of the synoptic problem.[90]

What does this study tell us about the status of the Gospel of Luke during the first half of the second century? Can we reasonably assume that there were Christian scribes who faithfully copied the autographs of the Gospel of Luke and the other gospels at a time when many, apparently most, second-century Christian writers obviously treated these same texts quite freely? What are the long-term implications of this study for textual criticism and for proposed

[88] Bellinzoni, 'Gospel of Luke in the Second Century'.

[89] E.g., Justin Martyr and Tatian, probably reacting against Marcion's proto-canon of Luke and ten Pauline letters, developed collections of authoritative writings of their own in the mid second-century. Justin used harmonized texts of Matthew and Luke (and possibly Mark), perhaps even a full-blown harmony of these gospels. Tatian created his one harmonized Gospel, the *Diatessaron*, based on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The *Protevangelium of James*, written sometime after 150, presupposes knowledge of both Matthew and Luke. Athenagoras of Athens, writing *c.* 175, echoes passages from Matthew, apparently in harmony with related material from Luke; and according to Jerome (*Ep.* 121. 6. 15), Theophilus of Antioch, writing shortly after 180, composed a harmony of the gospels.

[90] See in this connection Joseph B. Tyson, 'Source Criticism of the Gospel of Luke', in C. H. Talbert (ed.), *Perspectives on Luke–Acts* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1978), 24–39.

solutions to the synoptic problem?[91] Obviously, I cannot address these questions here, but I have uncovered a number of concerns that clearly need further consideration and deliberation in light of my findings.

I mentioned at the outset that this study is but a first step, an overview, a prolegomenon to the question of the Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers. By focusing on one text later included in the New Testament, it complements the rigorous and systematic re-examination of possible references to all the writings later included in the New Testament that are collected together in the companion volume to this work. Those studies confirm and illustrate the need to give critical attention to questions of method, and the need for scholars to continue to work diligently to develop and refine criteria to determine what constitutes the use of one or more of the gospels.

Édouard Massaux, Helmut Koester, Wolf-Dietrich Köhler, Andrew Gregory, and others have made a good start in their respective monographs, and each has built on the foundational and lasting work of the committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology whose results were published 100 years ago. Yet fresh insights and fresh discoveries may continue to call for rigorous reassessments of gospel traditions in all of the Apostolic Fathers, and beyond that narrow corpus to all of the Christian writings of the second century.

[91] E.g., are not the so-called minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark explained most easy as second-century developments that reflect a tendency on the part of Christian scribes to rework the gospels in light of one another, rather than evidence for a particular solution to the synoptic problem (i.e. the Griesbach hypothesis)?

Part III

Christology in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers

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4

The Apostolic Christology of Ignatius of Antioch: The Road to Chalcedon

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What New Testament teachings Ignatius of Antioch (d. *c.*107–10) was acquainted with, either in their written form or through the oral traditions that gave rise to them, has caused a great deal of debate. For example, did Ignatius have access to some or all of the written Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, or was he merely acquainted with their various oral traditions, or even traditions parallel to them? Which, and how many, of Paul's letters did he possess or had he read? There is no scholarly consensus concerning these issues. Some authors offer a positive assessment, and affirm that Ignatius did possess some of the writings later canonized as the New Testament, the most likely being Matthew, John, and 1 Corinthians, and that he was acquainted with various oral traditions, the most likely being Lucan and Pauline traditions. Others scholars are more or less sceptical.[1] At present, it is very difficult, and in the end most likely impossible, to ascertain exactly which Christian writings Ignatius either had read or knew simply from the various oral traditions that he had received. I would cautiously affirm that Ignatius did

[1] For a careful recent survey see Paul Foster, Ch. 7 in the companion volume. Other discussions include W. Burghart, 'Did Saint Ignatius of Antioch Know the Fourth Gospel?', *TS* 1 (1940), 130–56; R. M. Grant, 'Scripture and Tradition in St. Ignatius of Antioch', *CBQ* 25 (1963), 322–35; *idem*, *The Apostolic Fathers*, iv: *Ignatius of Antioch* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966), 1–24; C. E. Hill, 'Ignatius and the Apostolate: The Witness of Ignatius to the Emergence of Christian Scripture', in M. Wiles and E. Yarnold (eds.), *StPatr* 36 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 226–48; D. L. Hoffman, 'The Authority of Scripture and Apostolic Doctrine in Ignatius of Antioch', *JETS* 28 (1985), 71–9; L. W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 235–40; S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels between the Letters of Ignatius and the Johannine Epistles', in E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing (eds.), *Perspectives on Language and Text* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 327–38; H. Koester, 'History and Cult in the Gospel of John and in Ignatius of Antioch', *JTC* 1 (1965), 111–23; C. C. Richardson, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (New York: AMS Press, 1935), 60–75; J. Smit Sibinga, 'Ignatius and Matthew', *NovT* 8 (1966), 263–83; C. M. Trevett, 'Approaching Matthew from the Second Century: The Under-Used Ignatian Correspondence', *JSNT* 20 (1984), 59–67.

have access to Matthew and to 1 Corinthians in written form, as well as to much of the Pauline corpus, or at least of the Pauline tradition; and that he was at least very familiar with Lucan and Johannine traditions, and may even have known the latter in written form.[2]

None the less, what is most significant within this discussion, and what is often overlooked, is that whatever specific writings Ignatius did or did not have access to, or whatever specific traditions he was or was not aware of, when one reads Ignatius' seven letters, one finds oneself in substantial continuity with a number of the theological concerns of those texts and traditions that came to be canonized in the New Testament and that may be considered as apostolic.[3] Although Ignatius moulded such tradition as he had received as apostolic in order to address contemporary issues that he faced, the basic Christian Gospel that he espoused and defended is nevertheless recognizably the same Christian gospel as that found in at least some of the writings of the New Testament. Some of the apostolic traditions that became embodied in the New Testament are the very same apostolic traditions that are found in Ignatius' seven brief letters. Ignatius, I would argue, is by no means a doctrinal innovator, for it is precisely this composite apostolic tradition, which he regarded as the already given authoritative tradition, that he wanted to defend. Ignatius endorsed and fostered a high theology of the bishop, one that he believed to have arisen from within the apostolic tradition itself,

[2] While this essay will highlight some of the similarities between Ignatius' Christology and that of various New Testament writings, there are other elements of his writings that also bear a likeness to New Testament documents. For example, Ignatius' emphasis on Christians being Christ's 'temples' and on living 'in Christ' and so composing 'the body of Christ' are substantially Pauline (see *Eph.* 4; 10. 3; 11. 1; 12. 2; 15. 3; *Magn.* 12, 15; *Trall.* 7. 1; 11. 1; *Pol.* 8. 3). Richardson, *Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch*, 61, notes that there are at least five clear parallels between Ignatius' letters and 1 Corinthians: *Eph.* 16. 1 // 1 Cor. 6. 9; *Eph.* 18. 1 // 1 Cor. 1. 18–23; *Rom.* 5. 1 // 1 Cor. 4. 4; *Rom.* 9. 2 // 1 Cor. 15. 8–10; *Magn.* 10. 3 // 1 Cor. 5. 7. Of the references noted in n. 1 see esp. Grant, 'Scripture and Tradition'. He finds parallels between Ignatius' letters and the Pauline corpus, plus Matthew, Luke, and the Johannine tradition.

[3] Throughout this essay I use the terms 'apostolic tradition', 'apostolic traditions', and 'apostolic writings', and I will argue that Ignatius espoused an 'apostolic Christology'. By 'apostolic' I mean that tradition or those traditions that made up the kerygma of the first generation of Christians as it arose from within the proclamation of the apostles. These various oral 'apostolic traditions' ultimately took written form in what would become the New Testament. The New Testament, then, is composed of the various apostolic traditions, and so embodies the complete apostolic tradition. It is within these apostolic traditions, both as distinct parts and as a composite whole, whether oral or written, that I want to situate Ignatius' seven letters and the Christology articulated therein.

W. Schoedel argues that there is evidence not only of Ignatius' employment of New Testament material, but also of the use of semi-credal patterns. See W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 7–8. Grant recognizes three passages in Ignatius' letters that are credal: *Eph.* 18. 2; *Trall.* 9. 1–2; and *Smyrn.* 1. 1–2 (*Ignatius*, 10).

because he was convinced that it is specifically the bishop who is now the appointed apostolic custodian and guardian of this apostolic gospel.[4]

I have concerned myself with these preliminary issues because I want to argue in this essay that Ignatius' Christology is an apostolic Christology—that is, a Christology that originated from within, and gave expression to, the various apostolic traditions that were later canonized within the New Testament. Thus there is a fundamental continuity, I will argue, between the apostolic Christology as recounted and proclaimed within New Testament Christianity and as found in Ignatius' letters. Some may think that this in itself is a rather dubious enterprise, but the more controversial aspect of this essay is my claim that Ignatius' apostolic Christology, and so New Testament Christology, is the first step along the road that leads to Chalcedon. My thesis is that Ignatius of Antioch forged the first of many links that historically and doctrinally established the fundamental continuity that is to be found between between the Christology of the New Testament and the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon.[5]

My argument is composed of four parts. The first examines how Ignatius conceived Jesus' relationship to the Father, and in so doing establishes his apostolic foundation for discerning the Son's divine status. The second examines Ignatius' understanding of Jesus' humanity in relation to the apo-

[4] While it could be argued that Ignatius' understanding of the threefold ecclesial order of deacons, priests, and bishops was innovative, since it does not appear as such within the New Testament, I would argue that even here he was not the originator of such an ecclesial notion. Ignatius did stress the centrality of the monarchical bishop within the local Christian community, but he did so not as one attempting to establish an ecclesial order that was controversial or one that was yet to be fully recognized. Rather, he was merely clarifying and expounding what to him were the evident implications and consequences of an ecclesial order that was already recognized to be in place. How this ecclesial order, historically and theologically, derived from the various ministries found within the New Testament is another question.

[5] In saying this I do not imply, as will become clear, that Ignatius already employed the technical theological concepts and vocabulary of Chalcedon. Rather, I merely want to demonstrate that for both it is one and the same Son who existed as God and as man, so both divine and human attributes can properly be predicated of one and the same Son.

For other studies of Ignatius' Christology see the following: E. de Bhaldraithe, 'The Christology of Ignatius of Antioch', in M. Wiles and E. Yarnold (eds.), *StPatr* 36 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 200–6; W. F. Bunge, 'The Christology of Ignatius of Antioch' (Th. D. diss., Harvard University, 1966); V. Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 91–115; M. D. Goulder, 'A Poor Man's Christology', *NTS* 45 (1999), 332–48; Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 635–40; M. Rackl, *Die Christologie des heiligen Ignatius von Antiochien*, Freiburger Theologische Studien, 14 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1914); E. Robillard, 'Christologie d'Ignace d'Antioche', in R. Laflamme and M. Gervais (eds.), *Le Christ hier, aujourd'hui et demain* (Quebec: Les Presses de L'Université, 1976), 479–87; I. Saliba, 'The Bishop of Antioch and the Heretics: A Study of a Primitive Christology', *EQ* 54 (1992), 65–76; G. F. Snyder, 'The Historical Jesus in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch', *BR* 8 (1963), 3–12; C. Story, 'The Christology of Ignatius of Antioch', *EQ* 56 (1984), 173–82; R. D. Young, 'Ignatius of Antioch, "Attaining the Father" ', *Comm* 26 (1999), 333–43.

stolic traditions. The third articulates how Ignatius perceived the unity between the divinity and humanity of Jesus as found primarily within his use of the communication of idioms. Lastly, what has been garnered from all of the above is marshalled to argue that Ignatius' apostolic or New Testament Christology is an initial step down the theological road that will ultimately arrive at the Council of Chalcedon.

THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST

Ignatius' whole Christology is conceived and articulated from within a soteriological setting.[6] Correctly acknowledging who Jesus is and what he did all bears upon the genuine effecting of human salvation, and to propose a counterfeit Christology completely nullifies, for Ignatius, the reality of that salvation. Thus, the nature of Jesus' divine status is articulated from within the historical and earthly economy, for it is the historical and earthly Jesus, not some ethereal transcendent divinity, such as found in the Gnostics, who secures human salvation. 'For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived by Mary according to God's plan (*κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ*), both from the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit' (*Eph.* 18. 2; see *Eph.* 20. 1).[7] Ignatius articulated his understanding of Jesus' divine status primarily by elucidating descriptively what it means for him to be the Son of the Father and the Word of God.[8]

In harmony with the Pauline corpus Ignatius frequently aligned the Father and Jesus Christ together in such phrases as: '[G]reetings in God the Father and in Jesus Christ' (*Magn.* prol.; see also *Magn.* 1. 2) or 'Farewell in God the Father and in Jesus Christ' (*Eph.* 21. 2). This close configuration is founded upon their singular relationship. Throughout his letters Ignatius highlighted that the Father is uniquely the Father of Jesus Christ (see *Eph.* 2. 1; *Magn.* 3. 1; *Trall.* prol.; 9. 2), and therefore he is the Father's 'only Son (*τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*)' (*Rom.* prol.).[9] As the only Son, he not only 'came

[6] For some examples of the soteriological setting of Ignatius' Christology see *Eph.* 3; 19; 20; *Magn.* 5. 2; 9; *Trall.* prol.; 2; 13; *Phld.* 5; 11; *Smyrn.* 2; 4; 6. 2; *Pol.* 3. For studies of Ignatius' soteriology see e.g. Corwin, *St. Ignatius*, 154–88, and D. F. Winslow, 'The Idea of Redemption in the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch', *GOTR* 11 (1965), 119–31.

[7] I am employing the Greek text as found in J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer (eds.), *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations of the Writings*, ed. and rev. M. W. Holmes 2nd edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1992).

[8] For an excellent study of Ignatius' 'God language' see D. Trakatellis, 'God Language in Ignatius of Antioch', in B. A. Pearson (ed.), *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 422–30.

[9] This name 'Jesus' conjoined with this title 'Christ' is Ignatius' almost universal manner of referral (112 times).

forth from the one Father (τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα)'; he also 'remained with the One and returned to the One (καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα)' (*Magn.* 7. 2). This was an eternal coming forth, for the Son was 'before all ages with the Father (ὃς πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν) and appeared at the end of time' (*Magn.* 6. 1). It is not surprising, then, that Ignatius emphasized, within his overarching theme of unity, the unity between the Father and Jesus Christ. Christians are to be united to the bishop as the church is united to Christ and 'as Jesus Christ is with the Father (καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί)' (*Eph.* 5. 1; see *Smyrn.* 3. 3). Therefore, Christians must be subject to their bishop, 'as Jesus Christ in the flesh was to the Father' (*Magn.* 13. 2).

This intimate relation between the Father and Jesus Christ, in keeping with the Johannine tradition, finds its ultimate expression, for Ignatius, precisely in his being subject to the Father within the economy of salvation. Jesus, 'as the Lord did nothing without the Father either by himself or through his apostles for he was united with him (ἡνωμένος ὤν)' (*Magn.* 7. 1). Again, Christians are to be 'imitators of Jesus Christ, just as he is of his Father' (*Phld.* 7. 2), and all must follow the bishop, 'as Jesus Christ followed the Father' (*Smyrn.* 8. 1).

This doing of the Father's salvific will, for Ignatius, is chiefly witnessed in Jesus being the Word and Wisdom of the Father, and so the revealer and teacher of the Father. Here (I think) Ignatius appears to be both following the Johannine tradition and creatively exploiting it. For Ignatius, there 'is one God who revealed himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Word which came forth from silence (ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών), who in every respect pleased him who sent him' (*Magn.* 8. 2). Ignatius' notion is that silence would have prevailed within the world, and so human beings would have been deprived of divine knowledge, if the Word had not come forth from the Father and been sent by the Father into the world to reveal the Father; and it is the Son's revelation of the Father which specifically pleased him. As the Word of the Father, 'Jesus Christ [is] the unerring mouth (ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα) by whom the Father has spoken truly' (*Rom.* 8. 2). Moreover, Jesus Christ 'is the mind of the Father (τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη)' (*Eph.* 3. 2), and 'all become wise by receiving God's knowledge, which is Jesus Christ' (*Eph.* 17. 2). Jesus Christ is, therefore, 'our only teacher' (*Magn.* 9. 1), who is so powerful that he 'spoke and it happened' and yet 'even the things which he has done in silence are worthy of the Father' (*Eph.* 15. 1). Echoing the Johannine tradition and in harmony with the Letter to the Hebrews, Ignatius stated that Jesus Christ is 'the High Priest entrusted with the Holy of Holies', and he 'alone has been entrusted with the hidden things of God, for he himself is the door of the Father (αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρός)', through whom all must enter (*Phld.* 9. 1).

Ignatius' understanding of the relationship between the Father and Jesus Christ, his Son and Word, possesses the authentic ring of the apostolic tradition as found in the New Testament. Even when he is articulating something that is particularly his own, he does not depart significantly from New Testament motifs; rather, his creativity arises specifically from within these various traditions, such as his notion of the Word coming forth from the silence of the Father and so becoming his mouthpiece.

Moreover, while descriptive and functional, Ignatius' apostolic conception of the singular relationship between the Father and the Son/Word confirmed for him that the earthly and historical Jesus Christ as the Son and the Word, unlike other human beings, is divine.[10] Thus, Ignatius effortlessly and spontaneously wove within his understanding of the relationship between the Father and the Son the simple and unequivocal proclamation that Jesus Christ is God. For Ignatius, Jesus Christ is 'our God (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν)' (see *Eph.* prol.; 18. 2; *Rom.* prol.; 3. 3; 6. 3; *Smyrn.* 1. 1; *Pol.* 8. 3). The Lord dwells within Christians, and therefore they are 'his temples and he may be in us as our God (ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν)' (*Eph.* 15. 3). It has often been noted that, unlike the New Testament, in which ὁ θεός is used almost exclusively for the Father, Ignatius unhesitatingly, as the above references testify, effortlessly and, again, spontaneously applied this designation to the Son.[11] Here I would argue that Ignatius is both faithful to the apostolic tradition as witnessed within the New Testament and also accentuates, intensifies, and exploits what is often implicitly, though at times explicitly, contained within that tradition. Moreover, I would equally argue, as I did at the onset, that in this he was not an

[10] Grant states: 'Ignatius is insisting upon the divine function, and also upon the divine nature, of the incarnate Lord, just as certain New Testament writers also insist upon it (John 1:1, 20:28; Heb. 1:8–9; Tit. 2:13; 2 Pet. 1:1)' (*Ignatius*, 8).

[11] Ignatius designates Jesus as 'God' on at least eleven occasions. M. P. Brown states: 'Ignatius does not make a theological issue of this usage; the epithet (i.e., God) is applied casually, for the most part, and apparently without fear of being misunderstood. . . . Thus, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the peculiar assignment of ὁ θεός to Jesus Christ is unselfconscious' (*The Authentic Writings of Ignatius* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1963), 22). Trakatellis insists that Ignatius' designation of Jesus as God was not 'unselfconscious'; rather, while 'Ignatius "does not make an issue of this usage," he does make a clear statement' ('God Language', 426). Or again, he states: 'Ignatius makes no effort to prove that Jesus Christ is God or to develop apologetic strategies in that direction. He simply issues his high christological statement as a matter of fact, as a truth taken for granted and fully shared by the recipients of his letters' (ibid. 427).

While the New Testament almost always reserves the term ὁ θεὸς for the Father, there are a few instances where it could be argued that it refers to Jesus Christ. See Titus 2. 13 (τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ); 1 John 5. 20 (ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτου̂ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς); 2 Pet. 1. 1 (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); Heb. 1. 8 (ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς); and John 20. 28 (ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου). For a discussion of these and other similar passages see R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994), 171–89.

innovator—that is, that he was not the first to do so. Rather, the very spontaneity with which Ignatius designated Jesus Christ as 'our God', without strained argument or embarrassed defence, bears witness that Christianity, at least as Ignatius knew it, now embraced a fuller appreciation of the apostolic proclamation that Jesus Christ, as Son and Word, is indeed the God of Christians.[12] He has exploited this affirmation in order to refute clearly what he considered to be false perceptions of who Jesus Christ is. *Contra* the Jews, who wish to deny the divinity of Jesus, and *contra* the Gnostics, who acknowledge a whole host of deities, and the Docetists, who refuse to acknowledge Jesus' authentic humanity, Ignatius designates the human Jesus to be ὁ θεός of Christians, and thereby shrewdly counters them all.

In closing this section on Ignatius' understanding of the divinity of Jesus Christ, I want to draw one conclusion that is pertinent to my present thesis. By articulating his conception of Jesus Christ's divinity within the apostolic tradition(s) as found within the New Testament, and by exploiting the present interpretation of that tradition by unequivocally affirming that 'Jesus Christ is our God', Ignatius has both intrinsically linked his Christology to that apostolic tradition and simultaneously nudged it vigorously down the doctrinal road to Nicaea and, ultimately, to Chalcedon.

THE HUMANITY OF JESUS CHRIST

As stated previously, the full soteriological significance of Jesus Christ being 'our God' lies specifically, for Ignatius, within the economy—that is, in the authentic reality of the Incarnation, and thus in Jesus' genuine humanity—for it is what he actually underwent as man and the deeds he actually performed as man that are salvific. Our salvation was procured 'when God appeared in human form (θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου) to bring the newness of eternal life' (*Eph.* 19. 3). This is articulated primarily in response to the Docetists, who denied the genuineness of the Jesus' humanity, and also, to some extent,

[12] Ignatius frequently calls Jesus Christ 'Lord', which could also be seen, given the New Testament evidence, as a divine title. See *Eph.* 6. 1; 7. 2; 10. 3; 15. 2; 17. 2; *Magn.* 9. 1; 13. 1; *Trall.* 10; *Rom.* 4. 2; *Phld.* 1. 1; 11. 1; *Smyrn.* 1. 1; 4. 2; 5. 2; and *Pol.* prol.; 4. 1; 5. 1; 8. 3.

There are also a few passages in Ignatius' letters which are trinitarian in nature and thus, equally, manifest his belief in the full divinity of Jesus Christ as the Son and the Word of the Father. See *Eph.* 9. 1; *Magn.* 13. 1; and *Phld.* 7.

One might also argue that Ignatius' designation of both God the Father and Jesus Christ as Polycarp's bishop equally affirms Jesus' divine status: μᾶλλον ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πλεῖστα χαίρειν (*Pol.* 1. prol.). See also *Eph.* 1. 3 and *Magn.* 3. 1.

against the Gnostics, who separated the Christ from the man Jesus.[13] In keeping with 1 John 2. 22 and 4. 2, Ignatius accused both parties of blasphemy 'by not confessing that he (the Lord) was clothed in flesh (μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον). Anyone who does not acknowledge this thereby denies him completely and is clothed in a corpse' (*Smyrn.* 5. 2). Thus, Ignatius, while never addressing theologically or philosophically the issue of how God could actually become truly man, consistently, with almost repetitious monotony, asserted the reality of Jesus' humanity, and so the reality of those human experiences undergone within that humanity and the reality of those human deeds performed within that humanity.

Ignatius affirmed, then, Jesus' full humanity, not by constructing an anthropology, but by insisting upon the historicity and physicality of his salvific experiences and actions. For Ignatius, as for Paul, while the cross 'is a stumbling block to unbelievers, [it is] salvation and eternal life to us' (*Eph.* 18. 1). Ignatius himself has 'taken refuge in the gospel as the flesh of Jesus (ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ)' (*Phil.* 5. 1). For Ignatius, 'the "archives" (ἀρχεῖά) are Jesus Christ, the inviolable archives are his cross and death and his resurrection and the faith that comes through him' (*Phld.* 8. 2). The suffering and resurrection were but a part of 'the divine plan with respect to the new man Jesus Christ' (*Eph.* 12. 3, see *Smyrn.* 7).

Within these affirmations, the Magnesians were warned 'not to get snagged by the hooks of worthless opinions'. Rather, they must be fully 'convinced about the birth and the suffering and the resurrection, which took place during the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate. These things were truly and most assuredly done by Jesus Christ, our hope (πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν) (*Magn.* 11). Equally, the Trallians were to 'keep away from every strange plant, which is heresy', for such people 'mix Jesus Christ with poison' (*Trall.* 6), and the Philadelphians were not to align themselves with schismatics, for such 'are not the Father's planting', because they have dissociated themselves 'from the Passion' (*Phld.* 3; see *Trall.* 11). He exhorted the Trallians:

Be deaf, therefore, whenever anyone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the family of David, who was the son of Mary, who really (ἀληθῶς) was born, who both ate and drank, who really (ἀληθῶς) was persecuted under Pontius Pilate, who really (ἀληθῶς) was crucified and died while those in heaven and on earth and under the earth looked on; who, moreover, really (ἀληθῶς) was raised from the dead when his Father raised him up, who—his Father, that is—in the same way will likewise

[13] This is probably why Ignatius consistently joined the two together. In speaking of 'Jesus Christ', Ignatius was constantly designating that it was the earthly man Jesus who was the Christ, and not some transcendent deity apart from him.

also raise us up in Christ Jesus who believe in him, apart from whom we have no true life. (*Trall.* 9)

For Ignatius it was ludicrous that he should to be in real chains and on the verge of actual death, if 'these things were done by our Lord in appearance only' (*Smyrn.* 4. 2). It is actually the unbelievers, Ignatius believed, who 'exist in appearance only', who assert that Jesus Christ 'suffered in appearance only (*τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι*)' (*Trall.* 10; see also *Smyrn.* 2). Ignatius, like Paul, glorified in 'Jesus Christ, the God who made you [the Smyrnaeans] wise', for they too, in faith, have been nailed to the cross of their Lord Jesus Christ (*Smyrn.* 1. 1). Ignatius was convinced that Jesus was not only in the flesh prior to his death, but that he was also 'in the flesh even after the resurrection'. In accordance with the Lucan and Johannine traditions, the risen Jesus 'ate and drank' with his disciples 'like one who is composed with flesh' and urged them to touch him (*Smyrn.* 3. 3).

Ignatius' insistence upon the human flesh of Jesus found its termination in the Eucharist. Those who refuse to acknowledge Jesus' physical humanity 'abstain from the Eucharist and prayer, because they refuse to acknowledge that the Eucharist is the flesh (*σάρκα*) of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins and which the Father by his goodness raised up' (*Smyrn.* 6. 2). What Ignatius desired most is 'the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ (*σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) who is of the seed of David, and for drink I want his blood, which is incorruptible love' (*Rom.* 7. 3).[14]

In closing this section I again want to draw a couple of conclusions. First, it is evident that Ignatius' understanding of Jesus' humanity is the same as that expressed in the New Testament. One clearly perceives echoes of (or similarities with) Matthew, Luke, John, and 1 John, as well as phrases and ideas that bear the voice of Paul. Even if Ignatius was acquainted merely with their various apostolic traditions, yet the traditions that he was defending were theirs. Thus, Ignatius' Christology, when it bears upon Jesus' authentic physical reality and the actual historicity of his life, is genuinely apostolic in origin, content, and expression. Secondly, as with his understanding of the divinity of Jesus Christ, Ignatius did not merely repeat the apostolic tradition; he also moulded it so as to affirm it against erroneous tenets.[15] It is here, more than in his clear affirmation that Jesus Christ is 'our God', that Ignatius has become, I believe, truly an innovator, in that he has made an original contribution that is particularly his own. While the apostolic tradition

[14] For further references and allusions to the Eucharist and the physical reality of Jesus' presence, see *Eph.* 20. 2; *Trall.* 8. 1; *Smyrn.* 12. 2; and *Phld.* 4.

[15] Trakatellis states that Ignatius 'evidently did not invent his Christology. . . What Ignatius did was to interpret the Johannine and the Pauline christological traditions or formulas in a way that could serve the immediate and pressing needs of the church' ('God Language', 430).

provided him with his faith in the historical and physical Jesus, it was Ignatius who now clearly articulated that it is precisely the historical events (*contra* the Gnostics) of Jesus' fleshly birth, death, and resurrection (*contra* the Docetists) that are salvific. For Ignatius, the authenticity, the genuineness, the efficaciousness, and the reality of humankind's salvation is predicated, intrinsically and necessarily, upon the authenticity, the genuineness, the efficaciousness, and the historical reality of Jesus' incarnation, life, death, and resurrection. While this causal connection is embedded within the apostolic tradition of the New Testament—for example, in Rom. 5–8 and the Letter to the Hebrews—it was Ignatius who unearthed it for all to see. Thirdly, what is equally evident again is that, while he was clearly tethered to the Christology of the apostolic tradition as found within the New Testament, Ignatius has tugged it further along the road to Chalcedon. Already within Ignatius' stress upon the reality and historicity of the Incarnation one finds some of the foundational principles and central arguments later employed by Irenaeus in his refutation of the Gnostics.[16] Moreover, the whole soteriological setting of Ignatius' Christology, whereby the human experiences and historical actions of 'our God' effect a newness of life with the Father, foreshadows the Irenaean and Athanasian tenet that God came in the likeness of man that man might become the likeness of God.[17] Likewise, incubating within his Christology is the theological refutation of Apollinarius' denial of Christ's human soul and the prophetic clue to Gregory of Nazianzus' maxim that 'what is not assumed is not healed/saved'.[18]

THE ONENESS OF JESUS CHRIST

Thus far I have argued that Ignatius' Christology bears the indelible imprint of the apostolic tradition as witnessed within the New Testament in a twofold manner. (1) He affirmed that Jesus Christ, as the Son and the Word of the Father, is 'our God'. (2) He equally affirmed the reality of Jesus Christ's physical humanity and all that authentically pertains historically to such a humanity. Moreover, in confirming and, most of all, in defending these two christological truths of apostolic origin against what he considered to be the counterfeit gospels of the Judaizers, the Gnostics, and the Docetists, Ignatius advanced the authentic understanding and interpretation of the apostolic

[16] See, e.g., Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3. 18. 6–7 and 4. 20. 4.
[17] See ibid. 5. praef., and Athanasius, *De Incarn.* 54.
[18] See Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 101. 4.

christological tradition. Now where all this finds its cumulative effect, and in so doing proceeds to a new depth of meaning and insight, is in Ignatius' employment of what came to be termed 'the communication of idioms'.[19] For Ignatius it is one and the same Jesus Christ who *is* both 'Son of God' and 'Son of man'; thus he instinctively recognized that the authentic attributes of each are properly and necessarily predicated of that one and the same Jesus Christ (see *Eph.* 20. 2). Moreover, these passages have the feel of being part of an already existing tradition, for Ignatius employed them spontaneously and effortlessly without providing any intimation of their needing to be defended or displaying any symptoms of embarrassment at their use. While he used them to address his immediate concerns, they are, then, not entirely his own creations. In other words, Ignatius was not the originator of such theological linguistic expressions; rather, he was utilizing a manner of speaking that was readily available to him.[20]

Ignatius thus assured the Ephesian Christians that they had assumed a new life 'through the blood of God (ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ)' (*Eph.* 1. 1). This is a striking and even scandalous phrase. First, God can only truly possess human blood if he has actually become a human being. What the communication of idioms does linguistically, then, is to conjoin the two christological truths of Jesus Christ's divinity and humanity so as to express the ontological oneness of who Jesus is as the Son or the Word of God existing as man. This phrase, as are all instances of the communication of idioms, is an arresting alignment of seemingly clashing words with their seemly irreconcilable meanings ('blood' and 'God') that accentuates the reality of the Incarnation; that is, only if the divine Son of God did actually become man and so exist as man, does such an alignment make theological sense and possess any literal meaning. Thus the communication of idioms testifies to the truth that the incarnational 'becoming' actually terminates in an incarnational 'is'. Secondly, this particular

[19] The term 'communication of idioms' was first used in its Greek form in the sixth century by those who wanted to defend the definition of the Council of Chalcedon. The Latin form, taken from the Greek, was not in use until sometime in the Middle Ages.

[20] The scriptural basis for the communication of idioms might be found in such Pauline passages as Rom. 1. 2–4; 2 Cor. 8. 9; Gal. 4. 4; Phil. 2. 5–11; Col. 1. 15–20. A. Grillmeier holds that the communication of idioms became popular around the time when the Christian books (particularly book 6) were added to the *Sibylline Oracles*, which was sometime in the second century (see *Christ in Christian Tradition*, i (London: Mowbrays, 1975), 63). In book 6 is found the proclamation: 'O blessed tree, on which God was hung!'

I have argued elsewhere that 'the whole of orthodox patristic Christology, including the conciliar affirmations, can be seen as an attempt to defend the practice and to clarify the use of the communication of idioms' (*Does God Suffer?* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 175). See also my 'Cyril and the Mystery of the Incarnation', in T. Weinandy and D. Keating (eds.), *The Theology of St. Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation* (London: T. & T. Clark/Continuum, 2003), 31.

phrase also alludes to the shedding of God's blood, which would scandalize the Docetists, but which, for Ignatius, would strikingly portray the grandeur of the Christian gospel. Moreover, for Ignatius, Christians derive their true existence from Jesus' 'divinely blessed suffering (θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους)' (*Smyrn.* 1. 2). This phrase too attests that what makes Jesus' suffering blessed, and so salvific, is precisely that it was the divine Son of God who endured it; but he could only have endured such suffering if he had truly existed as a human being. Ignatius himself desired to imitate 'the suffering of my God (τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου)' (*Rom.* 6. 3). Again, God could humanly suffer only if he actually became a man, and Ignatius desired to imitate 'the suffering of my God' so as to achieve precisely what that human suffering endured by God attained—eternal life.

Besides these phrases that accentuate the reality of the Incarnation, and so the ontological unity of the divinity and humanity in the one Jesus Christ, Ignatius also employed a couple of what might be termed rhythmical or poetic semi-credal proclamations the purpose of which is to accentuate this incarnational oneness. Thus, he exhorted Polycarp to 'wait expectantly for him who is above time: the Eternal, the Invisible (τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον), who for our sake became visible (ὁρατόν); the Intangible, the Unsuffering (τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ), who for our sake suffered (παθητόν), who for our sake endured in every way' (*Pol.* 3. 2).[21] Clearly there is here present only one subject, one 'who', who is eternal, invisible, intangible, and unsuffering, but who, equally, because of the Incarnation, became visible and suffered for our sake. Here divine and human attributes are predicated of one and the same subject, and such an attribution finds it legitimacy in the reality of the Incarnation.

Moreover, for Ignatius 'there is only one physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born and unborn, God in man, true life in death, both from Mary and from God, first subject to suffering and then beyond it, Jesus Christ our Lord (ἕις ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν)' (*Eph.* 7. 2). This is the most celebrated example of Ignatius' use of the communication of idioms.[22] There is one subject, in that there is 'one physician' who is 'Jesus Christ our Lord'. Yet, the physician Jesus Christ possesses both 'flesh' in so far as he actually is man and 'spirit' in so far as he actually is God. He is actually 'born', in that he is from Mary as man, and he is actually 'unborn' in that he is

[21] For scriptural, philosophical, and early patristic parallels to this passage, see Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 267–8.

[22] Schoedel sees once again some semi-creedal formulae in this passage. See Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 60.

eternally from God the Father. He is 'true life' even 'in death', because the one who died as man is the living God. While Jesus Christ was 'first subject to suffering' as a human being like us, he has now passed beyond it as a risen man. Ignatius' ontological basis for this juxtaposition of divine and human attributes lies precisely in that Jesus is 'God in man'—that is, in the authentic reality of the Incarnation.

IGNATIUS AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

The above demonstrates that Ignatius employed the communication of idioms, as would his descendants, to ensure the reality of the Incarnation, and in so doing to ensure the reality of the salvific events associated with the Incarnation. The fact that Ignatius did have descendants is of the utmost significance for my thesis. He anticipated and even embodied within his own Christology later controversies and doctrinal development. In light of the subsequent christological history, what Ignatius did was to lift the apostolic christological tradition of the New Testament upon his shoulders and carry it, being joined along the way by many Fathers, especially Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, to the very doorstep of the Council of Ephesus, and then by way of Ephesus into the very inner sanctum of the Council of Chalcedon.[23]

On one level the above statement may be an anachronistic exaggeration. Ignatius did not display, philosophically or theologically, the christological refinements of the later Fathers and Councils. Nowhere did he speak of one *prosopon* or of one *hypostasis*; nor did he employ the concepts of *ousia* and *phusis*. None the less, I am convinced that Ignatius would not have felt out of place or out of his depth either at Nicaea or at Ephesus or Chalcedon. His understanding of the singular relationship between the Father and the Son, which found its most concise formulation in the simple truth that 'Jesus Christ is our God', would have allowed him to give his immediate assent to the

[23] Significant for my thesis is Schoedel's statement: 'In Ignatius . . . flesh and spirit represent two spheres or two dimensions that refer to human and divine reality respectively. We have here the kernel of the later two-nature christologies' (*Ignatius*, 60). He also writes with respect to this passage: 'When Ignatius refers to Christ as "both fleshly and spiritual, he has in mind the union of the divine and human in the God-Man and thus anticipates the classical two-nature-christology" (ibid. 20). Likewise, Hurtado states: "His [Ignatius'] letters are also noteworthy for expressions of faith that anticipate, and perhaps influenced, subsequent developments in formative orthodox doctrine about Jesus' (*Lord Jesus Christ*, 635). Or again he writes: "[I]t is fairly clear that he [Ignatius] represents the profound commitment to Jesus' divinity and real human existence that demanded those efforts toward the distinctive Christian idea of God, and especially toward the idea of Jesus' "two natures," doctrinal efforts that heavily occupied the developing orthodox/catholic tradition well through the fourth century' (ibid. 640).

Nicene Creed's declaration that the Son is 'God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not made, one in being with the Father', even if he, along with many others, might have struggled hard to explain the exact meaning of the term *homoousios*. His adamant defence of the historical and physical humanity of Jesus would have easily allowed him to champion the constituency that condemned Apollinarius. Moreover, he would have had no doubt that Mary was *Theotokos*, for he himself had asserted that the Son, who was eternally with the Father and so unborn, was the same Son who was born of Mary. Ignatius would have eagerly taken up arms over the issue surrounding the christological legitimacy of the communication of idioms, for he was present on the field of battle long before Nestorius and Cyril had sounded the trumpets of war. Lastly, while I am sure that he would have been awed by the christological sophistication of Chalcedon's Creed, yet Ignatius would have felt very comfortable in professing it, for it bears the imprint of his own faith—one and the same Son is truly God and truly man, and thus both divine and human attributes can properly be predicated of that one and the same Son. Equally, Ignatius' employment of the communication of idioms demonstrates that, while the attributes pertaining to God and man are united in the one and the same subject of Jesus Christ, and so are not separated and divided, neither the divinity nor the humanity is changed or confused.

Now it is the one and the same Ignatius of Antioch, whom I believe concluded his journey, by way of the christological tradition, at the Council of Chalcedon who is the one and the same Ignatius of Antioch who began his journey within the apostolic christological tradition of the New Testament. Thus it is this same Ignatius, along with many subsequent Fathers, who pioneered the route between the faith of the apostles and the faith of the Fathers at Chalcedon. Obviously, while it is a significant milestone in the history of Christology, Chalcedon is not Land's End. The history of christological development continues through the centuries up to the present and beyond, and with it the same continuity of faith continues its apostolic journey as well. Thus Ignatius, whose Christology takes its departure from within the earliest apostolic tradition, continues to be a fellow apostolic pilgrim.

5

Wisdom in the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament

Frances Young

In many and various ways wisdom appears to be a key concept in the early church. By the time of Augustine, it has spiritual and intellectual connotations, as well as christological significance,[1] both of these aspects of wisdom having roots in the Bible and earlier tradition. The figure of personified Wisdom, as described in Proverbs 8, was at the centre of the doctrinal controversy initiated by Arius in the fourth century.[2] From the second century on, wisdom figured in Gnostic myths, and so, being contested, was ripe for reclamation or resistance by those claiming to be orthodox. Scholarly literature suggests that in various ways wisdom is important in the New Testament. So it seemed a natural research question to ask: what about wisdom in the texts known as the 'Apostolic Fathers'? The results were a surprise. It may be that they demand a reassessment of some classic scholarly assumptions.

THE VIRTUAL ABSENCE OF *SOPHIA*

The word *σοφία* ('wisdom') is absent from the *Didache,* and its absence from *2 Clement,* the *Martyrdom of Polycarp,* and the *Epistle to Diognetus* is also worth noting if, as convention would dictate, we count them among the Apostolic Fathers. *Σοφία* is almost entirely absent from the letters of Ignatius. Virtually the only occasion when he uses a form of the word is in *Smyrn.* 1, where God is described as *τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα*—the one who has thus

[1] See my paper, 'Wisdom in Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*', forthcoming in *St Patr* Also, Carol Harrison, 'Augustine, Wisdom and Classical Culture', in S. C. Barton (ed.), *Where shall Wisdom be Found?* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 125–37.

[2] See my article, 'Proverbs 8 in Interpretation (2): Wisdom Personified. Fourth Century Readings: Assumptions and Debates', in D. F. Ford and G. N. Stanton (eds.), *Reading Texts, Seeking Wisdom* (London: SCM Press, 2003), 102–15.

made you wise. The proof of this is said to be their firm faith 'as if nailed to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ'. One is tempted to wonder whether the expression is not reminiscent of 1 Cor. 1. 18 ff., where God's wisdom is associated with the foolishness of the cross. In *Eph.* 18, Ignatius certainly alludes to this passage: 'Where is the wise? (*ποῦ σοφός;*) Where is the debater? Where is the boasting of those who are said to have understanding?'

Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* provides only one instance. He claims (3. 2) that he is writing at their invitation, because neither he nor any other like him is able to follow *τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου*—the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who when present taught the word of truth and when absent wrote letters, 'from the study of which you will be able to build yourselves up into the faith given you'. Hermas likewise provides only one instance (*Vis.* 1. 3): remembering the last words the lady read to him, he describes God as the one who by his mighty power and understanding created the world, and by his own wisdom (*σοφία*) and foresight created his Holy Church.

There is a little more in *1 Clement.* In urging humble-mindedness, he wrote: 'Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, nor the rich in his riches; but let the one who boasts boast in the Lord' (13. 1), so quoting Jer. 9. 23–4 and recalling Paul in 1 Cor. 1. 31 and 2 Cor. 10. 17. In assembling a list of exemplary humble characters (*1 Clem.* 18), the author mentions David (18. 2–17) and quotes Ps. 51. 1–17, which includes 'you revealed to me the secrets of your wisdom'. So far, then, wisdom appears incidentally in scriptural quotations which are actually focusing on other things. In *1 Clem.* 32 we find a statement again reminiscent of Paul:

> And so we, who have been called by his will through Jesus Christ, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our wisdom or understanding or piety or the works we do in holiness of heart, but through faith, by which Almighty God has justified all from the beginning.

And in *1 Clem.* 38, in a series of exhortations, we read: 'Let the wise display his wisdom not in words but in good deeds.' Such statements put wisdom, or rather the wise, in their place—so too, in *1 Clem. 48*, where a person who is faithful, or who has the power to speak knowledge, or is wise in debating with words, or pure in deeds, is expected to be the more humble-minded the more great he seems. On the other hand, in *1 Clem.* 39, a long quotation from Job includes the comment that 'they died for lack of wisdom'; and eventually *1 Clem.* introduces a long quotation from Proverbs, spoken by what he calls *ἡ πανάρετος σοφία*—the all-perfect wisdom, which includes: 'The evil will seek and not find me. For they hated wisdom, and did not choose the fear of the Lord' (*1 Clem.* 57. 5, quoting Prov. 1. 23–33). Overall, it almost seems as if this long passage from Proverbs provides the 'text' for the whole of the exhortation in this epistle. Clement goes on: Let us be obedient to his most holy and glorious name, so escaping the threats spoken by wisdom to the unfaithful... (58. 1). In *1 Clement*, wisdom is the fear of the Lord, and it is found in humility.

Barnabas also refers to wisdom a number of times. He suggests (5. 3) that we should give great thanks to the Lord, because he has made known to us what has happened, made us wise (*ἐσόφισεν*) for the present, and we are not without understanding for the future. Later (6. 10) he proclaims: 'Blessed be our Lord who lays within us the foundation of wisdom (*σοφία*) and understanding of his secrets.' It would seem that this is insight into the prophetic, or christological, meaning of the scriptures, as he goes on: 'For the prophet speaks a parable of the Lord—"Who shall understand, except the one who is wise (*σοφός*) and understanding and loving of his Lord?" ' Right at the end, however, wisdom is associated with faithfulness and obedience, as the author signs off with a prayer that God might give the readers wisdom (*σοφία*), understanding, shrewdness, knowledge of his commandments, and patience. This echoes words near the beginning, where fear and patience, together with long-suffering and continence, are described as helpers of our faith, with the added comment that as long as these stay focused on the Lord in purity, wisdom (*σοφία*), understanding, learning, and knowledge rejoice.

A WIDER SAPIENTIAL VOCABULARY?

These latter lists of words associated with wisdom are important, and they alert us to pursue our researches further than mere use of the word conventionally translated 'wisdom'. The opening of the book of Proverbs associates with 'wisdom' a range of more or less synonymous words and ideas, and some of these are more prolific in the Apostolic Fathers than the sparse usage we have found by confining attention to *σοφία*. Daniel Harrington has noted the importance for understanding Qumran wisdom of what he calls the 'sapiential vocabulary' provided by Proverbs, and lists from Prov. 1. 2–7 the following: 'wisdom, instruction, understanding, wise dealing, righteousness, justice, equity, shrewdness, knowledge, prudence, learning, skill and so forth'. In addition he notes the importance of 'fear of the Lord'.[3] The LXX version of these verses in Proverbs alerts us to look for *παιδεία* (education or training),

[3] Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 8.

φρονῆσις (intellect), δικαιοσύνη (righteousness), κρίμα (judgement, in the sense of assessment that is straight and true), πανουργία (cleverness), αἴσθησις (perception), ἔννοια (thought), σύνεσις (understanding), and εὐσέβεια (godliness, piety). In addition, one might highlight again the definition of wisdom as 'fear of the Lord', and note that the wise person grasps the sense of a proverb or parable (παραβολή in the Greek of the LXX, while the book of Proverbs is called παροιμίαι), a dark word (σκοτεινὸς λογός), and sayings of the wise and their riddles (αἰνίγματα). Pursuing all this in the Apostolic Fathers, we might find that the wider characterization of wisdom in Proverbs informs these texts, as it does those found at Qumran. For clearly the ethical dimension is paramount, and so is the discernment of the real intention of metaphorical and parabolic speech, at least in *Barnabas.*

1 Clement and *Barnabas,* however, remain the only significant texts for our enquiry. We find a few more hints where we found little or no reference to wisdom as such. Σύνεσις (understanding) appears in Hermas (*Sim.* 9. 22) as the opposite of foolishness, and in Ignatius it is something Polycarp should pray for (*Pol.* 1. 3), as well to be φρόνιμος (clever) as a serpent (clearly an allusion to the saying also found in the gospels at Matt. 10. 16). Both Hermas and the *Didache* address their advice Proverbs-like to 'my child', and the *Didache* links acceptable teaching to δικαιοσύνη (righteousness) and γνῶσις (knowledge) of the Lord. This draws on the lists of presumed synonyms we noted in *Barnabas*, though the constellation of words in Proverbs omits γνῶσις (knowledge) and includes παιδεία rather than διδαχή (teaching). We find occasional quotations and allusions to Proverbs and other wisdom texts in Hermas, as well as Ignatius, the letter of Polycarp, and the *Didache.* Hermas is clear that 'fear of the Lord' is fundamental: *Mand.* 7 develops the idea that there are two sorts of fear: fear of the devil and fear of the Lord, which is 'powerful and great and glorious', enabling you to avoid evil and do good. But overall there is very little apart from the presumption that the Two Ways in the *Didache*, not to mention other paraenetical collages, may owe something to sapiential traditions, and a few other marginal features which parallel things we shall note in 1 Clement.

1 Clement

The opening paragraphs of *1 Clement* associate 'perfect and secure knowledge (γνῶσις)' with a piety (εὐσέβεια) that is sober (σώφρων) and modest (ἐπιεικής), having the commandments (προστάγματα) and ordinances (δικαιώματα) of the Lord written on the tablet of their hearts. That last phrase comes from Prov. 7. 3, and the words used overlap with those in Prov. 1. 1–3, without reproducing the exact list. The recipients of the letter are told that once they were like that, but now the foolish have risen against the φρονίμοι (intelligent), and because of this, righteousness is absent, and each has deserted the 'fear of God' (*1 Clem.* 3, 7). The foolish (ἄφρονες) and mindless (ἀνοήτοι) are exalted and boast in the pride of their words rather than in God. They should display a pure life-style, with modesty in speech. So material similar to the Proverbs constellation is followed by a contrast between the wise and foolish such as characterizes chapters 1–9 of that biblical book.

The polarization of foolishness and fear of the Lord recurs in *1 Clem.* 21, where we also find the warning, so characteristic of the Pastorals and the Apostolic Fathers, that God is a searcher of thoughts and desires, a point grounded in a quotation from Prov. 20. 27: 'The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp searching the inward parts.' God is so near that nothing of our thoughts or inner discussions escapes him. Gentleness of tongue is to be evident in silence. Παιδεία (instruction) is to form children in the ways of humility and pure love before God, as well as fear of him. This letter focuses on instruction and training in the right way, again reflecting the thrust, if not the text, of Proverbs. In the following paragraph, for example, we are told that God calls us in these words: 'Come, children, listen to me and I will teach you fear of the Lord'—and the rest of Ps. 34. 11–17 follows, with the addition of Ps. 32. 10—psalm material that mirrors the characteristics of the 'wisdom' of Proverbs in its suggestion that life and prosperity follow from fear of the Lord, which involves keeping the tongue from evil, doing good, and seeking peace, aware that the eyes of the Lord are on the righteous and his ears open to their prayers, while the face of the Lord is against those who do evil. The slip into Psalm 32 reinforces this by paralleling the quotation,

> Many are the torments of the wicked
> But mercy surrounds those who hope in the Lord,

with the verse from Psalm 34,

> The righteous has called to the Lord, and the Lord heard.
> And rescued him from all his troubles.

The explicit references to the Psalms are a clue to the source of another pervasive emphasis in this and other texts among the Apostolic Fathers, especially the *Shepherd*: namely, the insistence on a 'single mind' (ἁπλῆ διανοία) and the avoidance of double-mindedness (μὴ διψυχῶμεν). Yet it seems at first sight probable that the overall tradition of 'wisdom' is what informs the notion of the mind being fixed on God, seeking the things that are well-pleasing and acceptable to God, following in the way of his truth, and casting away all unrighteousness and wickedness, greed, strife, bad habits and trickery, gossip and malice, pride and arrogance, hatred of God and love of empty glory, with lack of hospitality (*1 Clem.* 35). Through a check on where scriptural quotations come from, the presence of this 'wisdom' character seems the more apparent: Proverbs, Job, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon are all utilized. However, the fact is that both the Psalms and the Law and the Prophets are quoted more frequently. The extent to which so many of the quotations seem to serve this overall 'wisdom' outlook is interesting. You might say the Scriptures are read for a *paraenesis* shaped by the wisdom traditions. Or is it rather that the generic distinctions so beloved of modern scholars were not explicit for the early Christians?[4] Anything that supported the ethical advice was exploited—the biblical narratives becoming models of good behaviours like repentance, or bad characteristics like jealousy and envy, alongside the use of maxims and commandments, and all exploited without differentiation.

The overall perspective we have explored in *1 Clement* has a theological dimension (*1 Clem.* 33, 60). It was by his infinite power that the Creator fixed the heavens, and by an understanding (*σύνεσις*) beyond our grasp that he set them in order. As for humankind, he shaped it in the stamp of his own image, as the best and greatest of his creatures according to his intellect (*κατὰ διάνοιαν*). God is wise (*σοφός*) in his creating and understanding (*συνετός*) in establishing what has come into being, as well as faithful, righteous, and gracious. The *paraenesis* seeks to form divine qualities in believers, the object being to please God with lives lived in holiness, righteousness, faith, repentance, love, self-control, truth, patience, long-suffering, concord, peace, gentleness, humility. The basis of due order in worship and service is the fact that 'we have looked into the depths of divine knowledge (*τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως*)' (*1 Clem.* 40). It is through Christ that 'we fix our gaze on the heights of heaven', through him that 'the eyes of our heart have been opened', through him that 'our foolish and darkened mind (*ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια*) blossoms towards the light', through him that 'the Master wished us to taste immortal knowledge (*ἡ ἀθάνατος γνῶσις*)' (*1 Clem.* 36). The way to salvation is through Jesus Christ.

[4] Cf. S. Weeks, 'Wisdom in the Old Testament' in Barton (ed.), *Where shall Wisdom be Found?*, 19–30. He deconstructs the idea of the wisdom literature as a distinct biblical genre, suggesting that the 'wisdom tradition' is a 'modern construct' (p. 21). We should also note, perhaps, the fact that the 'sapiential texts' from Qumran, as well as those from Hellenistic Judaism, appear to conflate wisdom with Torah or Halakah, while wisdom elements appear in the community 'rule-books'. (See the essays by G. J. Brooke, D. J. Harrington, and C. Hempel in C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger (eds.), *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002). It is also well known that wisdom elements appear in apocalyptic. (See, e.g., the essays in the same volume by P. S. Alexander and L. T. Stuckenbruck, as well as those by L. T. Stuckenbruck and C. C. Rowland in *Where shall Wisdom be Found?*)

The strange thing is, however, that there is no trace of a Wisdom Christology in this letter.[5] Christ is a model of the humble-mindedness the author wishes to encourage, and Isa. 53 is quoted at length to show that (*1 Clem.* 16). Soon after (*1 Clem.* 18), David fulfils the same role with a long quotation from Ps. 51, and between these two passages, the examples of Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel, Abraham, Job, and Moses are called in to make the same point, though all of these are said to be heralding the coming of Christ (*1 Clem.* 17). Mostly, the author appeals simply to the blood of Christ, poured out for our salvation (*1 Clem.* 7, 21, 49), to Christ as the defender and helper of our weakness (*1 Clem.* 36), or as our High Priest and guardian (*1 Clem.* 36, 59), through whom God chose us to be his own people (*1 Clem.* 64). God's 'beloved child', Jesus Christ, called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to full knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of the glory of his name (*1 Clem.* 59); through him, God taught us and sanctified us. Allusion to the teaching of Jesus is occasionally made, notably in *1 Clem.* 13:

> Be merciful that you may obtain mercy; forgive that you may be forgiven; as you do, so it will be done to you; as you give, so it will be given you; as you judge, so you will be judged; as you do good, so good will be done to you; by what measure you measure, it will be measured to you.

To this is added an exhortation to walk in obedience; and a quote from Isaiah is introduced with the words, 'for the holy word says', clearly meaning the Scriptures. The Christology of *1 Clement* gets nowhere near a Wisdom or Logos Christology—and this despite the evident knowledge of at least some Pauline Epistles, and the clear knowledge of Proverbs.

So, among the Apostolic Fathers, *1 Clement* is one of only two texts which use the 'wisdom' word, σοφία, a certain amount. A wider trawl of sapiential vocabulary and characteristics increases the sense that *1 Clement* is indebted to wisdom traditions. Yet the collages of scriptural allusions suggest that wisdom may not be identified as a particular genre, and there is no development of Christology in terms of the divine Wisdom.

The Epistle of Barnabas

As we have already noted, *Barnabas* associates σοφία (wisdom), σύνεσις (understanding), ἐπιστήμη (learning), and γνῶσις (knowledge). Furthermore, this author links all of these virtually synonymous qualities with

[5] For fuller discussion of *1 Clement's* Christology, see Harold Bertram Bumpus, *The Christological Awareness of Clement of Rome and its Sources* (University Press of Cambridge, 1972). This study draws attention to the narrowing of the range of christological titles in *1 Clement* compared with the New Testament, and focuses on Clement's use of κύριος, together with the blood theme, the servant theme and the High Priest theme. Overall, Clement's Christology is characterized as functional.

knowing the meaning of things, past, present, and future. Much of his treatise is engaged in interpreting what he identifies as prophetic words and signs. In the midst of this process, he inserts comments like 'I write to you more simply so that you may understand (συνιῆτε)' (*Barn.* 6. 5), or 'Learn what knowledge (γνῶσις) says' (6. 9), or 'Blessed be our Lord, brothers, who has placed in us wisdom (σοφία) and understanding (νοῦς) of his secrets' (6. 10). Later certain Mosaic laws (called δόγματα by the author) are given allegorical interpretations, and in introducing them the author asserts that David was given knowledge (γνῶσις) of these three teachings, and proceeds to quote texts to show this. This is the way in which this author fulfils Proverbs' interest in understanding the dark sayings of the wise. It would seem not to differentiate scriptural genres into law, prophecy, and wisdom.

On the whole, scriptural allusions and references in this text are to the Law and the Prophets, and to the Psalms. There are a few quotations from Proverbs and possible allusions to the Wisdom of Solomon, but Isaiah is quoted against those who trust in their own understanding and learning. There is exhortation to practise the fear of the Lord, but to this is added the need to strive to keep his commandments—for he will judge without respect of persons (*Barn.* 4. 11–12). Again, then, as in the case of *1 Clement*, one must ask whether there is any conscious awareness of 'wisdom' as a distinct genre.

The Two Ways tradition would seem to confirm the sense that scripture is used in undifferentiated ways. The Way of Light (*Barn.* 19) clearly enjoins a pattern of life very similar to that recommended in *1 Clement*, drawing upon a range of scriptural sources: in a rapid survey, we note that it covers the following ground—to love and fear one's Creator, to glorify one's Redeemer, and not to take the Lord's name in vain; to be simple in heart and not double-minded, to hate what is not pleasing to God, and to refuse to desert the commandments; to be humble-minded and not exalt oneself, avoid specified sexual sins, not bear malice, love one's neighbour more than one's own soul, not practice infanticide or covet one's neighbours' goods, not cause quarrels, and remember that God's judgement is to be faced. The Way of the Black One is the converse—idolatry, for example, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, pride, self-sufficiency, lack of fear of God. True, the Two Ways (both here and in the *Didache*) reflect the kind of moral dualism found in the wisdom texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls and adumbrated by the Proverbs contrast between Wisdom and Folly.[6] True, it is Proverbs that speaks of walking in the way of the good and keeping to the paths of righteousness

[6] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 34–5, 52 ff.

(2. 20), and *Barnabas* sums up by saying 'It is good to learn all the written ordinances (δικαιώματα) of the Lord and walk in them ... May God who rules the whole earth, give you wisdom, understanding, learning, knowledge of his ordinances, patience.' But surely it is the whole scriptural picture of God's providential plans, prophetic utterances, and commandments that *Barnabas* has in mind. Furthermore, both the Dead Sea Scrolls and these texts from the Apostolic Fathers put their wisdom injunctions into an eschatological framework,[7] which is not characteristic of the sapiential literature of the Bible, and implies a conflation of many genres.

As in the case of *1 Clement*, we find little trace of a Wisdom or Logos Christology in this text. The only hint is a reference to the 'glory of Jesus, for all things are in him and for him' (*Barn.* 12. 7), which is a statement very similar to those taken to imply a cosmic 'wisdom' idea in the New Testament. However, there is no mention of wisdom, and the question is: to what does the phrase 'all things' refer? It could be all the riches of salvation in Christ. The following statement focuses on the fact that he is not to be seen 'as son of man but as Son of God manifested in a type in the flesh'; but here and elsewhere in this epistle, the emphasis is on 'types' of the cross. He endured corruption, so that we might be sanctified through his sprinkled blood and become heirs of the covenant (*Barn.* 5, *passim*; note the elaborate development of 'types' of his sacrificial death, etc.). He is the Son of God, destined to judge the living and the dead, one who could not suffer except for our sakes (*Barn.* 7, *passim*; here the types of Isaac, the sin offering, and the Day of Atonement are developed, leading to the red heifer in *Barn.* 8). This elaborates the message stated from the beginning: that our Lord Jesus Christ abolished sacrifice and brought a new law (2. 6), a new covenant, sealed in our hearts (4. 8). The people of the new covenant celebrate not on the sabbath but on the eighth day, when 'Jesus rose from the dead, was made manifest and ascended to heaven' (15. 9). When we received the remission of sins, we became new, created again from the beginning, and God truly dwells in us, as in a spiritual temple. In explaining how this happens, the author speaks of 'his word of faith, the calling of his promise, the wisdom (σοφία) of his ordinances, the commandments of his teaching (διδαχή)', adding also the fact of his prophesying and dwelling in us, of his opening the door of the temple to those enslaved to sin and giving us repentance (*Barn.* 16). As elsewhere in the Apostolic Fathers, it is the saving work of Christ which takes centre stage, in a work that has ethical interest at its heart.

[7] Ibid., 51–2, 70–3. See also material cited in n. 4.

WISDOM IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS: CONCLUSION

To sum up: even broadening our enquiry, wisdom seems a less than central interest in the Apostolic Fathers. There is little hint of any kind of Wisdom Christology. There is widespread use of sapiential vocabulary, some quotations and allusions to the wisdom literature, and the predominant interest is ethics. But 'wisdom' is not the sole contributor to this. Where Scripture is an important quarry, the Psalms and the Law and the Prophets are at least equally important, and in Ignatius, Scripture, like wisdom, features little, even in one place being played down: Christ is more important than the ancient texts (*Phld.* 8). In the light of this we might ask: Is it possible that, with regard to wisdom, too much has been read back into the New Testament from later perspectives?

WISDOM IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Before we turn to the New Testament, it is worth asking a little more about those later perspectives. At what date can we trace a Wisdom Christology? Is there any evidence that wisdom as a genre was recognized, or even produced, by Christian authors?

To take the second question first, two texts are significant: the *Sentences of Sextus* and the *Teachings of Silvanus*. Interestingly, both are to be found in the Nag Hammadi library, but whereas the *Teachings of Silvanus* is a new discovery, fuller versions of the *Sentences of Sextus* were already known in the original Greek, and in Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian translations.[8] Neither has characteristics generally associated with Gnosticism, so both reinforce the point that the Nag Hammadi library is not to be regarded as a Gnostic library as such; rather, it seems to be a collection of texts found spiritually congenial by Pachomian monks.[9] Both texts resemble the wisdom literature in being collections of wise sayings or proverbs. However, parallels can also be cited with collections of maxims attributed to Pythagoras and other philosophers in the Greek tradition. Both works have been influenced

[8] For full discussion, see Henry Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus*, TS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); and R. L. Wilken, 'Wisdom and Philosophy in Early Christianity', in *idem* (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 143–68.

[9] J. M. Robinson, Introduction, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 1–25.

by a blend of Stoicism and Platonism, but then the same could be said of the Wisdom of Solomon. The *Sentences of Sextus* is clearly a reworking of an earlier collection; its Christian character is somewhat veiled, though Origen and others seem to have known it as a Christian work. The *Teachings of Silvanus* show many remarkable parallels to Clement of Alexandria.[10] Both would seem to have begun to circulate in the late second century, and both presuppose the view that Christianity is a philosophy, teaching the right way of life.

Despite close parallels to Proverbs, Sirach, and the Wisdom of Solomon, there is not necessarily a direct dependence on the biblical wisdom books. Wilken points out that 'pithy and pointed sayings about fame or loquacity are as old as the human race . . . (They) are familiar in most cultures and are amply attested from Greek and Latin antiquity.'[11] Their existence suggests the development of Christian 'wisdom literature' as the second century progressed—though probably under the influence of Hellenistic philosophy rather than conscious imitation of a recognized, distinct biblical genre.

As for Wisdom Christology, we might presume that the Logos theology of Justin Martyr has Wisdom features. Interestingly, there is no explicit trace of this in the *Apologies*. However, in the *Dialogue with Trypho* 61, Prov. 8. 21–36 is quoted in full, to justify the claim that, before all creatures, God begat a Beginning, and this is named by the Holy Spirit in Scripture, now the Glory of the Lord, now the Son, now Wisdom, now an Angel, then God, and then Lord and Logos. This is confirmed by appeal to Genesis (*Dial.* 62): 'Let us make man in our own image' and 'Behold, Adam has become as one of us'. Clearly there were at least two involved in the act of creation, and it was the one Solomon calls Wisdom, begotten as a Beginning before all creatures, whom God addressed. The Son of God, who is God's Logos, is similarly identified with personified Wisdom in other apologists—Athenagoras and Theophilus, for example. It then becomes standard in the work of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian, eventually being an unquestioned assumption at the time when the Proverbs text was catapulted into the centre of controversy because Arius took the words 'The Lord created me as a beginning of his ways' literally, and argued that this so-called 'Begotten' One was the first and greatest of the creatures.[12]

Wisdom Christology of a sort is present, then, from the mid-second century. We might note, however, that it arises explicitly from the process of searching the Scriptures—prior to the development of a New Testament

[10] See J. Zandee, *"The Teachings of Silvanus" and Clement of Alexandria: A New Document of Alexandrian Theology* (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1977).

[11] Wilken, 'Wisdom and Philosophy', 149.

[12] See my article 'Proverbs 8 in Interpretation'.

canon and without any obvious cross-reference to the texts that would eventually make up the New Testament—for passages illuminating the person of Christ. Furthermore, it is an element in building up a picture of the pre-existent Logos out of undifferentiated prophetic texts, rather than a discrete Christological tradition. On the other hand, it must have been at about the same time as Justin made this connection with Wisdom that Valentinus began to develop (or perhaps inspire the development of)[13] the myth of Sophia, which has such a central place in his version of Christian Gnosticism. Both imply recognition of Wisdom as a pre-existent heavenly being. Despite the negative evidence of the Apostolic Fathers, one might imagine that such notions did not spring up *de novo* in the mid-second century.

REASSESSING WISDOM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

It is time to ask the question whether there needs to be a reassessment of wisdom in the New Testament as a result of these explorations.[14]

There are undoubtedly more uses of *σοφία* and related words in the New Testament than there are in the Apostolic Fathers. But before we turn to work through these in detail, a general comment seems apposite. As in the Apostolic Fathers, there are long passages of *paraenesis* in the New Testament. At one time it almost seemed appropriate to suggest that, since the Law no longer applied to Christians, the Christian way of life was shaped by collections of wisdom sayings. 'Wisdom' seemed to explain the character of, for example, the Epistle of James. In the light of our findings concerning the Apostolic Fathers, I would like to suggest that this is too hasty a judgement, and this is confirmed by a quick glance at the range of scriptural allusions in the example already mentioned: James may contain quotations and allusions to Proverbs and Sirach, but there are just as many to Psalms, and indeed to the Law. The same could be said about the ethical teaching at the end of Romans.

[13] This caveat arises from the fact that the myth of Sophia does not appear in the *Gospel of Truth* and is attributed to Ptolemaeus by Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses*.

[14] For the current position, and corollaries drawn from it, see the essays by J. D. G. Dunn, 'Jesus: Teacher of Wisdom or Wisdom Incarnate?', and S. C. Barton, 'Gospel Wisdom', in Barton (ed.), *Where shall Wisdom be Found?*, 75–92, 93–110 resp. A few sentences may be quoted here: 'In [John's] Gospel there is no doubt that Jesus is presented as Wisdom Incarnate' (p. 77). '[I]n his use of this material [Q sayings] Matthew seems consciously to have edited it to present Jesus more in the person of or as the embodiment of divine Wisdom' (p. 78). 'At the heart of [Matthew's] portrayal, Jesus' identity as the wisdom of God is revealed uniquely and powerfully in a prayer-cum-invitation [= Matt. 11. 25–30], itself analogous to the words about wisdom in Sir. 6. 23 ff and 51. 2 ff' (pp. 95–6). 'If in Matthew, Jesus teaches the way of wisdom, in John much more explicitly he is the Way' (p. 104).

Besides this, we should take account of the relatively recent reassessment of the Pauline literature, suggesting that it was the applicability of the ethnic marks of a Jew to Gentiles, rather than the commandments as such, that was at issue. Like that of the Apostolic Fathers, the *paraenesis* of the New Testament is taken from right across the Scriptures, and it is as much to be regarded as divine commandments as moral advice, for obedience is expected. My first conclusion, then, is that, as in the Apostolic Fathers, so in the New Testament, there is no explicit recognition of a distinct wisdom genre.

We should now examine the actual use of *σοφία* and its cognates.

The Pauline Epistles

It is, of course, the Pauline material which provides us with the most frequent usage, and most notably 1 Corinthians. In chapters 1–3[15] Paul protests that he was not sent to preach the Gospel *ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου* (with eloquent wisdom), quotes Isa. 29. 14: 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise', and asks 'Where is the wise one? . . . Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?' As we have seen, this negative evaluation of wisdom is taken up in the Apostolic Fathers—in Ignatius and especially *1 Clement*. Paul goes on to say that God decided to save those who believe through the foolishness of preaching, because in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom. Not many wise are called, and the wise are shamed by what is foolish. The foolishness of preaching is about Christ crucified—foolishness to the Gentiles, yet, according to Paul, Christ the Wisdom of God. For God's foolishness is wiser than human wisdom. Hays suggests that this is clearly irony, yet a few verses later Paul affirms that Christ Jesus became for us Wisdom from God.

Now it is very easy to read a Wisdom Christology into such a direct identification of Christ with wisdom, especially in the light of later developments. But given that this does not happen in the Apostolic Fathers, yet there are there clear allusions to Paul's perspectives in this epistle, is this justified? Maybe we need to bracket out our awareness of Colossians as we proceed with the Corinthian correspondence.

As we move into chapter 2, Paul continues to affirm that it was not with lofty words or wisdom that he proclaimed God's mystery. His word or preaching was not characterized by the persuasive words of wisdom. The reason for this was to ensure that it was not on human wisdom that the listeners' faith rested. Yet he did speak wisdom among the mature, wisdom

[15] For a full discussion of this passage, see R. B. Hays, 'Wisdom according to Paul', in Barton (ed.), *Where shall Wisdom be Found?*, 111–23. Hays emphasizes the irony in this passage, and argues against there being a Wisdom Christology here.

not of this world, the wisdom of God in a mystery. So what is this wisdom? He says it was secret and hidden, decreed before the ages for our glory. He has already identified it as Christ crucified. So far from being a Wisdom Christology, this would seem to be reflection on the mysterious fact that the Messiah died, a foolish fact, an unexpected fact, but now affirmed to be within the divine foreknowledge and gracious provision for human salvation. Paul's apostrophe to wisdom in Romans (11. 33: 'O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God!') also occurs in a context where the inscrutability of God's judgements and providential plans are in question. The association of wisdom and foresight that we noticed in Hermas (*Vis.* 1. 3) may confirm this reading.

No wonder Paul has to speak of these things in words taught by the Spirit, rather than in words taught by human wisdom (2. 13). Human wisdom, which finds these things incomprehensible, is foolishness with God: Job and the Psalms are called in to confirm this: 'He catches the wise in their cleverness (*πανουργία*[16])' and 'the Lord knows the thoughts of the wise that they are futile' (1 Cor. 3. 19–20). In 2 Corinthians 'fleshly wisdom' is contrasted with single-mindedness, sincerity, and God's grace (1. 12). Yet, among the gifts given by the Spirit (1 Cor. 12. 8), Paul includes the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge. His interest in wisdom is highly paradoxical, because the cross is distinctly paradoxical, and God's ways are beyond human comprehension. Yet the paradox of human wisdom is already to be found in the Scriptures, and Paul exploits this, referring not only to the Psalms and wisdom literature but to the prophet Jeremiah: 'Let him who boasts, boast in the Lord' alludes to a verse which begins 'Do not let the wise boast in their wisdom' (Jer. 9. 23).[17]

So in the unquestionably authentic Pauline epistles, where wisdom is explored explicitly, it is within the same range of use as that found in the Apostolic Fathers, and, as in their case, informed by the Scriptures, Psalms and Prophets, as well as wisdom literature. One other passage, however, we cannot overlook, even though wisdom is not mentioned: namely 1 Cor. 8. 6: 'But for us there is one God the Father, from whom are all things and we are for him, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things and we are through him.' This statement is often interpreted as if the relationship between God and Christ is being patterned on the personified Wisdom who is God's instrument of creation (Prov. 8). The cryptic use of prepositions means

[16] All uses of *πανουργία* in the NT are negative in meaning—besides this, see 2 Cor. 4. 2; 11. 3; Eph. 4. 14; Luke 20. 23. Cf. *πανοῦργος* in 2 Cor. 12. 16.

[17] For the development of this ambivalence about wisdom in apocalyptic and the NT, see Christopher Rowland, ' "Sweet Science Reigns": Divine and Human Wisdom in the Apocalyptic Tradition', in Barton (ed.), *Where shall Wisdom be Found?*, 61–74.

that the meaning can be teased out only by importing assumptions, and maybe 'all things' (τὰ πάντα) is not as transparent as is often assumed. Reading in the light of *1 Clement* rather than Colossians, we might suggest that the one God the Father is the source of all (possibly all the riches of salvation, as I suggested in relation to *Barnabas*) and our goal, while the one Lord Jesus Christ is the means whereby all God's purposes of salvation are effected and the one through whom we are called into those benefits.

If the obscurities of 1 Cor. 8. 6 are discounted, it is clear that the references to wisdom in Ephesians and Colossians give us rather different material from that examined so far. *Σοφία* appears almost entirely in a positive light in Colossians. So 1. 9: in prayers for the recipients, the request has been made that they be 'filled with knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of God's will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding (σύνεσις); 1. 28: preaching Christ involves teaching everyone in all wisdom; 3. 16: it is hoped that the word of Christ may dwell in them richly and that they will teach one another in all wisdom; 4. 5: they are to 'walk in wisdom' with respect to outsiders. Only in one context does the word of wisdom appear as negative, identified with human commands and teachings (2. 22–3).[18] Christ is explicitly said to be the one 'in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden' (2. 3). In an earlier passage,[19] which does not actually mention wisdom, it is suggested that 'he is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation, for in him all things in heaven and on earth were created . . . he is before all things and all things hold together in him' (1. 15–17). This certainly seems to express the content of Prov. 8 in an allusive way, and it attributes this creative pre-existence to God's 'beloved Son' (1. 13), who is 'the head of the body, the church', and the 'first-born of the dead' (1. 18). It would seem, then, that we have here the makings of an explicit Wisdom Christology, though we should perhaps take note of Robert Morgan's caveat: '[T]hese Wisdom passages in the New Testament probably originated in liturgical contexts . . . This wisdom idea is *mythos* not *logos*, and therefore not, strictly speaking, a Christology which expresses conceptually what the myth narrates pictorially. The phrase "Wisdom Christology" is therefore potentially misleading, a product of a one-sidedly doctrinal emphasis in New Testament theology.'[20]

In Ephesians *σοφία* is apparently identified with revelation: 1. 8 tells of the grace 'which overflows on us, with all wisdom and insight (φρόνησις), making

[18] This passage seems to owe something to Gal. 4. 3, and shares some of the same difficult features for interpretation: e.g., to what does the phrase 'elements of the world' refer?

[19] For a full discussion of this passage, see M. D. Hooker, 'Where is Wisdom to be Found? Colossians 1. 15–20 (1)', in Ford and Stanton (eds.), *Reading Texts, Seeking Wisdom*, 116–28.

[20] R. Morgan, 'Jesus Christ, the Wisdom of God (2)', in Ford and Stanton (eds.), *Reading Texts. Seeking Wisdom*, 29.

known (γνωρίσας) to us the mystery of his will'; 1. 17 prays that God may give the addressees the spirit of wisdom and (the spirit of) revelation in knowing (ἐπίγνωσις) him, so that the eyes of the heart, being enlightened, may know what is the hope of his calling (etc.); 3. 10 wants the wisdom of God to be known to the rulers and powers in the heavens through the church—apparently picking up the notion in 1 Cor. 2. 8 that the rulers of this world did not know God's wisdom. All of these statements could be interpreted in the same terms as 1 Corinthians (see above). Explicit Wisdom Christology is less evident than in Colossians, but the same generally positive use of σοφία distinguishes both from the Corinthian correspondence and the Apostolic Fathers. Perhaps we have stumbled on further evidence suggesting that Colossians and Ephesians are post-Pauline.[21] In any case, they seem not to be known to Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement, even though these authors knew the Corinthian letters. Whatever their provenance, they apparently anticipate the development of Logos theology later in the second century, as well as the interest in *Sophia* found among Gnostics.

Other New Testament Material

So what about the rest of the New Testament? The cluster of sapiential vocabulary is scattered around the New Testament texts: σύνεσις and συνετός, φρόνησις and φρόνιμος, σοφία and σοφός, together with a fairly widespread assumption that 'instruction' (παιδεία) is needed, and righteousness the goal. Thus, 2 Tim. 2. 7 suggests that the Lord will give Timothy understanding (σύνεσις) in all things, and that the scriptures are able to make you wise (σοφίσαι) for salvation, because they are useful for the instruction (παιδεία) that leads to righteousness (3. 15). According to Titus 2. 12, the grace of God has appeared with salvation, 'training (παιδεύουσα) us to renounce impiety and worldly passions' (cf. 1 Tim. 1. 20: to train not to blaspheme; 2 Tim. 2. 25: correcting (παιδεύων) opponents with gentleness). James encourages the reader to ask for wisdom if it is lacking (1. 5). The question is posed (3. 13): who is wise (σοφός) and understanding (ἐπιστήμων) among you? The answer lies in the advice, 'Let him show by a good life that his works are done with gentleness born of wisdom'. This is contrasted with ambition, boastfulness, and being false to the truth, which are attributed to a wisdom that does not come down from above, but is earthly, natural (ψυχική), and 'demonic' (δαιμονιώδης). Wisdom from above is, first, pure,

[21] I should acknowledge that prior to this investigation I accepted Colossians as authentic, though doubted whether Ephesians was.

then peaceable, gentle, willing to give way, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality or hypocrisy. It is associated with a harvest of righteousness. These ethical characteristics are reminiscent of what we have found in the Apostolic Fathers, and are equally indebted to the whole range of scriptural material.

2 Pet. 3. 15 suggests that Paul wrote 'according to the wisdom (σοφία) given him', but denies following 'cleverly devised (σεσοφισμένοις) myths' in making known the coming of Jesus Christ (1. 16). Acts indicates that those selected to be deacons were men full of the spirit and wisdom (σοφία), and that those who tried to argue with Stephen could not stand up to the wisdom and the spirit with which he spoke (6. 3, 10). In Stephen's speech, Joseph is said to have been enabled to win favour and show wisdom before Pharaoh (7. 10), and Moses is said to have been instructed (ἐπαιδεύθη) in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (7. 22). Interestingly, Acts has no other passages which are of interest to our enquiries about wisdom, and apart from the gospels this virtually exhausts our enquiry, though we should perhaps note that Revelation finds wisdom necessary in order to understand the number of the beast (13. 18) and to interpret the seven heads (17. 9), while including wisdom in its hymns: 'Blessing and glory and wisdom . . . be to our God! (7. 12); 'Worthy is the Lamb . . . to receive power and wealth and wisdom . . .' (5. 12). In this apocalyptic work, wisdom is both attributed to God and also associated with unpacking riddles, rather as it is in *Barnabas*. On the whole, these scattered references suggest a positive view of wisdom, and a link between wisdom and the Scriptures. But again there is no hint of awareness of a distinct wisdom genre or indeed of Wisdom Christology.

The one possible hint of a Wisdom Christology is to be found in Heb. 1. 3. Wisdom is again not explicitly mentioned (as in the cases already reviewed in 1 Cor. 8. 6 and Col. 1. 15–20), but language used of the all-pervading cosmic wisdom described in Wisd. 7 is transferred to 'the Son', through whom God made the ages, and who holds all things by the word of his power. This probably needs to be regarded, alongside Colossians, as an early expression of Wisdom Christology. Yet it is an intriguing observation that most of the passages which potentially articulate a Wisdom Christology fail to mention wisdom.

The Gospels

In the synoptic gospels people wonder about the σοφία given to Jesus (Mark 6. 2; Matt. 13. 54); Luke suggests that Jesus grew in wisdom (2. 40, 52), and people were amazed at Jesus understanding (σύνεσις) as a child (2. 47).

The queen of the south travelled far to listen to Solomon's wisdom, but something greater than Solomon is here (Matt. 12. 42; Luke 11. 31). Jesus promises to give 'words and wisdom' to the disciples when they experience persecution (Luke 21. 15). He advises people to be cunning (φρόνιμος) as serpents (Matt. 10. 16), and tells parables: about the cunning person who built his house on a rock, contrasted with the foolish who built on sand (Matt. 7. 24); about cunning and foolish virgins (Matt. 25. 1–12); about faithful and cunning slaves or stewards (Matt. 24. 45; Luke 12. 42). Jesus also teaches in parables, which need interpretation and whose meaning is esoteric (Mark 4. 10–13 and parallels), a reminder of the Proverbs assumption that wisdom involves perception of the meaning of parables and the dark sayings of the wise. Yet wisdom is hardly a discrete element in the complexity of the Jesus tradition. He is seer as well as sage.[22]

There are two perplexing statements in these gospels: (1) 'Wisdom is justified by her works' (Matt. 11. 19) or 'by her children' (Luke 7. 35); and (2) 'For this reason even the Wisdom of God said, "I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and persecute" ' (Luke 11. 49). In the case of the latter, to posit a saying from a lost wisdom book seems wide of the mark, as also to suggest that Christ is identified without explanation as Wisdom. I would like to suggest that this text is best explained in the light of 1 Corinthians: the puzzle of the persecuted Messiah, put to death on a cross, is again in the background. Paul had suggested that this unexpected outcome was to be seen as the wisdom of God, as something deep in the divine foreknowledge. Luke now relates it to the perennial persecution of the prophets evidenced in the Scriptures, attributing to Jesus the thought we found in Paul—that God's wisdom foresaw and foretold the crucifixion. If that explanation is right, then the other saying probably coheres with it. The oddity of Jesus' behaviour if he is a holy man, and his difference from John the Baptist, is like the peculiarity of the crucified Messiah. The outcome—namely, the redemption realized as the outworking of God's providential plan—justifies the notion that it all happened according to God's wisdom.

As far as the gospels are concerned, there remain only the questions raised by the Prologue of John's Gospel and its precursor, the so-called Johannine Thunderbolt in the synoptic material (Matt. 11. 25–30; Luke 10. 21–2). Both are again cases where wisdom is not explicit, but scriptural parallels have made an implicit association an attractive supposition. In the case of the passage in Matthew, attention is drawn to Sir. 51, a chapter which opens with

[22] Ben Witherington III, *Jesus the Sage* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994); *idem, Jesus the Seer* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). Note the discussion in Dunn, 'Jesus: Teacher of Wisdom or Wisdom Incarnate?', where the 'eschatological plus' modifies the widespread acceptance of the Third Quest that Jesus was simply a teacher of wisdom.

thanksgiving similar to the words of Jesus, 'I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth', and later enjoins those who lack instruction to come to the author's school, put on the yoke, and be willing to learn. This is taken to illuminate the words, 'Come to me . . . Take my yoke upon you and learn of me', and to imply that Jesus takes the place of Wisdom. This conflation of Wisdom with the Son of God presumably then informs the Logos Christology of the Johannine Prologue.

However, in the synoptic passage, there is, first, an emphasis very similar to that in 1 Corinthians—the revelation is denied to the wise and given to the humble-minded—and, secondly, even if there is an allusion to Sir. 51, the invitation is to the teacher of wisdom, not Wisdom itself. True, that may be read in by associating it with Sir. 24, where Wisdom is personified as in Prov. 8 and is then identified both with the creative Word of God and with Torah, but the point of the passage is surely that the Son is the best teacher available. The next question is how far the author of the Johannine Prologue might have made all the supposed associations. To which the answer may be: as much as, and no more than, the other passages we have noted which seemed to attach a creative and cosmic role to the pre-existent Christ but without mentioning wisdom. Already the Psalms had affirmed that 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were made' (Ps. 33. 6), and the prophets spoke by the word of the Lord. If the thrust of the passage as a whole is to show that it was the mind and intention of God from the very beginning which was enfleshed in Jesus, then what the Prologue is about is much the same as what we found in 1 Corinthians. Perhaps the apocalyptic notion of God's plan being laid up in heaven to be revealed in God's good time is more pertinent than 'wisdom'.

CONCLUSION

For many theologians and New Testament scholars, what I have offered will seem an extraordinarily minimalist reading of the New Testament material. To some extent it is true that I have sought to play down long-held scholarly assumptions as a kind of experiment. Of course, the New Testament texts had a future, where maximal intertextual associations would make a full-bodied notion of the embodiment of God's Wisdom in Jesus a core component in a richly layered Christology, and maybe the fact is that the Apostolic Fathers fall short of the depth already reached at an earlier date by Paul and other theologians such as the author of John's Gospel. But, somewhat to my own astonishment, this exploration of wisdom in the Apostolic Fathers has provoked the question: to what extent do we owe this maximalist reading to later developments? Do we still too easily read back later doctrines into the earliest texts, even when overtly espousing the historico-critical method? Maybe we do. My minimalist reading is offered as a way of testing this possibility.

Part IV

Church, Ministry, and Sacraments in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers

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6

The Church in Ephesians, *2 Clement*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*

John Muddiman

INTRODUCTION

The ground-breaking volume, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, published by a committee of the Oxford Society for Historical Theology[1] in 1905, whose centenary this volume and its companion celebrate, introduced into the discussion of the delicate question of the earliest attestation to the New Testament documents some necessary distinctions. The committee categorized possible allusions on a four-point scale: a = 'no reasonable doubt'; b = 'a high degree of probability; c = 'a lower degree of probability; and d = 'too uncertain to allow any reliance', with other very slight allusions noted but left unassessed or 'unclassed'. Although some of the committee's assessments are questionable, and certain of them involving Ephesians will be questioned below, the importance of this refinement of criteria and careful distinctions as to degrees of probability was an important advance in critical scholarship.

The detection of allusions to the New Testament in the earliest Christian writings has a direct bearing on many of the central issues in the history of the early church, such as the dating, provenance, and dissemination of the NT documents; textual criticism before actual manuscript evidence becomes available; the persistence of oral tradition alongside written texts; evidence for lost documents such as Q; the formation of the four-gospel canon and the Pauline letter collection; and highly controversial issues like the date and sources of the *Didache* (and indeed apocryphal works like the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Peter*). Depending on the results of such studies,

[1] The Committee consisted of scholars who were somewhat on the fringe of the university establishment, including dissenters like Professor J. Vernon Bartlet, of the Congregational Mansfield College, and Dr Drummond, Principal of the Unitarian Manchester College, along with Professor Kirsopp Lake, who moved to Leiden in 1904. This may explain a certain distancing in the Preface: 'The Society has no responsibility whatever for the work' (p. iii).

very different reconstructions of the origins and early development of Christianity are proposed.

To illustrate just how important *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* was and still remains, I will give a recent example of what can happen when its cautionary judgements are ignored. In his recent commentary on Ephesians, Harold Hoehner begins his sixty-page defence of Pauline authorship, with this statement: 'Ephesians has the earliest attestation of any New Testament book. Already in the first century or very early second century Clement of Rome (fl. 96), when mentioning "one God and one Christ and one Spirit", may be a reference to Eph 4:4–6.'[2] It is not just the grammar but also the logic of this statement that are confused. Although *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* is footnoted at this point, no mention is made of its judgement that the likelihood of an allusion to Ephesians at *1 Clem.* 46. 6 is no better than d. The reasons the Committee gave deserve to be quoted:

> At first sight it would appear probable that Clement has the passage in Ephesians in his mind; but we must remember that the passages both in Ephesians and in Clement are very possibly founded upon some liturgical forms, and it thus seems impossible to establish any dependence of Clement upon Ephesians.[3]

When Hoehner comes to comment on Eph. 4. 4–6, he claims that it is entirely Paul's free composition, noting that it 'revolves around the three persons of the Trinity' (!) and rebukes the 'many New Testament scholars' who are 'much too eager to designate hymns those portions that seem to have some sort of meter'. But it is not a matter of metre; it is rather the string of verbless nominatives that calls for some kind of liturgical, quasi-credal explanation. Hoehner refers to three other passages in *1 Clement*, as follows: 59. 3: 'the eyes of the heart', which is deemed 'most likely an allusion to Eph 1:17–18'; 36. 2: 'darkened in understanding', which is 'probably an allusion to Eph 4.18'; and 38. 1: 'let each be subject to his neighbour', which is 'reminiscent of Eph 5:21'. Of these the Oxford Committee noted only the first, which it rated d. It is precisely this kind of overstatement of the evidence that *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* was seeking to challenge.[4]

[2] H. Hoehner, *Ephesians—An Exegetical Commentary*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2002), 2.

[3] *NTAF*, 53. Cf. H. E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 9: 'Only knowledge of 1 Corinthians and Romans can be demonstrated with certainty', quoted in M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (London: SCM Press, 2000), 285 n. 510; see also 285 n. 511 on Lona's unreasonable doubts about *1 Clement*'s use of Hebrews.

[4] The treatment of the NT allusions in *1 Clement* by D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, NovTSup 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), to which Hoehner refers approvingly, begins with the key parallel *1 Clem.* 46. 6 // Eph. 4. 4–6 and admits the probability

It is hardly necessary to add that Clement does not attribute any of these phrases to Paul, let alone identify them as coming from his letter to the Ephesians. So, this evidence could only be reckoned 'Attestation of Pauline Authorship of Ephesians'—the heading of the opening section of the commentary—if the mere fact of its use implied the highest apostolic authority for the source. On that showing, with equal cogency, one could argue for early attestation to the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, which is beyond any reasonable doubt employed by Clement! In what follows I shall look briefly at the material on the church in Ephesians, then in subsequent parts examine the textual evidence for the use of Ephesians by *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. That evidence is inconclusive, but I shall also consider conceptual similarities between these texts at key points, which, I suggest, raise the likelihood of dependence to a higher level of probability.

I. EPHESIANS

The development of Paul's ecclesiology by the pseudonymous author of Ephesians is too large and complex a topic for this short paper. It is sufficient for our present purposes to refer to certain points in the letter relevant to the discussion of the possible relationships, literary and conceptual, between Ephesians, *2 Clement*, and the *Shepherd*.

The priority of Ephesians in terms of date of composition over these other two documents is a reasonable but unprovable assumption. Its use by *1 Clement* is not beyond dispute, as we have seen above. The echoes in Ignatius, not least in his own letter to the Ephesians (see Ign. *Eph.* 1. 3–14; 12. 2), are more compelling.[5] And the parallels between Ephesians and 1 Peter may also be relevant to this issue; but the date of the latter and the direction of the dependence, if any, are uncertain. The earliest part of the date range for the *Shepherd* and *2 Clement* (see below) could in principle precede the dates of Ignatius and 1 Peter.

that both passages 'depend on a primitive confession of faith'. He then withdraws the admission: 'Nevertheless, it is easier to suppose that Clement has derived the passage from Ephesians, since from the following, it seems that he was acquainted with the epistle', and the inconsequential echoes listed above are cited. But to appeal to an accumulation of negligible examples to confirm influence in the one instance where a case, albeit weak for the reason stated, might be made is a very dubious methodology.

[5] See P. Foster, 'The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament', Ch. 7 in the companion volume.

Apart from the dating, there is a second factor affecting the likelihood of the possible influence of Ephesians on the other texts, which is the nature of its association with the other Pauline letters. For instance, if we adopt the Goodspeed–Knox[6] hypothesis that Ephesians was intended from the start as a preface to the collected ten-letter edition, then it is more plausible to argue that demonstrable dependence on any one letter is evidence of acquaintance with them all. But there are good reasons for resisting that hypothesis.[7] If, as seems more likely, Ephesians was at first meant to be read on its own in and around the place of its composition, and was circulated further afield perhaps in conjunction with the other Asiatic letters, Colossians and Philemon, then it is conceivable that it may not have spread to every part of the Christian world (and to Rome in particular[8]) until quite a late date. This is speculation of course. All options remain open.

Before the Pauline letters began to be treated as Scripture, the convention seems to have been not to quote them verbatim—after all, 'the letter kills, the Spirit alone gives life' (2 Cor. 3. 6)—but to continue, as it were, 'the living voice' of the Apostle.[9] While this could be used to argue that very minor similarities in wording might be evidence of knowledge of the letters, equally the preference for oral tradition could mean that these are the common idioms of apostolic preaching and do not require explanation in terms of literary dependence. More important, therefore, are the distinctive underlying patterns of thought in a New Testament text when they reappear in the Apostolic Fathers. It is these aspects of the thought of the author of Ephesians concerning the church to which we now turn.

All the references to *ἐκκλησία* in Ephesians are to the universal, indeed cosmic church. The word is not used of the local congregation as it regularly is in Paul.[10] The features of the ecclesiology of Ephesians that are relevant are the following. (They are numbered for (1) to (10) for ease of later reference.)

(1) 1. 4: That God the Father has elected us in him before the foundation of the world. (Note the idea of the predestination/pre-existence of the church.)

[6] E. J. Goodspeed, *The Meaning of Ephesians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933); J. Knox, *Philemon among the Letters of Paul* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

[7] See J. Muddiman, *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, BNTC (London: Continuum, 2001), 12–14. All subsequent references to this commentary are indicated by *Eph: BNTC*.

[8] The lack of clear evidence that Clement of Rome knew other 'Pauline' letters apart from Hebrews, 1 Corinthians, and Romans might imply that even the Roman church at the end of the first century lacked a full set.

[9] See L. C. A. Alexander, 'The Living Voice: Scepticism towards the Written Word in Early Christianity and Graeco-Roman Texts', in D. J. A. Clines, S. E. Fowl, and S. E. Porter (eds.), *The Bible in Three Dimensions*, JSOTSup 87 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 221–47.

[10] And even in Colossians: e.g., 4. 16.

(2) 1. 22 f.: That God appointed Christ head over all things for the Church which is his body, the fullness of the all-filling Christ. (Note the combination of the ideas of the universal lordship of the risen Christ both over creation (combining Ps. 110. 1 and Ps. 8. 7) and also over the church.)

(3) 2. 6: That Christians are already raised with Christ and even seated with him in heaven. (The strongly realized eschatology is noteworthy.)

(4) 2. 20 ff.: That Christ is the corner-stone of a spiritual temple founded on the apostles and prophets. (The church, then, is a building with foundations already laid, but one that is still under construction and with its members like stones, 'fitted together': cf. 4. 16.)

(5) 3. 9: That the church is the means by which the long hidden mysterious plan of God the Creator is now revealed to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places. (The revelatory function of the church is here emphasized, even though the exact means by which it is accomplished are left obscure.)

(6) 3. 21: That glory is due to God in the church and in Christ Jesus. (Note that the parallel implies a certain equality between the two.)

(7) 4. 11: That the ascended Christ is the source of the original apostolic ministry and its successors. (By implication, the church's ministry exercises the authority of the glorified Christ.)

(8) 5. 23: That Christ is the head of the church and himself the saviour of the body.

(9) 5. 25 f.: That Christ loved the church and gave himself for her, cleansing her with the word through the water bath, in order to present her to himself in all her glory without spot or wrinkle.

(10) 5. 31 f.: That Gen. 2. 24 is an allegory of the union between Christ and the church.[11]

There are many other passages which are relevant to an analysis of the teaching on the church in Ephesians, but these remarkable assertions allow us to make a general point: there is no other book in the New Testament where the emphasis on the transcendent character of the church is so explicit and so marked. And when we encounter this same emphasis in certain of the Apostolic Fathers, there is a presumption in favour of some kind of influence, direct or indirect, from Ephesians. In the passages listed above, there are in most cases good reasons, linguistic and contextual, for supposing that the writer himself is formulating these ideas and not just borrowing them from

[11] The last three points will be taken up in slightly more detail below, but for a fuller discussion of the distinctive ecclesiology of Ephesians, see *Eph: BNTC*, 18 f., and *ad loc.*

the source(s) he was using. But it would be wrong to think of this development of Paul's teaching as the distortion of an originally functional, low ecclesiology. Rather, the author of Ephesians is intent on exposing and articulating the deeper roots in Jewish apocalyptic of Paul's thought on the church. Fidelity to the latter is surely implied by the very genre of a pseudepigraphical letter written in Paul's name. Gal. 4 is particularly instructive in this connection, the 'pre-existence' of the redeemed community being made clear in the allegory of Sarah ('the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above: she is free and she is our mother', Gal. 4. 26), and the images of heavenly woman and heavenly city being combined.

A few more comments on the last three items in the above list are in order. These all appear in the so-called household code. The author's use of this conventional form derives from his source (whether Colossians or something very like Colossians), but he has completely transformed the first section on husbands and wives. The code sought to endorse family values by placing them in the context of faith 'in the Lord', but the author of Ephesians has a very different purpose: to describe the glorious destiny of the Church.

I have recently argued the case that Eph. 5. 22 incorporates an earlier tradition: 'Just as Man is the head of Woman so Christ is the head of the Church and himself the Saviour of the Body.'[12] The man and woman in question were not just any Ephesian married couple but the primeval pair, Adam and Eve. Just as Adam was the head (source) and head (ruler) of Eve, so Christ is both head and ruler of the church. The pre-existence/foreordination of the church is implied in this appeal to the creation story of Gen. 2–3. The church is allegorically speaking older even than Sarah; she is as old as Eve. Secondly, Eph. 5. 27 refers to the preparation of the bride-church for union with Christ as the washing away not, as one might expect, of the dirt of sin, but of every disfiguring skin blemish (σπίλος) or wrinkle/sign of ageing (ῥυτίς). Whether the author consciously intended by this unusual imagery a reference to baptismal rejuvenation (see John 3. 5), it was open to someone like Hermas to pick up and extensively develop the image in his visions of the woman-church gradually becoming younger in appearance. Thirdly, the creation typology appears again with the citation of Gen. 2. 23 f.,[13] but its literal sense is decidedly secondary to the allegorical interpretation of the text in reference to Christ and the church.[14] We shall observe the same move in *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd*.

[12] *Eph: BNTC*, 259.

[13] Reading the longer text at Eph. 5. 30.

[14] Notice the emphatic ἐγω and the strong adversative, πλήν, at 32 f.: '*I* [the author himself here, rather than Paul] take it to mean Christ and the Church. *However*, if you insist on being literal, then husbands love your wives etc.'

II. *2 CLEMENT*

2 Clement is a written sermon intended for someone other than the author to read aloud to the assembly (19. 1). Its authorship, date, and provenance are not known. Perhaps by the accident of its being copied alongside *1 Clement* in the manuscripts (A C syr), it came to be attributed to Clement of Rome, but the style and content betray a different hand. Harnack famously conjectured that it was a sermon by Soter of Rome sent as a letter to Corinth.[15] Bishop Dionysius in acknowledging its receipt (his reply is preserved in Euseb. *HE* 4. 23. 11) assured the Pope that it would be preserved and reread 'as also the former epistle which was written to us through Clement'. The date then would be very late (AD 166–74), and knowledge of most of the New Testament books almost certain. However, there are problems with this conjecture. It is difficult to see what the point of sending a sermon such as *2 Clement* from Rome to Corinth might have been, and Dionysius is clearly referring to a letter from Soter, not a sermon. The way in which *2 Clement* quotes or paraphrases Jewish scripture and the New Testament, especially the sayings of Jesus, is one of the few clues we have to go on in locating this text, and points perhaps to an earlier date, in the first half of the second century.[16]

The Oxford Committee detected no certain or probable New Testament allusions (a or b), but put Matthew and Hebrews into category c, and relegated Ephesians and Luke, with some other epistles, to d, with two further references marked 'unclassed'. This is a surprisingly negative judgement.[17] Before we look at the possible parallels with Ephesians, there is a relevant similarity between *2 Clement* and Galatians, not discussed by the Committee, which is worthy of note. At the beginning of chapter 2, after referring to conversion as a kind of new *creatio ex nihilo*, the author, rather suddenly, breaks into a quotation from Isaiah (54. 1), the same one used by Paul in his allegory on the two wives of Abraham. Each part of the quotation is explained in the manner of *pesher*.

> In saying, 'Rejoice thou barren one that bearest not,' he meant us, for our church was barren before children were given her. And in saying, 'Cry thou that travailest not', he means . . . that we should offer our prayers in sincerity to God, and not grow weary as

[15] See J. Quasten, *Patrology*, i (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1950), 53.

[16] H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London: SCM Press, 1990), 347–60, discusses the gospel material only. He admits traces of Matthean and Lucan redaction, but nevertheless concludes that the author is quoting from a collection of Jesus' sayings, and was writing 'after the middle of the second century'.

[17] Cf. Gregory and Tuckett, Ch. 10 in companion volume.

women that give birth. And in saying, ‘For the children of the deserted are many more than hers that hath a husband’, he meant that our people seemed to be deserted by God, but that now we who have believed have become many more than those who seemed to have God (τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν θεόν).

Although there is no direct verbal echo of Galatians here, the way the same Old Testament proof-text is understood may yet argue for some kind of connection. Thus, Paul also implies the barrenness of the old covenant compared with the present fruitfulness of the Christian life (Gal. 5. 22; cf. Rom. 7. 4). He says explicitly: ‘Let us not grow weary in doing good’ (Gal. 6. 9), and the persecution of the church (‘once we seemed to be deserted’) for Paul too was both the seal on Christian faithfulness and the stimulus towards missionary growth. The polemic is very faint in *2 Clement* (‘more numerous than those who seemed to have God’ presumably refers to the Jews), but the interpretation of the text from Isaiah is remarkably similar, and it prepares the way for the later passage on the church, which is of special interest here.

2 Clem. 14. 2 reads: ‘Now I imagine that you are not ignorant that the living “Church is the body of Christ.” For the scripture says: “God made man male and female”; the male is Christ, the female is the Church. And moreover the books and the Apostles declare that the Church belongs not to the present, but has existed from the beginning.’

The Committee compared this with Eph. 1. 22, 5. 23, and 1. 4. It acknowledged three points of similarity: the church as body, as bride, and as predestined points (2), (8) and (1) in our list above), but it was evidently not impressed by them, giving the passage a d rating. Two other slight allusions are ‘unclassed’.[18]

However, there are some other, neglected factors which might give us more confidence that Ephesians was in the preacher’s mind as he wrote chapter 14. First, he is alluding in passing to ideas that he thinks his audience will be familiar with from elsewhere—‘I imagine you are not ignorant etc.’—so he does not need to spell them out at length. Secondly, this is the one place in *2 Clement* where there is an explicit reference not just to scripture (γραφή or τὰ βιβλία), but also to the apostles. Although that could mean apostolic

[18] The first is *2 Clem.* 19. 2; cf. Eph. 4. 18 and Rom. 1. 21. The Pauline texts are referring to the pagan past from which Christians have now been delivered, whereas *2 Clement* sees this as a possible present threat: sinning through ignorance ‘sometimes when we do wrong we do not know it’. The second is ‘manpleasers’: *2 Clem.* 13. 1; cf. Eph. 6. 6 (and Col. 3. 22). The word is unprecedented in Greek apart from Ps. 52. 6, LXX, and it refers to the false servility that the Christian slave is to avoid. The context in *2 Clement* is different, and the thought of not pleasing others seems immediately to be corrected with that of pleasing outsiders by our uprightness ‘in order that the name may not be reproached because of us.’ On this point the author sides with Col. 4. 6 over against Eph. 5. 4 in a minor but remarkable point of flat contradiction between the two epistles! No weight can be placed on these elusive parallels.

tradition orally transmitted, in context it more naturally implies acquaintance with apostolic writings.

Thirdly, the immediately preceding verse should be taken together with 14. 2, for it functions as an introduction to the whole section. It reads: 'If we do the will of our Father, God, we shall belong to the first church, the spiritual one, which was created before the sun and the moon; but if we do not do the will of the Lord, we shall fall under the scripture which says: "My house became a den of brigands".' The reference to the first, spiritual church might seem to imply that there is also a second, unspiritual church, but there is nothing elsewhere in the sermon to suggest that sort of ecclesiastical puritanism; the author is candid about his own and his audience's deficiencies. It is more likely, then, that 'first' means earliest, and signifies the divine intention from the very beginning of creation 'before the sun and the moon'. So, although Gen. 1. 27 is about to be quoted, the event to which it allegorically refers *preceded* the creation of the sun and the moon at Gen. 1. 16. The themes of the pre-existence of Wisdom in Jewish sapiential literature and the pre-existence of Israel in Jewish apocalyptic are here being reapplied to the church. This appropriation may be the church's response to the charge, whether from the imperial authorities or from its Jewish competitors that it is a recent upstart with no credentials. On the contrary, the church is older than the universe!

Fourthly, the alternative to membership in the first church is to belong to the house of God which has been turned in a 'den of brigands'. An allusion here to the cleansing of the Temple is hard to deny, and it may imply the positive affirmation that the first church, as well as being the body and bride of Christ, is God's true temple and house of prayer.[19]

Finally, there is the wider context to be taken into account. Already in chapter 12 the male–female contrast has been used in a moral, rather than ecclesiological, sense, with the citation of the notorious agraphon: 'When the two shall be one and the outside like the inside and the male with the female neither male nor female.' *2 Clement* interprets this saying to refer to personal integrity and sexual abstinence, 'that a brother when he sees a sister should not think of her at all as female nor she think of him at all as male. When you do this, the Lord himself says, my Father's kingdom will come.' Thus, having disposed of the literal sexual connotation of the male–female contrast in chapter 12, the way is cleared for a purely allegorical interpretation of the Genesis allusion in chapter 14. The spiritual Christ and the spiritual church

[19] Cf. also the references to the temple of God at 9. 3, when read in the light of 14. 3; and the palace of God at 6. 9. Admittedly, *2 Clement* does not develop this theme in the elaborate way that Hermas does, for whom the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple 'stone by stone' is now being reversed by the reconstruction of the new Temple stone by stone; see further below.

united from the beginning are made manifest in the flesh—that is to say, in history. Without explicitly quoting Gen. 2. 24, he seems to have it in mind, when in apparent contradiction of his opening statement that the church is spiritual, he says 14. 4: 'Now if we say that the flesh is the Church and the Spirit is Christ [i.e. flesh and spirit making one whole body] then he who has abused the flesh has abused the Church.' I suggest that this is very much how a sexual ascetic like our preacher would have read the household code of Eph. 5.[20]

Of course, there are a lot of other references in *2 Clement* to the gospels and various epistles.[21] He is not, after all, writing a commentary on Ephesians. But the number of echoes we have noted[22] is sufficient to increase considerably the probability of his having read it.

III. THE *SHEPHERD OF HERMAS*

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is untypical in many ways among the Apostolic Fathers. It seems to inhabit a world of its own. Its language is remarkably free of quotations or even identifiable allusions to (Jewish) scripture. There are probable echoes of the Psalms here and there, but the only quotation signified as such is from the lost apocryphal work, *Eldad and Modat* (*Vis.* 2. 3. 4). The author's free, not to say unrestrained, method of composition also makes it difficult to identify the extent of influence from New Testament books.[23] As a former slave and once successful business man, he would have had neither the leisure nor the education for serious study. But more importantly perhaps, his belief in his own prophetic gift and special inspiration made cross-reference to sources redundant. In these circumstances, we need perhaps to distinguish between slight verbal echoes that may result from memory of liturgical reading of New Testament texts and the basic concepts with which Hermas is working.

[20] So also J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (ET London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964), 307: 'II Clement quotes Gn 1:27 on the distinction between man and woman; but when it recalls that the Church is the Body of Christ, it alludes by implication to 2:24: "They two shall be one flesh", and this is the verse quoted by Paul.'

[21] On which see Gregory and Tuckett, Ch. 10 in companion volume.

[22] Not only (1), (2), and (9) in our list, but also (4), (10), and possibly (7), see *2 Clem.* 17. 5. Note also the reference to the seal of baptism: e.g., 7. 4, cf. Eph. 1.13.

[23] See J. Verheyden, 'The *Shepherd of Hermas* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament', Ch. 11 in companion volume.

The date of the *Shepherd* is a matter of controversy. If the author is identified with the Hermas of Rom. 16. 14,[24] then it can be no later than the end of the first century. But it is not even certain that Rom. 16 was originally addressed to Rome. And the romantic tendency to identify anybody with the same name as someone who appears in Scripture is to be resisted. Support for a late first-century date could be drawn from the reference to Clement in *Vis.* 2. 4. 3, but the same caution is applicable. The Muratorian Canon, on the other hand, attributes the work to the brother of Pope Pius 'more recently in our times'—i.e., *c.*135—and accordingly rejects it from the canonical list. Even if the Muratorian Canon is itself to be dated much later,[25] it is difficult to explain its evidence away. Osiek concludes that 'the best assignment of date is an extended duration of time beginning perhaps from the very last years of the first century, but stretching through most of the first half of the second'.[26] However, this compromise solution does not seem to do justice to the urgency that the author feels (see *Vis.* 2. 4. 3) to send his message abroad. Better perhaps to suppose that it was written at some time within this range, but to refuse greater precision. If the date is towards the end of the time frame, then the likelihood of acquaintance with the Pauline letter collection including Ephesians increases considerably, and correspondingly decreases towards the beginning.

The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers claimed that Ephesians, along with 1 Corinthians, are category b sources, but the evidence does not quite bear out the Committee's confidence. It is based on two parallels. First, *Mand.* 10. 2 verses 1, 2, 4, and 5 and Eph. 4. 30 on 'grieving the spirit'. But it should be noted that in the *Shepherd* it is grief in the believer that wearies and saddens the spirit.[27] In other words, he does not mean the Holy Spirit of God, as in Ephesians. In any case, the Ephesians text is itself an allusion to Isa. 63. 10 (MT): 'they grieved his Holy Spirit' (the LXX has 'they provoked'), and the Old Testament text in a more literal translation than that of the LXX may be the source of the wording at least in both passages.

The second b-rated parallel is *Sim.* 9 // Eph. 4. 3–6. The *Shepherd* reads (9. 13. 5): 'Those who believe in the Lord through his Son, and clothe themselves with these spirits will be one spirit, one body and one colour of garment' (cf. 9. 13. 7: 'one spirit, one body and one clothing'). Reference is also made to 9. 17. 4: 'one mind, one faith, one love', a triplet repeated at 9. 18. 4 in

[24] So, Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 10. 3.

[25] With G. Hahnemann, *The Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[26] C. Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 20.

[27] 'The holy spirit that is within you' is, so Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 137, argues, to be understood as 'the vulnerable good spirit . . . oppressed by a person under its influence'.

the longer formulation: 'After these [the double-minded, etc.] are thrown out, the church of God will be one body, one thinking, one mind, one faith, one love.' But this hardly warrants a b grade. In the context of 9. 13 it is the same coloured clothing (the white robes of righteousness) that is the dominant motif; the 'one spirit, one body' phrase is merely introductory and conventional. Similarly, at 9. 17–18, it is the same moral values that are emphasized. Indeed, there is no real similarity of thought between the *Shepherd* and Eph. 4. 4–6. The Ephesians passage is basically doctrinal, the passages in the *Shepherd* basically paraenetic. The most distinctive features of Ephesians—namely, 'one hope, one Lord, one baptism, one God'—are missing from the *Shepherd*, and the most distinctive features of the latter, 'one thinking, one mind, one love', are missing from Ephesians. Moreover, it is likely, as noted in the Introduction, that Eph. 4. 4–5 reflects a liturgical credal formula which could fully explain the superficial similarity at one or two points.

Three further parallels were adjudged d by the Oxford Committee. *Mand.* 3. 1: 'Let all truth proceed out of your mouth'; cf. Eph. 4. 25: 'Speak the truth. Let no rotten speech proceed out of your mouth.' Apart from the Semitic idiom of the verbal phrase, there is no similarity and no need to suppose a literary source for such a commonplace. Secondly, *Sim.* 9. 4, 3 refers to the building of the tower with four courses of stones, ten, twenty-five, thirty-five, and forty, respectively, which are later explained at 9. 15. 5: 'the ten are the first generation, the twenty five the second, the thirty five are the prophets and ministers of God and the forty are apostles and teachers of the proclamation of the Son of God.' The author of Ephesians, by contrast, reserves the titles 'apostles and prophets' for the first, founding generation at 2. 20 and 4. 11 f. Finally, *Sim.* 16. 2 refers to being 'made alive' (Ephesians uses the same verb compounded with *συν*-), and continues: 'Before bearing the name of the [Son of] God a person is dead.' The Ephesians parallel at 2. 1: 'you being dead to trespasses' is remote, especially if this is the correct translation,[28] in which case the phrase is to be taken in the opposite positive sense, comparable with Rom. 6. 11. However, the ambiguous character of these verbal echoes, hardly detectable to the human ear, should not necessarily lead us to the conclusion that Ephesians and the *Shepherd* are unrelated because there are at the same time large-scale conceptual similarities that the close textual method fails to capture.

First, the aged woman, whom Hermas at first mistakes for the Sybil, is finally revealed as the pre-existent and predestined church for whose sake, like Israel's in Jewish texts, the world was created (*Vis.* 2. 4. 1). The woman's age is partly the negative effect of the apathy and withered spirit of Christians

[28] See *Eph: BNTC ad loc.*

(*Vis.* 3. 11. 2), but partly also a positive attribute, denoting antiquity and venerability: this is clear from the fact that although the wrinkles have disappeared by the time of the last vision, she retains her white hair (*Vis.* 4. 2. 1). So it is possible to remove wrinkles by the process of sanctification: that is what Ephesians also claims (point (9) above). The pre-existent church is not a pure idealization: she also mirrors back to her members the consequences of their actions. As Carolyn Osiek comments: 'The Church is both ideal and real at the same time . . . an eschatological mystery, it is also a community of people of mixed spiritual quality, with need for improvement.'[29]

Secondly, the nuptial motif is present at *Vis.* 4. 2. 1: 'A girl met me dressed as if she were coming from the bridal chamber all in white', picking up the imagery of Eph. 5 and Rev. 21, but it is not really developed in the *Visions.* Indeed, they notably lack reference to the figure of Christ, which the marriage motif inevitably entails. The Christology of the *Shepherd* becomes explicit only later in the book, in which female imagery for the church fades into the background.

Thirdly, and more definitively, the Church as a building (or temple) is common in Paul and certain sayings in the gospels. The Qumran community, another dissident Jewish group, also saw itself as a spiritual temple.[30] The image is fully developed in the *Shepherd* in the third *Vision* and in *Sim.* 9. The emphasis is on placing stones together into a single construction, rejecting, permanently or temporarily, those that are defective and chipping away at those that are too round and smooth (i.e., the rich). The very same emphasis is found in Eph. 2. 21 f. (point (4) above), where Christ is the one 'in whom a whole building *fitting together* grows into a holy temple in the Lord in whom you also are being built up together for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit'. The obligation to collaborate in the joint enterprise of being the church reappears in Ephesians later at 4. 16, where Christ is the one 'from whom the whole body, being constructed and assembled, achieves bodily growth and builds itself up in love'. This latter passage in context (see 4. 11 and point (7) above) emphasizes the basic layer of apostles and prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, who, to change the metaphor, are the supplying joints in the body of Christ. The correlation of the church as woman with the church as building harks back to Jewish roots, Old Testament images for Israel and Jerusalem.[31] As we have seen, it is present already in

[29] Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 36. To the same effect, she quotes the splendid study of E. Humphrey, *The Ladies and the Cities*, JSPS 17 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), which, however, unfortunately nowhere mentions Ephesians.

[30] See B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, SNTSMS 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

[31] See also Humphrey, *Ladies and the Cities*, on Joseph and Asenath and 4 Ezra.

Gal. 4, and of course in Rev. 21–2. These traditions may have played their own part in Hermas's imaginative development of the themes, but Ephesians is highly relevant too.

Fourthly, we have noted in the cases of Ephesians and *2 Clement* the importance of the Genesis creation story for this early Christian doctrine of the transcendent church. Is this the case also with the *Shepherd*? Perhaps it is to some extent. Admittedly, there is no mention of Adam and Eve, but the creation of the world and the creation of the church are linked together. In the first vision, the last words of the woman's reading from her book, and the only ones Hermas could remember (*Vis.* 1. 3. 4), are these: 'Behold, the God of hosts, who has by his mighty power and his great understanding created the world and by his glorious design clothed his creation with beauty, and by his potent word fixed the heavens and founded the earth upon the waters, and by his own wisdom and foresight formed his holy Church.' The link between creation and the church appears again in the building of the tower which, like the universe, is 'built upon water', representing the saving waters of baptism. The six angels doing the construction are identified as those who 'were created first of all, to whom the Lord delivered his creation' (*Vis.* 3. 4. 1). Compare points (2) and (10) in our list of features in Ephesians.

Fifthly, the first and third visions of the woman church envisage a seated figure: in the first, on a great white chair of snow-white wool (*Vis.* 1. 2. 2); later on an ivory couch covered with fine linen and a cushion (*Vis.* 3. 1. 4), an image for heavenly session. The fact is carefully noted (*Vis.* 3. 10. 3–5), and its explanation is given at *Vis.* 3. 1. 9, where Hermas is hurt that he is not yet worthy to sit on her right side on the couch, but she nevertheless 'took me by the hand and raised me up, and made me sit on the couch on the left'. That Christians are already raised and seated in the heavenly realms is the most striking expression of the realized eschatology of Ephesians (2. 6, point (3) above). The image occurs also in Rev. 3. 21, as a future hope for the victorious Christian, and at Rev. 4. 4, of the twenty-four elders already seated in heaven. But Ephesians is nearer to the *Shepherd* in applying it to a present possibility for the Christian, all the necessary qualifications notwithstanding.

Lastly, the woman-church in the *Shepherd* is both the content and the agent of revelation. She exposes Hermas's secret sins and failures as a husband and father, and, more importantly, after that rather trivial beginning, discloses God's grand design for the construction of the tower and the salvation of the universe. In *Sim.* 9, she is identified as 'the Holy Spirit, or the Son of God'; in context these are terms denoting an angel. The church therefore has a revelatory function, which is the highly distinctive feature of the teaching of Ephesians at 3. 9 f. (point (5) above). There the Wisdom of God, which is manifested through the church, is said to be manifold or multi-faceted (ποικίλος)—an attribute well illustrated by the polymorphic appearances of the church in the *Shepherd*.[32]

So, almost all the points that we claimed were highly distinctive of the ecclesiology of Ephesians appear centrally or on the margins of the *Shepherd*. No doubt other texts fed into the author's imagination as well. He may have known Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalypses like *4 Ezra* and the book of Revelation, but there is a notable independence of imagination, which means that any sources are buried deep in his mind. It may not be insignificant that the reading of the book in the first vision almost entirely washes over him; perhaps he felt much the same when lections were read in worship.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to assess the influence of Ephesians on two of the Apostolic Fathers, who have a similarly exalted view of the church, *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd*. At the level of verbal correspondences, which preoccupied the Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, it seems more likely that *2 Clement* reflects a direct knowledge and was consciously using Ephesians; and less likely that the *Shepherd* did. But the paper has argued also that exact similarity in wording may not in itself be a satisfactory criterion for establishing a literary relation. *2 Clement* is the product of an official teacher who is obliged to cross-reference his sources. Hermas is an amateur, idiosyncratic visionary, who is not so obligated. However, I hope to have shown that the similarities in the concept of the transcendent church between these three texts is very striking.

In the later second century, Gnostic groups took up this concept with enthusiasm: in the Valentinian system, for example, Ecclesia is one of the pre-existent aeons. This may be one of the reasons why the idea, so strong in Ephesians, *2 Clement*, and the *Shepherd*, soon begins to fade. Another reason may be that some of the aspects of this early high ecclesiology were drawn into and overshadowed by christological and trinitarian debates in the later patristic period, and by the Mariological debates of the medieval period.

[32] Cf. L. Pernveden, *The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas*, STL 27 (Lund: Gleerup, 1966). On p. 23 he writes: 'A similar view of the role of divine wisdom appears in Eph. 3.10, where God's manifold wisdom is said to be made known through the Church. This may mean that even if the background to this theme is Jewish, it has nevertheless been absorbed into a Christian tradition, which in this case *undoubtedly* has an offshoot in Hermas' (my emphasis).

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7

The Apostolic Fathers and Infant Baptism: Any Advance on the Obscurity of the New Testament?

David F. Wright

The hugely influential Faith and Order Paper on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, published in 1982, put the issue as follows:

> While the possibility that infant baptism was also practised in the apostolic age cannot be excluded, baptism upon personal profession of faith is the most clearly attested pattern in the New Testament documents.[1]

A dozen years later the massive *Catechism of the Catholic Church* struck a similar note:

> There is explicit testimony to this practice [of infant baptism] from the second century on, and it is quite possible that, from the beginning of the apostolic preaching, when whole 'households' received Baptism, infants may also have been baptized.[2]

The phrases 'cannot be excluded' and 'quite possible' are a far cry from the maximalist certainties of Joachim Jeremias and of the Church of Scotland's Special Commission on Baptism in the 1950s and 1960s.[3] Ever since the sixteenth century, the *onus probandi* has probably rested on those affirming the first-century or apostolic origins of infant baptism, rather than on those who reject this claim. For more than one reason, the position which Jeremias espoused so stalwartly has within the last few decades become more difficult

[1] *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper 111 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982), 4 ('Baptism', 11).

[2] *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), 284 (§ 1252).

[3] J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries* (London: SCM Press, 1960). The German original appeared in 1958. The Scottish Special Commission laboured during 1953–63 under the convenorship of Thomas F. Torrance, who wrote most of the voluminous reports. It remains probably the most comprehensive investigation of baptism, especially in its theological aspects, ever undertaken. For details see D. F. Wright, 'Baptism', in Nigel M. de S. Cameron *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 57–8.

to vindicate.[4] The aim of this paper is to enquire whether the works of the Apostolic Fathers throw any light on the obscurity which envelops the issue in the New Testament writings. It will proceed by asking a series of questions, and, as so often in intellectual enquiry, the validity of the outcome will depend on the appropriateness of the questions.

1. Are there any explicit references to infant baptism in the Apostolic Fathers?

The first is likely to prove the easiest to answer, since no scholar known to me now answers in the affirmative.

2. Are there any indirect references or implicit allusions to infant baptism in the Apostolic Fathers?

We are immediately into trickier territory, in which Polycarp's declaration to the proconsul of Asia, 'Eighty and six years have I served [Christ]', deserves priority treatment, if only because of the prominence it receives in arguments like that of Jeremias.[5] Is there anything new to be said to resolve what I judge to be an impasse? It may be highly probable, although it falls short of certainty, that the number of years denotes Polycarp's age.[6] The text belongs, of course, to a group of similar statements in early Christian literature attesting Christian identity or service from birth or childhood or lifelong Christian discipleship. Kurt Aland contributed to the debate, with a particular relish, since Jeremias had overlooked it, the only other such assertion in the Apostolic Fathers. *1 Clement* tells the Corinthian church that the letter is being carried to them by men who 'have passed blameless lives among us from youth (ἀπὸ νεότητος) until old age'.[7] Aland is keen to emphasize the indefiniteness of 'youth'.

[4] I note that the article 'Baptism 1. *Early Christianity*' by Maxwell E. Johnson in P. Bradshaw (ed.), *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London: SCM Press, 2002), 35–7, mentions infant baptism first in connection with third-century sources.

[5] *Mart. Pol.* 9. 3; Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 59–63; K. Aland, *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants*? (London: SCM Press, 1963), 70–3 (German original, 1961); J. Jeremias, *The Origins of Infant Baptism* (London: SCM Press, 1963), 58 (German original, 1962).

[6] It is so assumed by H. König in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (New York: Crossroad, 2000), 494 (German original, 1998).

[7] Aland, *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants*?, 71, citing *1 Clem.* 63. 3.

There is little point in retracing here the lines of a familiar, and perhaps tedious, discussion. This clutch of testimonies may or may not hang together, but one comment is worth making before we move on. Insufficient attention has been given to the possibility of other non-baptismal markers of Christian belonging in the first three centuries. The fourth and fifth centuries furnish varied evidence of dedication or consecration or enrolment in the catechumenate soon after birth of individuals baptized only in responsible years. The fact that none of the pre-Constantinian texts explicitly identifies baptism as the starting-point of long-lasting or whole-life Christian discipleship at least leaves open the possibility that there may have been at hand some other way, even liturgical in form, of marking a child of Christian parents as intended for Christ. Jeremias and Aland disputed the import of two passages in the *Apology* of Aristides to this effect, but their exchanges focused rather myopically on the presence or absence of infant baptism, with not even Aland entertaining other possibilities.[8]

Statements like Polycarp's when facing martyrdom may not dispel the obscurity of the New Testament, but they do add a new category of evidence to be taken into account, or at least, in instances specifying span of life, evidence of greater precision. The closest parallel in the New Testament must be Timothy, who is declared to have 'known the holy scriptures from infancy (*ἀπὸ βρέφους*)', within a family in which grandmother and mother were, at least eventually, believers.[9] Jeremias's silence on the case of Timothy no doubt reflects the difficulty of fitting his Christian, rather than Jewish, discipleship from infancy into a credible chronology. In the nature of the case, the New Testament corpus only marginally allows for the elapse of time sufficient to accommodate generational transmission of the faith.

I doubt if any other alleged implicit references to infant baptism in the Apostolic Fathers are clear enough to merit discussion or add anything to the evidence of the New Testament—that is to say, they do not serve to resolve the uncertainties of the New Testament writings. Jeremias cites Ignatius' greeting in *Smyrn.* 13. 1 'to the families (*οἴκους*) of my brethren with their wives and children' as showing what—better, who—was or were 'commonly understood' by the word *οἶκος* in the well-known texts in 1 Corinthians and Acts, 'i.e., father and mother of the household and children of all ages'.[10] Ignatius

[8] See my essay 'Infant Dedication in the Early Church', in S. E. Porter and A. R. Cross (eds.), *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White*, JSNTSup 171 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 352–78, on 362–4.

[9] 2 Tim. 3. 15; 1. 5; cf. Acts 16. 1.

[10] Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 19–20. On p. 20 n. 1 Jeremias discusses Ign., *Pol.* 8. 2, where the household(s) of grown-up children seem to be in view, but appears to want both to have his cake and to eat it in claiming that even in this case '*οἶκος* does not refer to the household without children'. In *Vis.* 3. 1. 6, Hermas is instructed to 'ask also concerning righteousness,

certainly provides an element of detail lacking in the New Testament references, but without, I judge, making the so-called οἶκος formula any more persuasive in the case for infant baptism than it is in its own terms in the New Testament. There is no direct evidence of any kind in the Apostolic Fathers of a household baptism. In *Did.* 4. 9–11, part of the pre-baptismal instruction is suggestive of household inclusiveness, with children and slaves within the family of Christian nurture, but how this relates to the baptismal order of *Did.* 7 is wholly obscure.

3. Do references to baptism in the Apostolic Fathers throw any light on the inclusion of infants among its recipients?

The directions for baptism in the *Didache* envisage responsible participants as its subjects. There is no provision for young children, but nor are they explicitly excluded.[11] If we recall that only one small paragraph betrays the place for infants in the lengthy baptismal order in the Hippolytan *Apostolic Tradition*, such that most questions about their inclusion are left unanswered, we should hesitate to regard the *Didache* as debarring them. Its text does contribute, however, to the general picture which emerges from all the patristic sources, that the rite of baptism developed throughout the era as a rite for believing respondents, into which non-responding babies when they came to be baptized were accommodated with adaptation minimal to the point of being often near invisible.

that you may take a part of it to your family (οἶκον)'. Hermas's children (τέκνα) and wife are depicted as sinful and in need of repentance (*Vis.* 1. 3. 1–2; 2. 2. 2–4; 2. 3. 1), but the children are by now probably adult (so Carolyn Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 49), and nothing can be inferred concerning the time of their baptism.

[11] *Did.* 7. Willy Rordorf, 'Baptism according to the Didache', in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 212–22, mentions infant baptism only in connection with the use of warm water and only to dismiss it summarily from consideration (p. 219). There is no mention of infants in Nathan Mitchell, 'Baptism in the *Didache*', in Clayton N. Jefford (ed.), *The* Didache *in Context*, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 226–55. Neither Rordorf (pp. 221–2) nor Mitchell (pp. 226–7) includes provision for infants among the *Didache*'s notable omissions. In 1949 Jeremias still related warm water to the baptism of children, in *Hat die Urkirche der Kindertaufe geübt*, 2nd edn. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), 29, but no longer in *Infant Baptism* (1958/60). Cf. André Benoît, *Le Baptême chrétien au second siècle: la théologie des pères*, Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, 43 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), 31: 'Rien dans la *Didaché* n'apporte d'argument positif en faveur du baptême des enfants.'

The *Epistle to Barnabas* also furnishes an explicit discussion of baptism, from the perspective of its Old Testament foreshadowing. Not only does the writer with unmistakable purposefulness trace no connection between baptism and circumcision (see section 7 below), but what he does say about baptism clearly has responsible agents in view. They go down into the water (*καταβαίνω*, 11. 8, 11) 'with their hopes set on the cross' (11. 8), and ascend out of it 'bearing the fruit of fear in [their] hearts and having hope in Jesus in [their] spirits' (11. 11). How instinctively Barnabas avoided envisaging infants as subjects of Christian initiation appears earlier in his work.

> So we are the ones whom [God] brought into the good land. What then do 'milk and honey' mean [in Exod. 33. 3]? That a child is brought to life first by honey and then by milk. So accordingly we too are brought to life by faith in the promise and by the word, and will then go on to live possessing the earth. (6. 16–17)

When Ignatius through Polycarp exhorts the Smyrnaean Christians, 'Let your baptism remain as your weapons, your faith as a helmet, your love as a spear, your endurance as your panoply' (Ign. *Pol.* 6. 2),[12] is it fair comment that baptism fits better with faith, love, and endurance in this context as a recognizable feature of their conscious Christian experience? The assumption would be similar to that made by Paul in Rom. 6. 3–4.

2 Clement's interest in baptism is restricted to keeping it 'pure and undefiled' (6. 9). Twice 'seal' is used of the baptism to be preserved at all costs. (*2 Clem.* 7. 6; 8. 6). Nothing can be confidently inferred from these references.

Hermas was given the explanation of the stones which fell away from the tower near water, yet could not be rolled into the water: 'These are those who have heard the word and wish to be baptized into the name of the Lord,' but subsequently return to their former wickedness (*Vis.* 3. 7. 3). The author's preoccupation with repentance as the prerequisite for baptism is writ large throughout the work, as is the necessity of baptism ('water') for salvation (*Vis.* 3. 3. 5; *Sim.* 9. 16. 2–4). Yet in all of Hermas's elaborate symbolism, no category appears which might specifically accommodate those originally baptized in early infancy.

This survey has not touched on every reference to baptism in the Apostolic Fathers, but only on those which might be pertinent to our enquiry. No baptismal reference is identifiable which envisages other than responding penitents or believers as candidates.

[12] The plural *τὸ βάπτισμα ὑμῶν* makes clear that no specific reference to Polycarp's baptism is intended.

4. Do statements about children in the Apostolic Fathers throw any light on the possibility of their having been baptized?

The *Didache*, Polycarp, *1 Clement*, and *Barnabas* all instil the Christian duty of bringing up children in the nurture of the Lord.[13] *1 Clement* depicts God's creative love preparing 'his blessing for us before we were born' (38. 3). Yet when Ignatius advises Polycarp on the care of the church of Smyrna, he urges attention to widows, slaves, wives and husbands, but not to children (*Pol.* 4–5). *Barnabas*'s version of the sacrifice of a heifer in Numbers 19 includes among its extra-biblical elements boys (παιδία, παῖδες) who sprinkle all the people, whom he interprets as those who preached the gospel of forgiveness of sins to his own generation. There were three boys, standing for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*Barn.* 8. 1, 3–4). Again *Barnabas* shows his instinctive lack of interest in Christian children.

Hermas provides the fullest and clearest parallel to the strain in the teaching of Jesus which set forth children as models of discipleship. From the twelfth mountain, the white one, came believers who are

> like innocent babies (βρέφη), and no evil rises in their heart nor have they known what wickedness is, but have remained always in innocence. Such believers shall undoubtedly dwell in the kingdom of God, because in none of their conduct did they defile the commandments of God, but remained in innocence all the days of their life with a single mind. All of you who will persevere and be as babies, having no evil, shall be more glorious than all of those mentioned before, for all babies (βρέφη) are glorious before God and come first with him. (*Sim.* 9. 29. 1–3)[14]

What it means for contemporary church practice that very young children—if 'babies' is not merely symbolic—have primacy of honour before God is not so much as hinted at. The message of Hermas (so the passage continues) is blessing on all who reject evil and assume freedom from wickedness, 'for you will live first of all people with God'. Such an exposition surely creates a presumption that the new-born belong to God's people, but it does nothing to dispel the uncertainty inherent in New Testament parallels. In sum, refer-

[13] *Did.* 4. 9; Poly., *Phil.* 4. 2; *1 Clem.* 21. 6; *Barn.* 19. 5. Herm., *Vis.* 1. 3. 2, is told to persevere in correcting his children.

[14] Cf. *Sim.* 9. 31. 2. For Osiek, *Shepherd*, 252, Hermas has in view a 'strictly ideal' group. Cf. *Barn.* 6. 11, explaining the bringing of God's people into the land of milk and honey: 'When he made us new people by the remission of sins, he fashioned us into another pattern (τύπον), that we should have the souls of children (παιδίων) as though he were creating us afresh.' At several places in the Apostolic Fathers, Christians are addressed as children: e.g., *1 Clem.* 22. 1; *Barn.* 7. 1; *Did.* 3. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6; 4. 1.

ences of this type in the Apostolic Fathers fall some way short of the picture that may be drawn from the New Testament writings on the presence of young children in the church community.

5. Are there general theological statements or emphases in the Apostolic Fathers which might suggest that baptism was given to infants?

The History of Infant Baptism by the Anglican writer William Wall, published in 1705, retains its value today as an assemblage of patristic sources. 'It has remained the English classic on the subject.'[15] From the Apostolic Fathers he cites *1 Clement*'s quotation of Job 14. 4: 'No one is clean from defilement, not even if his life be but one day old,' which would become in later Fathers a proof-text for the necessity of baptism to deal with original sin in the new-born.[16] Wall also adduces passages from Hermas which show the necessity of baptism for salvation, passages which bear all the greater authority because Hermas wrote, so Wall believes, before John compiled his gospel, including the standard proof-text among the Fathers for the necessity of baptism, John 3. 5.[17] Such arguments are likely to weigh less heavily with modern students of the Fathers, not least because of the uncertain relationship between baptism and original sin in the Greek patristic tradition.

In an entirely different direction, Ignatius' proto-credal summaries are notable in twice including the baptism of Jesus between his birth and his passion. The anti-Docetic thrust is obvious in the letter to Smyrna. Jesus Christ was 'truly born of a virgin, baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him' (*Smyrn.* 1. 1: *γεγεννημένον . . . βεβαπτισμένον*). The perfect tense of 'baptized' may point to the lasting significance of his submission to John. Writing to the Ephesians, Ignatius' concern is not so patently anti-heretical: 'Jesus Christ our God was conceived by Mary both of the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit. He was born and was baptized, so that *τῷ πάθει* he might purify the water' (*Eph.* 18. 2: *ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη*).[18] If *τῷ πάθει* is translated 'by his passion', then lurking here is a suggestively profound yet undeveloped parallel to Jesus' own anticipation

[15] F. L. Cross (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn., ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1717.

[16] *1 Clem.* 17. 4; W. Wall, *The History of Infant Baptism*, 3 vols., 4th edn. (London: Griffith, Farran, Browne & Co., 1819), i. 23.

[17] Wall, *History*, i. 24–7.

[18] Cf. W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia; Fortress, 1985), 84–6.

of his death as a 'baptism' (cf. Mark 10. 38–9; Luke 12. 50). Less plausible, however, is a reference to his undergoing baptism at John's hands as an act of submission. Nevertheless, Ignatius' understanding of the baptism of Jesus, and of his death as a baptism, is insufficiently developed to have any bearing on our enquiry concerning paedo-baptism.

A theological topic of obvious baptismal reference is that of the church as the body of Christ. Clement's deployment of this imagery is at times less than Pauline, but he maintains the interdependence of small and great, strong and weak, within the one body, yet without indicating how children might fit in (*1 Clem.* 37. 4–5).

It is not possible, then, to identify in any of the Apostolic Fathers theological developments of a non-baptismal character which bear on the question of the baptismal inclusion of infants. The emphasis on faith is pervasive enough, but is never spelt out in such a manner, so I judge, as to exclude youngsters not yet of age to believe.

6. Do the Apostolic Fathers throw any light on the interpretation of contested New Testament texts?

We may leave aside all questions of which New Testament writings the Apostolic Fathers severally may have known, and in which form, since our interest is in whether they help us to clear away any of those writings' obscurities about baptism given to infants. To this question only a confident negative can be given. None, I think I am right in saying, of the New Testament verses commonly in contention with reference to the apostolic origins of paedo-baptism is quoted or alluded to by any of the Apostolic Fathers. By such disputed texts I mean Acts 2. 39; 1 Cor. 7. 14; Col. 2. 11–12; and several mentions of household baptisms, in 1 Cor. 1. 16; Acts 16. 15, 33; 18. 7, and also 11. 14, together with the synoptic accounts of Jesus' blessing of the children, in Matt. 19. 13–15; Mark 10. 13–16 (cf. 9. 36b); and Luke 18. 15–17.[19] On none of these does the corpus of the Apostolic Fathers help to resolve their controverted bearing on the beginnings of infant baptism.

In section 2 above, note was taken of Ignatius' greeting to 'the families of my brothers with their wives and children' at Smyrna (13. 1), but this cannot

[19] On the subsequent fortunes of this pericope, see my paper 'Out, In, Out: Jesus' Blessing of the Children and Infant Baptism', in S. E. Porter and A. R. Cross (eds.), *Dimensions of Baptism: Biblical and Theological Studies*, JSNTSup 234 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 188–206.

be treated as evidence of his, or any other Apostolic Father's, understanding of the supposed 'household baptism' texts listed in the previous paragraph. Remember that establishing how these texts should rightly be read is not part of my remit.

Even if we enlarge the circle of putatively relevant New Testament texts to encompass verses such as Acts 21. 21[20] and the occurrences of *κωλύειν* in baptismal contexts in Matt. 3. 14 and Acts 8. 36, 10. 47, and 11. 17, which helped Oscar Cullmann and others after him read Jesus' blessing of the children baptismally (the Greek verb occurs in all three synoptics),[21] we still draw a blank among the Apostolic Fathers. This holds also for John 3. 3–5, perhaps echoed in the *Shepherd* (*Sim.* 4. 15. 3),[22] Matt. 18. 10,[23] and for that matter the other places where Jesus commends the child as a model for his followers, such as Matt. 18. 3.[24]

It is not inappropriate here, although the point might well have been made in section 3 above, to state that none of the other baptismal texts in the New Testament which are not normally cited specifically in support of the primitive status of infant baptism is used or alluded to by any of the Apostolic Fathers in a manner which suggests a link between baptism and infants. Most of them have left no trace at all, including [Mark 16. 16]; Acts 1. 5; 8. 36, 38; 19. 3–4, etc.; 1 Cor. 1. 13–16; 10. 2; 12. 13; and Gal. 3. 27. A non-baptismal phrase from Rom. 6. 3–4 may be found in Ign. *Eph.* 19. 3 (*καινότης ζωῆς*). In passages of plausible dependence on Eph. 4. 4–6, 'one baptism' is missing from *1 Clem.* 46. 6, but has become 'the seal' in the *Shepherd* (*Sim.* 9. 17. 4), while in *Sim.* 9. 13. 7 'one clothing' may stand proxy for one baptismal identity. Hermas at *Vis.* 3. 3. 5 has probably got 'saved through water' from 1 Pet. 3. 20–1, but the 'washing' or 'bath' of Titus 3. 5 (*λουτρόν*) has not been preserved in a probable borrowing in *Barn.* 1. 3.[25] The only possible indebtedness of the baptismal section in *Did.* 7 is the threefold name from Matt. 28. 19, while *Barn.* 11 on baptism betrays none at all. This is in sum a meagre

[20] Cf. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 48.

[21] Cf. O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, SBT 1 (London: SCM Press, 1950), 71–80 (German original, 1948); Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 48–55.

[22] Cf. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 58: 'The Gospel of John could scarcely have formulated in so unqualified a manner the proposition that only those begotten by water and the spirit can enter the kingdom of God (John 3. 5), if in its time baptism had been withheld from children of Christian parents.' Cf. the highly cautious comments in *NTAF*, 123.

[23] Cf. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 65; J. Héring, 'Un texte oublié: Mathieu 18:10. A propos des controversies récentes sur le pédobaptisme', in *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne: Mélanges offerts à M. M. Goguel* (Neuchâtel and Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1950), 95–102.

[24] On Matt. 18. 3, cf. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 49–52. There may be an echo in Hermas, *Sim.* 9. 29. 1–3; cf. *NTAF*, 122.

[25] On these texts see *NTAF*, 69, 53, 106 (with reference also to *Sim.* 9. 13. 5; 9. 18. 4), 115, 14.

harvest, which must be borne in mind in evaluating the absence of any influence of New Testament texts which later generations have judged pertinent to the paedo-baptism debate.

7. Do any of the Apostolic Fathers support a parallelism between circumcision and baptism?

This larger issue was no more than alluded to in the previous section's reference to Col. 2. 11–12 as a contested text. According to Jeremias, 'Paul here names baptism "the Christian circumcision" (ἡ περιτομὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ) and describes it thereby as the Christian sacrament which corresponds to Jewish circumcision and replaces it.'[26] This sentence aptly summarizes what had become a common attitude in Cyprian's time in the mid-third century. It is certainly not attested in the Apostolic Fathers. Apart from Ignatius' Delphic utterance to the Philadelphians that 'it is better to hear of Christianity from a man who is circumcised than of Judaism from one who is uncircumcised' (6. 1) and a polemical dismissal of the Jews' 'pride in circumcision' as mere 'mutilation of the flesh' in *Ep. Diogn.* 4. 1, 4, all of the uses of the verb περιτέμνω and the noun, and of ἀκροβυστία, 'uncircumcision', appear in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. None of these is found in section 11 on baptism, and Everett Ferguson is warranted in asserting that 'one thing baptism did not mean to Barnabas: it was not associated with circumcision. The counterpart of circumcision in the flesh is circumcision of the ears and heart by the Holy Spirit (9. 1–9; 10. 11).'[27] Not only did the author devote a full section (9) to circumcision, in which he apparently denies that it was for the people of Israel a seal of their covenant (9. 6), but his discussion of baptism explicitly sets out at the beginning to ascertain whether the Lord gave any Old Testament foreshadowing of it (11. 1). The deliberateness of his failure to relate circumcision to baptism could scarcely be more unequivocal.

8. Concluding reflections: any advance on New Testament obscurity?

To focus an enquiry of this nature on the writings known since at least the seventeenth century as the Apostolic Fathers cannot escape the limitations of

[26] Jeremias, *Infant Baptism*, 39–40.

[27] E. Ferguson, 'Christian and Jewish Baptism according to the *Epistle of Barnabas*', in Porter and Cross (eds.), *Dimensions of Baptism*, 207–23, at 222–3.

this conventional designation. It must not be seen as synonymous with an investigation of a particular span of years, such as 90–170, since I have not pursued other possible sources within the era. The earliest Apostolic Father(s) may pre-date one or more New Testament texts, and the latest, presumably the *Epistle to Diognetus* (if it still deserves to be included), is certainly later than a handful of other patristic texts meriting consideration.

Nevertheless, the enquiry is not pointless—unless it is pointless to perpetuate the category of Apostolic Fathers. In this paper I have not set myself a task which ignores these limitations, but have modestly asked whether any of these writings helps to dispel the obscurity surrounding the baptism of infants in the New Testament. The answer must be that none of them does so. What has been quite widely regarded as evidence supporting infant baptism—the eighty-six-years-long Christian service of Polycarp—does not take us beyond uncertainty at best. The statement itself has no obvious baptismal connotations, though it has been thought to imply one.

In reality, in contrast to the New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers of themselves barely sustain a picture even of obscurity concerning infant baptism. So far are they from dispersing the shadows of the New Testament that, if one started from the Apostolic Fathers and not the New Testament, one could scarcely claim that the baptizing of infants was even obscurely in view. The Apostolic Fathers do not, therefore, present us with any advance on the indeterminate evidence of the New Testament; nor do they leave us with a similarly uncertain *status quaestionis*. Rather, for those who seek dissipation of the darkness, they mark a move backwards rather than forwards, or perhaps sideways into a more uniform blankness concerning the practice of paedo-baptism.

If it is right to continue, with much earlier commentary, to discern among the Apostolic Fathers in general a shared concern with the internal ordering of the life of congregations, with domestic affairs rather than apologetic or doctrinal engagement with the external world, what bearing does this perspective have on our enquiry? Perhaps it allows us to deduce merely that the baptizing of the new-born was not a cause of discord in any of the Apostolic Fathers' churches. On the other hand, the primitive church order in the *Didache* betrays no hint that it was uncontroversial routine practice. Where it might have left some impress, in the chapters in *Barnabas* on baptism and on circumcision, the silence may be more eloquent than in the *Didache*.

The overall conclusion must be that the Apostolic Fathers do not strengthen the case for judging that infant baptism was practised in the New Testament churches. If anything, they weaken the case. A critical question remains as to how we should interpret their silence.

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8

The Eucharist in the Gospel of John and in the *Didache*

Carsten Claussen

Unlike the synoptic gospels and Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, the Gospel of John does not give a narrative account of the Last Supper of Jesus.[1] However, there seem to be a number of possible allusions to the Eucharist[2] in the Fourth Gospel. Since the middle of the twentieth century, these have led scholars to mainly three rather different conclusions:[3]

1. For quite some time many scholars regarded John 6. 51c–58 as clearly eucharistic, but as an interpolation by a later ecclesiastical redactor.[4] However, this view has meanwhile lost most of its influence.[5]

[1] Matt. 26. 17–30; Mark 14. 12–26; Luke 22. 7–38; 1 Cor. 11. 23–6.

[2] When we use terms like 'Eucharist' and 'eucharistic', we do so because they represent the original εὐχαριστία and its derivatives, not because of any dogmatic or denominational implications.

[3] For a survey of the history of research regarding the question of the Eucharist in John, see H. Klos, *Die Sakramente im Johannesevangelium*, SBS 46 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1970); R. E. Brown, 'The Johannine Sacramentary Reconsidered', *TS* 23 (1962), 183–206; *idem*, *The Gospel According to John I–XII*, AB 29 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), pp. cxi–cxiv; R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium: Dritter Teil: Kommentar zu Kapitel 13–21*, HTKNT 4/3 (Freiburg: Herder, 1957), 38–53; M. Roberge, 'Le discours sur le pain de vie, Jean 6, 22–59: problèmes d'interpretation', *LTP* 38 (1982), 265–99; L. Wehr, *Arznei der Unsterblichkeit: Die Eucharistie bei Ignatius von Antiochien und im Johannesevangelium*, NTAbh, n.s. 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987), 9–17; M. J. J. Menken, 'John 6:51c–58: Eucharist or Christology', in R. A. Culpepper (ed.), *Critical Readings of John 6*, Biblical Interpretation Series 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 183–204, esp. 183–5.

[4] See R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (ET Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 218–19: 'These verses refer without any doubt to the sacramental meal of the Eucharist, where the flesh and blood of the "son of Man" are consumed, with the result that this food gives "eternal life", in the sense that the participants in the meal can be assured of the future resurrection. . . . This not only strikes one as strange in relation to the Evangelist's thought in general, and specifically to his eschatology, but it also stands in contradiction to what has been said just before. . . . Thus, we must inevitably conclude that vv. 51b–8 have been added by an ecclesiastical editor.' Cf. also E. Lohse, 'Wort und Sakrament im Johannesevangelium', *NTS* 7 (1960), 110–25; G. Bornkamm, 'Die eucharistische Rede im Johannesevangelium', *ZNW* 47 (1956), 161–9; repr. in *idem*, *Geschichte und Glaube*, i: *Gesammelte Aufsätze* 3 (Munich: Kaiser, 1968), 60–7); the problems of the Johannine *Literarkritik* are discussed extensively in J. Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, i: *Ihre Probleme im Spiegel der Forschung seit Reimarus*, WUNT 96 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997), 429–45.

[5] See the fine collection of essays by R. A. Culpepper (ed.), *Critical Readings of John 6*, Biblical Interpretation Series 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), and in particular the editor's summary

2. Others interpret terms like 'bread', 'flesh', and 'blood' as christological and sometimes anti-Docetic references to the person of Jesus, and not in terms of the elements of the Eucharist.[6] In both the above cases one ends up with a non-sacramental (or perhaps even an anti-sacramental) Gospel of John.[7]
3. Some recent contributors to the debate view this passage as genuinely Johannine but nevertheless as eucharistic and as a logical continuation of the preceding passage with its christological message.[8] There are even exegetes who try to interpret as many symbolic references in John's Gospel as possible as referring to the sacraments.[9] Accordingly, among other passages, John 6. 51c–58 is interpreted as 'decidedly, even stridently, eucharistic'.[10] This tendency is one of deliberate sacramentalism (and perhaps ultra-sacramentalism).

(pp. 247–57, esp. 253): 'One of the chief contributions of this collection of essays, therefore, is to reverse the long-held view that John 6:51c–58 is a later redactional insertion that jarringly introduces a eucharistic interpretation of the bread of life theme. The continuities of theme and language are much stronger than was previously assumed, meaning that these verses should now be read as an integral part of the discourse.'

[6] Menken, 'John 6: 51c–58', 201–3; cf. already E. Schweizer, 'Das johanneische Zeugnis vom Herrenmahl', *EvTh* 12 (1953), 341–63; repr. in *idem*, *Neotestamentica: deutsche und englische Aufsätze 1951–1963* (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1963), 371–96, doubts the redactional character of the three sacramental passages, but does not see the sacraments in any way as central to Johannine thought.

[7] See, e.g., P. N. Anderson, 'The *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine Bread of Life Discourse and its Evolving Context', in Culpepper (ed.), *Critical Readings,* 1–59, esp. 5: '*The "eucharistic interpolation" in John 6 is neither*' (italics original); cf. *idem*, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Its Unity and Disunity in the Light of John 6* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997), esp. 110–36; Menken, 'John 6: 51c–58', 183–204; cf. already W. Wilkens, 'Das Abendmahlszeugnis im vierten Evangelium', *EvTh* 18 (1958), 354–70, regards John 6. 51c–58 as truly Johannine, but argues in favour of an anti-docetic tendency and a peripheral character of the sacraments in John; H. Köster, 'Geschichte und Kultus im Johannesevangelium und bei Ignatius von Antiochien', *ZTK* 54 (1957), 56–69, plays down the sacraments in John by contrasting them with the metaphysical viewpoint of the sacraments held by Ignatius of Antioch.

[8] See for a very balanced interpretation, e.g., U. Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, THKNT 4, 2nd edn. (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 140: 'Das gesamte Kapitel läßt sich als eine wohlüberlegte Komposition durch den Evangelisten Johannes verstehen und interpretieren, so daß sich die Annahme einer post-evangelistischen Schicht erübrigt. Auch das Speisungswunder und der Seewandel sind transparent für das eucharistische Mahl.'

[9] A classic statement of this view is O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, SBT 10 (London: SCM Press, 1953), 58: 'John's Gospel . . . treats the two sacraments as expressions of the whole worship life of the early community and correspondingly sets forth the relation between the Lord of the community *present especially in these two sacraments* and the life of Jesus' (italics original). Cf. L. Bouyer, 'Les sacraments dans l'évangile johannique', *BVC* 1 (1953), 121–2; B. Vawter, 'The Johannine Sacramentary', *TS* 17 (1956), 151–66; A. Corell, *Eschatology and Church in the Gospel of St John* (London: SPCK, 1958; translation of *Consummatum est: Eskatologi och kyrka i Johannesevangeliet* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1950)); J. M. Perry, 'The Evolution of the Johannine Eucharist', *NTS* 39 (1993), 22–35.

[10] Perry, 'Evolution', 22.

To sum up, dealing with the question of the sacraments in John seems to be particularly in danger of being affected by dogmatic preconceptions. Modern interpreters know what baptism and the Eucharist are today, and what they should have been in their very beginning. Most would argue that the words of institution are constitutive for a real Eucharist.[11] But this view does not leave much room to look for different liturgical forms in the ancient sources, which may then in turn help us to understand later developments. Before looking at ancient eucharistic passages, it may, therefore, come as a welcome surprise to realize that 'there is no firm evidence at all for the liturgical use of an institution narrative until the fourth century'.[12]

Looking at the eucharistic passages of the Fourth Gospel through the lenses of the synoptic and Pauline passages surely results in the assessment of supposed shortcomings or even over-interpretations on the Johannine side. The authors of *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* took a different path.[13] By comparing the Apostolic Fathers to the New Testament, they greatly enlarged our visual ability to see things that we would not have seen otherwise. A particularly fascinating example for this is the synoptic comparison between the Eucharist in the *Didache* and in John.

THE *DIDACHE* OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

Modern research on the *Didache*[14] began only in 1883 when Philotheos Bryennios, later the metropolitan of Nicomedia, finally published the *editio princeps* of the text he had found ten years earlier in the library of the patriarch of Jerusalem at Constantinople.[15]

[11] For a recent ecumenical discussion regarding the validity of a Eucharist without the words of institution, see P. M. Lugmayr, 'Die "Anaphora von Addai und Mari" und die Dogmatik', *Una Voce-Korrespondenz*, 33 (2003), 30–47; *idem*, 'Anaphoren ohne "direkte" Wandlungsworte bereits unter Pius XI. (1922–1939): ein Beitrag zu einer aktuellen Diskussion', *Una Voce-Korrespondenz*, 33 (2003), 227–44; see also Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity 'Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East', *L'Osservatore Romano*, 26 Oct. 2001, p. 7, where members of the Chaldean Church, which is in full communion with the Roman Catholic Church are granted admission to the Eucharist administered by the Assyrian Church of the East, i.e. a Eucharist without words of institution like the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, in situations of pastoral necessity.

[12] P. F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd edn. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 62.

[13] Hereafter referred to as *NTAF*.

[14] A second title at the beginning of the document reads: '*Didache* of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles.'

[15] P. Bryennios, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* (Constantinople: S. I. Boutura, 1883).

Although a number of ancient Christian authors like Eusebius and Athanasius of Alexandria, among others,[16] referred to the so-called *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, its text had been lost, probably since the fourth or fifth century.

As the document is composed of very different traditional items and redaction, neither a precise dating nor a consensus regarding its place of origin has yet been reached. The teaching of the Two Ways (*Did.* 1–6) may be as early as the mid-first century. Wandering charismatics (*Did.* 11–13) *and* elected deacons and bishops (*Did.* 15) may point to a transitional phase from mainly charismatic beginnings to a more institutionalized church order in the second half of the first century. The separation from Judaism (cf. *Did.* 8. 1–2)[17] may indicate a time late in the first century. Overall, a final redaction around 100 CE seems quite probable.[18]

The early circulation of the document in Egypt may indicate its origin there. However, the wandering charismatics (*Did.* 11–13) as heirs of the Jesus movement would probably fit better into a Syrian or Palestinian environment. Of course, different sections may stem not just from different times but also from a variety of localities. Thus there is at present no certainty in dating or locating the *Didache*.

By 1905, only 22 years after the first modern edition of the *Didache*, when *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* was published, there was already an extensive number of editions, commentaries, and articles dealing with this early church order.[19] Only one year after Bryennios, Adolf Harnack published

[16] K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary* (ET Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998; German original: *Die Didache*, KAV 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989, 2nd edn. 1993)), 4–6. Cf. also his summary of possible quotations of the *Didache* in early Christian literature on pp. 6–13, its use in later church orders on pp. 13–17, and by Byzantine authors of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries on pp. 17–18. A Georgian version now appears to be a relatively modern translation. Cf. B. Ehrman, 'Didache: The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles', in *idem*, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, LCL 24 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 403–43, on pp. 412–13.

[17] This is indicated by the exhortation in *Did.* 8. 1–2: 'And do not keep your fasts with the hypocrites. For they fast on Monday and Thursday; but you should fast on Wednesday and Friday.' Cf. Matt. 6. 16.

[18] For a possible reconstruction of the origin of the *Didache*, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 42–54. There is also here a detailed discussion of the 'Time and Place of the Writing' (pp. 52–4).

[19] The early literature prior to 1900 was summarized by A. Ehrhard, *Die altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung von 1884–1900*, i: *Die vornicäische Literatur*, Straßburger Theologische Studien, Supplementband 1 (Freiburg im Breslau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1900), 37–68.

Greek editions with English, French, and German translations are by J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Greek Texts with Introductions and English Translations* (London: Macmillan, 1891; repr. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1984, 2nd edn. 1992; rev. edn. 1999); K. Lake, 'The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles', in *idem*, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, LCL 24 (London: William Heinemann Ltd.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University his edition in 1884 with a commentary, which soon became fundamental for the subsequent history of research.[20] Harnack was also the first to observe numerous similarities between the Gospel of John and the eucharistic prayers in *Did.* 9 and 10.[21] He cites twelve passages where he finds parallels, almost all of them in John 6 and 17,[22] and concludes: 'Therefore, the assumption of a real literary relationship here is more obvious than in all similar cases.'[23]

Kirsopp Lake (1872–1946), then Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the University of Leiden, took responsibility for investigating the relationship of the New Testament and the *Didache* in the *NTAF*.[24] The 'composite character of the document'[25] was responsible for the major difficulties of such an undertaking. Therefore, Lake divided the document into four sections:

1. 'The *Two Ways*', *Did.* 1–6;
2. 'The ecclesiastical section', *Did.* 7. 1–15. 3;

Press, 1912), 303–33; G. Schöllgen, 'Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre: Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar', in *idem* and W. Geerlings, *Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre: Apostolische Überlieferung: Lateinisch, Griechisch, Deutsch*, FC 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1991), 23–139; A. Lindemann and H. Paulsen (eds.), *Die apostolischen Väter: Griechisch–deutsche Parallelausgabe auf Grundlage der Ausgaben von F. X. Funk, K. Bihlmeyer und M. Whittaker, mit Übersetzungen von M. Dibelius und D.-A. Koch* (Tübingen: J. C. B: Mohr (Siebeck, 1992); A. Cody, 'The *Didache*: An English Translation', in C. N. Jefford (ed.), *The* Didache *in Context: Essays on its Text, History and Transmission*, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 3–14 (English trans., pp. 5–14); Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers*. The last-named edition was mainly used for preparing this paper, although I have taken the liberty of changing parts of Ehrman's translations at times.

More recent editions and commentaries on the *Didache* are by J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris: Gabalda, 1958); R. A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache*, iii (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1965); K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, Schriften des Urchristentums 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984); Niederwimmer, *Didache*; W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè): Introduction, texte, traduction, notes, appendice et index*, SC 148 (Paris: Cerf, 1978, 2nd edn. 1998); H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, CRINT 3.5 (Assen: Royal van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), includes the edition of Cody; A. Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 C.E.* (New York and Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press, 2003).

Extensive bibliographies and numerous essays can be found in Jefford (ed.), *The* Didache *in Context*; J. A. Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); *idem*, 'The Didache in Modern Research: An Overview', in *idem* (ed), Didache *in Modern Research*, 1–42, also provides an excellent survey of research regarding the *Didache* from the beginning until the middle of the 1990s.

[20] A. Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*, TU 2 (Leipzig: J. J. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1884).

[21] Ibid. 79.

[22] Ibid. 79–80.

[23] Ibid. 81 (my trans.).

[24] K. Lake, 'The Didache', in *NTAF*, 24–36.

[25] *NTAF*, 24.

3. ‘The eschatological section’, *Did.* 16;
4. ‘The interpolation in the “Two Ways” ’, *Did.* 1. 3–2. 1.

On comparing relevant sections of the *Didache* with New Testament passages, it becomes quite obvious that, according to Lake’s judgement, there is only one instance where there is ‘a lower degree of probability’[26] for some connection: The ‘Trinitarian baptismal formula’ appears both in *Did.* 7. 1 and in Matt. 28. 19.[27] However, as a liturgical formula, it was probably used by many largely independent early Christian communities, and cannot prove literary dependence between the two texts. In several other cases of similarities his grading reaches only a rather low possibility of any dependence.

However, when it comes to comparing the *Didache* with the Fourth Gospel, Lake opts for ‘unclassed’.[28] As passages ‘which seem reminiscent of Johannine ideas and terminology’,[29] he quotes the following texts:

Did. 9. 2: *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου* (‘for the holy vine of David, thy child’);[30]

Did. 9. 3: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι . . .*[31] *ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου.* (‘We give thee thanks . . . for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child’);

Did. 10. 3: *ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.* (‘but us hast thou blessed with spiritual food and drink and eternal light through thy child’).

Lake noticed similarities of these references to John 15. 1; 17. 3; and 6. 45–55. All of these had already been included in Harnack’s list.[32] But altogether the latter’s earlier list of twelve similarities in wording was now reduced to merely three passages, and Lake seemed to be a lot less enthusiastic about the relationship between the *Didache* and John. Nevertheless, he also touched upon a common difference of these two sources compared to the synoptics:

> It is noticeable that the distinctive ideas of the manna and the identification of the bread with the body of Christ, are not found in the *Didache*. The point of closest resemblance is that the *Didache*, like the Fourth Gospel, does not connect the spiritual food with the specific ideas of the institution, as is done in the Synoptic narrative.[33]

[26] The classification used by the authors of *NTAF* is given on p. iii.
[27] *NTAF*, 27. [28] *NTAF*, 31. [29] *NTAF*, 31.
[30] The translations are inserted from Lake’s own edition in the LCL.
[31] Lake omits *πάτερ ἡμῶν*. [32] Harnack, *Lehre*, 79–81. [33] *NTAF*, 31.

This overall impression supports the notion that the *Didache* may somehow be close to the Gospel of John,[34] and has led some scholars over the years to postulate some common ground for the Eucharist between John and the *Didache*.[35] As we find a rather different treatment of the Eucharist in these two texts, compared to what we find in the synoptics and in Paul, we first need to deal with the basic question of the very nature of the eucharistic allusions in the *Didache* and in the Fourth Gospel.

What kind of 'eucharist' do we find in the *Didache*?[36] Or what makes passages like the prayers in *Did.* 9 and 10 and the verses in *Did.* 14. 1–3 'eucharistic', as they include neither an institution narrative nor the words of institution? And on top of it there is a blessing of the wine *before* the bread. First of all, the identification of these passages is corroborated by the composition of the *Didache*. After the text has dealt with baptism (*Did.* 7. 1–3), and closely linked to this with fasting (7.4–8.1) and prayer (8. 2–3), it comes as no surprise: following these presuppositions (9. 5) and identity markers of a Christian life-style, the Didachist now turns to the eucharistic ritual.[37]

However, the most obvious indication for this is the rubric in *Did.* 9. 1: 'And concerning the thanksgiving meal / eucharist (*εὐχαριστία*), you shall give thanks / hold the eucharist (*εὐχαριστέω*) as follows.'[38] This line serves as the title for what follows. It is parallel to the rubric at the beginning of *Did.*

[34] J. Schmid, 'Didache', *RAC* iii. 1009–13, at p. 1012: 'Eben diese Gebete [d.h. die Abendmahlsgebet in *Did.* 9, 10] sind aber auch von einer Mystik inspiriert, die eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit der johanneischen aufweist.'

[35] For a summary of older contributions, see A. Greiff, *Das älteste Paschrituale der Kirche, Did. 1–10 und das Johannesevangelium*, Johanneische Studien 1 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1929); J. A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache* (London: SPCK; New York: Macmillan, 1920); *idem*, 'The Problem of the Didache', *JTS* 13 (1912), 339–56. Later contributions include E. R. Goodenough, 'John a Primitive Gospel', *JBL* 64 (1945), 145–82, esp. 174–5; C. F. D. Moule, 'A Note on *Didache* IX.4', *JTS* 6 (1955), 240–3; L. Cerfaux, 'La multiplication des pains dans la liturgie de la Didachè', *Bib* (1959), 943–58. Perry, 'Evolution', 28, sums up: 'The various liturgical and theological similarities between the Fourth Gospel and the *Didache* suggest that the Johannine community and that of the Didachist may once have shared a purely eschatological eucharistic tradition, and that at some intersection in their histories the latter community had been influenced by the theology of the former. We may suspect that the influence occurred before the passion-oriented modification of the Eucharist was adopted by the Johannine community, for any reference thereto is lacking in the *Didache*.' Even more recently, K. Berger, *Im Anfang war Johannes: Datierung und Theologie des vierten Evangeliums* (Stuttgart: Quell Verlag, 1997), 216–17, while discussing the question of the Eucharist in John 6 quotes *Did.* 9. 3 as supporting the tradition of a metaphorical relationship between 'bread' and 'word'.

[36] For a summary of the history of research see Draper, 'Didache', 26–31.

[37] For a very convincing treatment of *Did.* 7–10 as an 'integrated block of ritual material', see J. A. Draper, 'Ritual Process and Ritual Symbol in Didache 7–10', *VC* 54 (2000), 121–58, on p. 121.

[38] *Did.* 9. 1: *Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε.*

7. 1 concerning baptism—'And concerning baptism, baptise as follows'[39]—and other rubrics in the *Didache* as well.[40] The clause in *Did.* 9. 5—'But let no one eat or drink from your thanksgiving meal / eucharist unless they have been baptised in the name of the Lord.'[41]—signals the end of this section. The ritual is expressly described by the term εὐχαριστία. Although εὐχαριστία appears in the New Testament altogether fifteen times, mainly in the Pauline and deutero-Pauline literature, it is never used as a *terminus technicus* for the Eucharist or the eucharistic elements.[42] The situation is very different in the Apostolic Fathers. In Ignatius' letters to the Ephesians (13. 1), the Philadelphians (4) and the Smyrnaeans (7. 1, (twice), 8. 1), εὐχαριστία is used in a clearly eucharistic context, sometimes for the ritual act of the Eucharist (*Eph.* 13. 1; *Smyrn.* 7. 1 (first instance), 8. 1) or for the eucharistic elements (Ign. *Phld.* 4; *Smyrn.* 7. 1 (second instance)). The same applies to Justin Martyr, who uses εὐχαριστία for the eucharistic elements.[43] Thus there is no need to doubt that at least *Did.* 9 refers to a eucharistic ritual. But what about the prayer in *Did.* 10?

The structure of *Did.* 9 and 10 is largely parallel,[44] which may count as an important argument that the latter prayer is also about the Eucharist. In addition to this, the formulation in *Did.* 10. 3 offers a clue to the identification of this passage:

> You, Lord Almighty, created all things for the sake of your name, and gave both food and drink to humans for their refreshment, that they might give you thanks. But you graced us with spiritual food and drink and eternal life through your child.

The purpose of general food and drink is obvious: basically it is for the refreshment or enjoyment (εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν) of all human beings. There is no indication that this kind of food is in any way limited to a certain type of

[39] *Did.* 7. 1: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε.

[40] Cf. also the rubrics with περί in *Did.* 6. 3 ('food'), 9. 2 ('cup'), 9. 3 ('broken bread'), and 11. 3 ('apostles and prophets').

[41] μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου.

[42] However, cf. ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου in John 6. 23. This may be regarded as an anticipation of the later eucharistic usage.

[43] Justin, *1 Apol.* 66. 1: καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία.

[44] This was already noticed by E. Freiherr v. d. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901), 211; L. Clerici, *Einsammlung der Zerstreuten: Liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Vor-und Nachgeschichte der Fürbitte für die Kirche in Didache 9,4 und 10,5*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 44 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 5–6, provides a synopsis of the prayers in German. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 139–40, gives a synopsis of the prayers in Greek; E. Mazza, 'Didache 9–10: Elements of a Eucharistic Interpretation', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 276–7, includes a synopsis in English.

people. As we shall see in greater detail later on, it shows a close resemblance to Jewish after-meal prayers.[45]

In contrast (δέ) to such food and drink in general, there is also 'spiritual food and drink', which are mentioned together with 'eternal life'. The eucharistic cup (singular!), which is closely connected to the 'holy vine of David' (*Did.* 9. 2) and the broken bread (singular!), is clearly singled out. This special kind of wine and bread is not consumed for the purpose of being fed until one would have had 'enough to eat' (*Did.* 10. 1).[46]

For this eucharistic meal admission is limited to those who are baptized, who have confessed their trespasses (*Did.* 4. 14; 10. 6; 14. 1b), and who live in peace with their fellow Christians (*Did.* 14. 2; cf. 15. 3). Thus there is no evidence whatsoever that candidates for baptism and catechumens would *per se* be excluded from the communal meals.

Although there can be no doubt about the eucharistic context in *Did.* 9 and 10, the precise nature of such a ritual meal is still a matter of dispute. Or, to address the matter more accurately, the question is: does *Did.* 9–10 refer to the Eucharist or to a common meal later called *agapē*?[47]

[45] The *Birkat ha-mazon* begins with the words: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, Who feedest the whole world with goodness, with grace and with mercy'.

[46] The contrast between 'earthly' and 'spiritual' can also be found in Ign. *Rom.* 7. 3 (φθορά/ἄφθαρτος); Justin, *1 Apol.* 66. 2; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 4 (SC 100, 610 ff.).

[47] It needs to be stressed that the *Didache* does not use the term ἀγάπη in this later sense (cf. however, *Did.* 10. 5; 16. 3). What is meant by this term is a communal meal of the early Christian community. It is obvious that any answer to the above question is in danger of falling victim to anachronistic reconstructions or of being influenced by dogmatic preconceptions. A detailed overview of the different views on the type of ritual in *Did.* 9–10 is provided by Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 141–2. From Harnack, *Lehre*, 58–60, on, many scholars believe that *Did.* 9–10 represent the Eucharist. H. Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy: With Introduction and Further Inquiry by Robert Douglas Richardson* (ET Leiden: Brill, 1979); German original of part 1, i.e. pp. xxv–xxvi, 1–215: *Messe und Herrenmahl—Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1926), offers a similar view: while he sees *Did.* 9–10 and 14. 1–3 as referring to the Eucharist (p. 189), he describes the course of the ceremony as an 'agape introduced by a eucharistic celebration'. However, his reconstruction is based on the assumption that *Did.* 10. 6 had its original place 'before the prayer x.1–5, and the injunction ix.5'. There is no hint in the text for such an operation!

In favour of an *agapē* are, among others (cf. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 141), R. H. Connolly, 'Agape and Eucharist in the Didache', *DR* 55 (1937), 477–89; F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache: Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism?* (London: SPCK, 1938), 197–207; G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster: Dacre, 1945), 90. P. Drews, 'Untersuchungen zur Didache', *ZNW* 5 (1904), 53–79, on pp. 78–9, opts for *Did.* 9–10 as a Eucharist in the form of a communal meal ('ein Herrenmahl, gefeiert in der Form einer einheitlichen, vollen Gemeindemahlzeit', p. 79) while *Did.* 14 refers to the Eucharist on a Sunday, led by a bishop. A number of scholars argue that *Did.* 9–10 are prayers for the *agapē*, while the Eucharist follows after *Did.* 10. 6; see, e.g., T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, iii: *Supplementum Clementinum* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1884), 193 ff.; A. D. Nock, 'Liturgical Notes', *JTS* 30 (1929), 381–95, on pp. 390–1; M. Dibelius, 'Die Mahl-Gebete der Didache', *ZNW* 37 (1938), 32–41, 126–7. Some see them as prayers of the *agapē*, which the

The above examination of the prayers in *Did.* 9 and 10 has made it quite obvious that the whole section follows the rubric in *Did.* 9. 1 which describes what follows as εὐχαριστία. Nevertheless, the prayers refer to a ritual unit with expressly eucharistic parts (*Did.* 9. 2–3), with access limited to the baptized (*Did.* 9. 5; cf. *Did.* 10. 6), and with parts of a meal to satisfy hunger (*Did.* 10. 1, 3) for everybody. Although there was an obvious understanding of the difference between these, so that one was able to distinguish the cup and the broken bread from the rest of the meal, both parts still belong together. Thus, there is simply no reason to regard this meal as an *agapē* without the Eucharist.[48] A deeper understanding of this peculiar combination of common meal and Eucharist can be gained by looking into the Jewish background of these prayers.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS IN THE *DIDACHE* AND JEWISH MEAL-PRAYERS

Already very early, scholars recognized similarities between ancient Jewish and early Christian liturgies, and later on also between the eucharistic prayers in *Did.* 9 and 10 and Jewish prayers. The Dutch Protestant theologian Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722) may have been the first to point out the Jewish roots of the Christian liturgy, and many others followed his line.[49] The scientific study of the history of Jewish liturgy began with the monumental work of Leopold Zunz: *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*,

Lord's Supper then follows. Cf. R. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, UTB 630, 9th edn. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1984), 153; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 134; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 40–1. A. Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 16 (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1968), 63–83, regards *Did.* 9–10 as belonging to the Eucharist, which had not yet been divided from the *agapē*. Wengst, *Didache*, 45–6, argues that the Eucharist of the *Didache* is nothing but a meal meant to satisfy the hunger of the participants (= 'Sättigungsmahl'). Wengst clarified, but basically defended, his view later on in a dialogue with Lothar Wehr. See Wehr, *Arznei*, 376–7.

[48] This is rightly stressed already by Goltz, *Das Gebet*, 210: 'Gemeinsame Mahlzeit und Herrenmahl und ἀγάπη waren dasselbe'; cf. Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions*, 70.

[49] C. Vitringa, *De synagoga vetere libri tres: quibus tum de nominibus, structurā, origine, præfectis, ministris, & sacris synagogarum, agitur; tum præcipue, formam regiminis & ministerii earum in ecclesiam christianam translatam esse, demonstratur: cum prolegomenis* (Franeker: Typis & impensis J. Gyzelaar, 1696); abbreviated translation by J. L. Bernard, *The Synagogue and the Church: Being an Attempt to Show that the Government, Ministers and Services of the Church were Derived from those of the Synagogue* (London: B. Fellowes, 1842).

published in 1832.[50] His method was marked by the attempt to reconstruct a single archetype, an *Urtext*, by comparing the different manuscripts.[51] Paul Sabatier, in the earliest French commentary on the *Didache* in 1885, was the first to compare the blessing of the cup (*Did.* 9. 2) and the broken bread (*Did.* 9. 3) to blessings at the beginning of Jewish meals.[52] He tried to show analogies between the *Kiddush*—a simple blessing over the wine at the beginning of each sabbath or feast-day[53]—and *Did.* 9. 1–3. The tenth benediction of the *Amidah*[54] and *Did.* 9. 4–5 also seemed to show some parallels.[55] Nevertheless, in both cases the similarities surely do not outweigh the significant differences.

It was not until 1928 that Louis Finkelstein published his ground-breaking essay on the *Birkat ha-mazon*, the Jewish grace after meals, comparing it to the prayer in *Did.* 10.[56] Finkelstein followed Zunz's methodology, and tried 'to establish the original form of the benedictions'[57] of the grace after meals. His careful reconstruction presents a prayer with three benedictions:[58]

50 L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt: ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur-und Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Asher, 1832; 2nd edn. von Nehemias Brüll nach dem Handexemplar des Verfassers berichtigte und mit einem Register vermehrte Auflage, Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1892; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966).

51 For a short overview see Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, 25–6.

52 P. Sabatier, *La Didachè, ou l'Enseignement des douze apôtres, texte grec retrouvé par Mgr Philotheos Bryennios . . . publié pour la première fois en France, avec un commentaire et des notes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885), 100. Cf. Drews, 'Untersuchungen', 74; Goltz, *Das Gebet*, 210; *idem*, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchristlichen und in der griechischen Kirche*, TU n.s. 14 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905); G. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909), 214–19, pointed to the influence of sabbath *Kiddush* prayers on *Did.* 9. Cf. also more recently J. W. Riggs, 'From Gracious Table to Sacramental Elements: The Tradition-History of Didache 9 and 10', *SC* 4 (1984), 83–101, esp. 91–2.

53 Cf. also *m. Ber.* 6. 1: '(Blessed are you, O Lord, our God, King of the world,) who creates the fruit of the vine . . . . (Blessed are you, O Lord, our God, King of the world,) who brings forth bread from the earth.'

54 'Blow a blast upon the great shofar for our freedom and raise a banner for the gathering of our exiles. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed of thy people Israel.' Quoted according to L. H. Schiffman, *Texts and Traditions: A Source Reader for the Study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 1998), 658, who reproduces a translation by J. Heinemann and J. J. Petuchowski, *Literature of the Synagogue* (New York: Behrman, 1975), 33–6.

55 See G. Klein, 'Die Gebete in der Didache', *ZNW* 9 (1908), 132–46, on pp. 134–5; R. D. Middleton, 'The Eucharistic Prayers of the Didache', *JTS* 36 (1935), 259–67, esp. 261–2; Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions*, 162–9; Riggs, 'Gracious Table', 91–2 n. 30.

56 L. Finkelstein, 'The Birkat-Ha-Mazon', *JQR* 19 (1928/9), 211–62.

57 Ibid. 211.

58 Ibid. 215–16. The threefold pattern 'blessing'—'thanksgiving'—'supplication' was added to the text. For this pattern cf. Thomas Talley, 'The Eucharistic Prayer of the Ancient Church according to Recent Research: Results and Reflections', *SL* 11 (1976), 138–58; *idem*, 'From Berakah to Eucharistia: A Reopening Question', *Worship*, 50 (1976), 115–37; repr. in K. Seasoltz

Birkat ha-mazon	*Did.* 10. 2–5
A. Blessing	B. (*Did.* 10. 2)
Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, Who feedest the whole world with goodness, with grace and with mercy.	We give you thanks, holy Father, for your holy name which you have made reside in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality that you made known to us through Jesus your child.
Blessed art Thou, O, Lord, Who feedest all.	To you be the glory forever.
B. Thanksgiving	A. (*Did.* 10. 3–4)
We thank Thee, O Lord, our God, that Thou hast caused us to inherit a goodly and pleasant land, the covenant, the Torah, life and food. For all these things we thank Thee and praise Thy name forever and ever.	You, Almighty Master, created all things for the sake of your name, and gave both food and drink to humans for their refreshment, that they might give you thanks. But you graced us with spiritual food and drink and eternal life through [Jesus][59] your child. B. Above all we thank you because you are powerful.
Blessed art Thou, O, Lord, for the land and for the food.	To you be the glory forever.
C. Supplication	C. Supplication (*Did.* 10. 5)
Have mercy, O Lord, our God, on Thy people Israel, and on Thy city Jerusalem, and on Thy Temple and Thy dwelling-place and on Zion Thy resting-place, and on the great and holy sanctuary over which Thy name was called, and the kingdom of the dynasty of David mayest Thou restore to its place in our days, and build Jerusalem soon.	Remember your church, O Lord, save it from all evil, and perfect it in your love. And gather it from the four winds into your kingdom, which you prepared for it.
Blessed art Thou, O, Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.	For yours is the power and the glory forever.

(ed.), *Living Bread, Saving Cup: Readings on the Eucharist* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1987), 80–101. A fourth benediction of the *Birkat ha-mazon* was added later. It is reflected neither in the *Didache* nor in *Jubilees*. Cf. Finkelstein, 'Birkat', 221–2; Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 317 n. 139.

59 The Coptic fragment Br. Mus. Or. 9271 adds the name 'Jesus'. Cf. *Did.* 10. 2.

The hypothesis of the dependency of the prayer in *Did.* 10 on this supposedly earliest version of the *Birkat ha-mazon* is widely accepted.[60] In fact, Finkelstein's reconstruction became a starting-point even for those scholars who otherwise acknowledged the fluidity in Jewish first-century liturgies.[61]

The problems in arguing in favour of such a close connection between *Did.* 10 and the *Birkat ha-mazon* are nevertheless not minor. Although verbal parallels are clearly visible, these are outnumbered by far by the very significant differences. The same applies to the structure: whereas the Jewish grace after meals starts with a blessing (A) that mentions the feeding by God, a thanksgiving (B) precedes the reference to food in *Did.* 10. 2. Another thanksgiving, as a kind of summary, follows in *Did.* 10. 4. Thus one may argue that the thanksgiving unit (*Did.* 10. 2, 4) is now disrupted by the blessing.[62] As a result the sequences of the *Birkat ha-mazon* and *Did.* 10. 2–5 are not really parallel.

Other issues of concern arise from Finkelstein's methodology, as he follows the dating of the origin of the grace after meals given in the Babylonian

[60] Middleton, 'Eucharistic Prayers'; Dibelius, 'Mahl-Gebete', 32–41; K. Hruby, 'La "Birkat Ha-Mazon" ', in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R. P. Dom B. Botte O.S.B. de l'Abbaye du Mont César à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de son ordination sacerdotale (4 Juin 1972)* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1972), 205–22; Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 110, who cites Finkelstein's version of the *Birkat ha-mazon* at full length; Talley, 'From Berakah to Eucharistia' (German trans.: 'Von der Berakah zur Eucharistia: Das eucharistische Hochgebet der alten Kirche in neuerer Forschung: Ergebnisse und Fragen', *LJ* 26 (1976), 93–115; French translation: 'De la, berakah' à l'eucharistie, une question à réexaminer', *La Maison-Dieu*, 125 (1976), 11–39); *idem*, 'The Eucharistic Prayer: Tradition and Development', in K. Stevenson (ed.), *Liturgy Reshaped* (London: SPCK, 1982), 48–64; *idem*, 'The Literary Structure of Eucharistic Prayer', *Worship*, 58 (1984), 404–20; Riggs, 'Gracious Table'; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 155: 'The model for this long prayer is (as has long been acknowledged) the Jewish prayer after meals, the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*.' The judgement of Mazza is still representative for the majority of scholars. See E. Mazza, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1995), 17: 'Since the studies of L. Finkelstein, M. Dibelius, and K. Hruby the connection between the *Birkat ha-mazon* and *Didache* 10 no longer requires demonstration.' So too Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 312.

[61] This is rightly observed by Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, 140. As more recent examples see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 156: 'The text of the Jewish table prayer was expanded in the course of time, so that it would be difficult to attempt to re-create its original wording.' Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 312: 'Admittedly, one must be careful about Finkelstein's reconstruction of the Hebrew text since the exact phraseology of the meal blessing may not yet have been fixed in the first century CE.' Those who dissent from Finkelstein's view are comparatively rare. See Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions*, 166; Draper, 'Didache', 29; Milavec, *Didache*, 416–21; cf. B. Spinks, 'Beware the Liturgical Horses! An English Interjection on Anaphoral Evolution', *Worship*, 59 (1985), 211–19, who questions the view that Jesus made use of the *Birkat ha-mazon* at the Last Supper.

[62] Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 318.

Talmud.[63] No serious scholar would take this at face value today. The final editing of the Babylonian Talmud took place at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, and dating the original composition of its passages is notoriously difficult. Even worse, when Finkelstein turns to his reconstruction of the supposed original form, he analyses versions of the *Birkat ha-mazon* which stem more likely from the ninth century. Thus the likelihood that such a comparison of much later versions may reveal the precise wording of the first century CE Jewish grace after meals seems to be extremely limited.[64]

Nevertheless, we can be quite certain that at least some rather fluid pattern of meal-prayers existed during the first century.[65] The *Mishnah* does not give its text, but in *m. Ber.* 6. 8 it refers to such a prayer as 'the three benedictions'.[66] More insights into the early structure may be gained from the second century BCE Book of *Jubilees*. In *Jub.* 22. 6–9 Abraham is portrayed as pronouncing *his* grace after meals:

6. And he (Abraham) ate and drank and blessed God Most High who created heaven and earth and who made all the fat of the earth and gave it to the sons of man so that they might eat and drink and bless their Creator:

[63] *b. Ber.* 48b: 'Moses formulated the first benediction when the manna came down from Heaven; Joshua the second when Israel entered the Land; David composed the prayer for Jerusalem; Solomon added to it the prayer for the Temple; while the fourth benediction was established by the Sages at Jabneh when permission was granted to bury those slain at Bether.' Quoted from Finkelstein, 'Birkat', 212.

[64] One may want to be more cautious than Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 110, who introduces Finkelstein's version with the words: 'At the time of Jesus this grace was probably worded as follows.'

[65] M. Weinfeld, 'Grace after Meals in Qumran', *JBL* 111 (1992), 427–40, argues that 4Q434a is a 'Grace after Meals in the Mourner's House'. See recently also J. R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 6 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 174–6. However, this identification is far from clear. Cf. the criticism by D. K. Falk, 'Prayer in the Qumran Texts', in W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, iii: *The Early Roman Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 852–76, on p. 865. See J. Neusner, *A History of Jews in Babylonia*, i (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 161 n. 3: a somewhat different meal-prayer from the synagogue at Dura-Europos. If anything may be concluded from these texts, it is that they indicate a broad variety of ancient meal-prayers. Josephus and the Qumran literature report that the Essenes pray before and after eating: Joseph. *BJ* 2. 8. 5; 1QS 6. 3–8; 1QSa 2. 17–18. Unfortunately, they do not provide the content of the prayers. *Ep. Arist.* 185 includes a prayer before a meal which, however, is more a petitionary prayer for the king.

[66] *m. Ber.* 6. 8: 'If a man ate figs, grapes or pomegranates, he should say the three Benedictions after them. So Raban Gamaliel. But the sages say: One Benediction, the substance of the three. R. Akiba says: Even if he ate but boiled vegetables for his meal he must say the three Benedictions after them' (English trans. by H. Danby, *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 7).

7. 'And now I thank you, my God, because you have let me see this day. Behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and fulfilled in days. And all of my days were peaceful for me.

8. The sword of the enemy did not triumph over me in anything which you gave to me or my sons all of the days of my life until this day.

9. O my God, may your mercy and your peace be upon your servant and upon the seed of his sons so that they might become an elect people for you and an inheritance from all of the nations of the earth from henceforth and for all the days of the generations of the earth forever.'[67]

The example of this grace after meals is particularly important for two reasons: on the one hand it clearly follows the three-part structure that can be observed in much later prayers.

Jub. 22. 6 reflects the first benediction of God as the creator and the provider of food. Then *Jub.* 22. 7–8 as a thanksgiving for long life, protection, and sustenance corresponds to the second benediction for the gift of the land. Finally, the third benediction, the supplication, is reflected in *Jub.* 22. 9 where Abraham prays for himself, his offspring, and all generations of the earth. *Jubilees* clearly shows that the original three-part structure of the grace after meals goes back at least to the second century BCE.

On the other hand, this 'personal' prayer of Abraham reveals an enormous degree of fluidity and variation. The continuity with later versions goes hardly beyond the basic threefold pattern.[68] Therefore, one can be absolutely certain that the *Birkat ha-mazon* did not exist in one fixed, original, and widely used form at this early time.

This observation fits together well with a major shift that occurred in Jewish liturgical studies through the work of Joseph Heinemann.[69] Following the insights of form criticism, he pays special attention to the particular stylistic features of the liturgical texts, and thus tries to locate their origin. As to the question of an *Urtext*, he chooses the opposite direction compared to Zunz and Finkelstein:

The Jewish prayers were originally the creations of the common people. . . . Since the occasions and places of worship were numerous, it was only natural that they should give rise to an abundance of prayers, displaying a wide variety of forms, styles and

[67] English trans. by O. S. Wintermute, 'Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction', in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ii (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 97.

[68] Cf. however Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 317, who carefully point to some similar wording.

[69] See esp. his doctoral dissertation: J. Heinemann, *ha-Tefilah bi-tekufat-ha-Tana'im veha-Amora'im* (= *Prayer in the Period of the Tanna'im and the Amora'im* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1964; 2nd edn. 1966; ET *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns*, Studia Judaica, 9 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977)), quoted according to the English version).

patterns. Thus, the first stage in the development of the liturgy was characterized by diversity and variety.[70]

Accordingly, he develops his methodology:

Therefore, we must lay down as a fundamental axiom for liturgical studies which would examine developmentally the texts of the various prayers that from the first no single 'original' text of any particular prayer was created, but that originally numerous diverse texts and versions existed side by side. It follows, then, that the widely accepted goal of the philological method—viz., to discover or to reconstruct the one 'original' text of a particular composition by examining and comparing the extant textual variants one with the other—is out of place in the field of liturgical studies. We must not try to determine by philological methods the 'original' text of any prayer without first determining whether or not such an 'original' text ever existed. For we are dealing with materials which originated as part of an oral tradition and hence by their very nature were not phrased in any fixed uniform formulation—which at a later stage came to be 'revised' and expanded—but rather were improvised on the spot; and, subsequently, 're-improvised' and reworded in many different formulations in an equally spontaneous fashion.[71]

After Heinemann it is no longer feasible to search for an original form of the *Birkat ha-mazon* in the first century. His methodology opens up the possibility of a broad variety and fluidity of ancient prayers. Such diversity is hardly surprising when we realize that first-century Judaism found its venues for religious gathering not only in the pre-70 CE Temple and more or less official synagogues, but mainly within the setting of the Jewish family and house synagogues.[72] However, this does not mean that comparing early Christian prayers like those in *Did.* 9–10 to ancient Jewish prayers should be regarded as futile. Heinemann also provides abundant evidence that the people who formulated these prayers made use of specific forms, which are far from arbitrary. Thus earlier reconstructions can still serve as helpful contributions to identify *Did.* 9 with confidence as a prayer at the beginning of a meal and *Did.* 10 as grace after meals. But after Heinemann, research is no longer limited to the comparison of one supposed original with one or more later adaptations.[73]

[70] Heinemann, *Prayer*, 37.

[71] Ibid. 43. His critique of Finkelstein's method follows on p. 44. Cf. the already much earlier rejection of Finkelstein's methodological assumptions by I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 3rd edn. (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1931), 41–2, 583. For a very recent adoption of Heinemann's insights see Milavec, *Didache*, 416–21.

[72] See C. Claußen, *Versammlung, Gemeinde, Synagoge: Das hellenistisch-jüdische Umfeld der frühchristlichen Gemeinden*, SUNT 27 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), esp. 37–9 and 294–304.

[73] But see also the criticism regarding Heinemann's form criticism by T. Zahavy, *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 4–5.

Consequently, if we are no longer limited to looking for a simple Christianizing adaptation of earlier Jewish material, analysing the particularities of wording and composition become even more valuable.[74]

THE TERMINOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF *DIDACHE* 9–10

A number of expressions in *Did.* 9–10 clearly reveal their Old Testament or Hellenistic Jewish background. However, many other references are more likely of Christian origin, as the following examples show.[75]

Did. 9. 1—εὐχαριστία with cup before bread

Philo uses the verb εὐχαριστεῖν for the grace or thanksgiving before meals (*Spec.* 2. 175).[76] And under his influence theologians of the second and third centuries used εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν for the Eucharist.[77] *Did.* 9. 1 could be a very early example of such a more specific Christian usage. Maybe there were already forms of grace in Hellenistic Judaism that began with εὐχαριστεῖν.[78]

One of the stumbling-blocks that nevertheless keep some interpreters from identifying *Did.* 9–10 with the Eucharist—although the rubric in *Did.* 9. 1 clearly mentions εὐχαριστία—is the sequence of the blessing of the cup *before* the bread.

Although the benefits of comparing these blessings to the Jewish *Kiddush* are limited, it is still important to keep in mind that this prayer starts with the blessing over the cup as well. *Mishnah Berakoth* also testifies to the sequence wine–bread.[79] Thus we may conclude that the *Didache* here follows the normal Jewish custom. That this should not be taken to disqualify us from

[74] M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern*, TANZ 13 (Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 1996), describes the most common view on the relationship between the prayers of the *Didache* and Jewish prayers as follows: 'Die Ansicht, die sich weitestgehend durchgesetzt hat, besagt, daß in der Didache jüdische Mahlbenediktionen (1.) spiritualisiert und (2.) nur geringfügig durch die παῖς-Formel 'verchristlicht' worden seien.' He is right to call this view problematic.

[75] Cf. also the extensive collections of parallels in Clerici, *Einsammlung*; J. Laporte, *Eucharistia in Philo* (New York: Mellen, 1983); K.-G. Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher: A Study of an Old Testament Theme, its Development within Early Judaism and its Impact on Early Christianity*, Acta Academia Aboensis, ser. A, 64/3 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1986), esp. 190–219.

[76] See Laporte, *Eucharistia in Philo*.

[77] H. Conzelmann, 'εὐχαριστέω κτλ.', *TDNT* ix. 407–15, on p. 415.

[78] Laporte, *Eucharistia in Philo*, 53–5; Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, 45.

[79] *m. Ber.* 6. 1, 5. Cf. also *b. Pesaḥ* 101a, 106a, 107a; *m. Ber.* 8. 1.

interpreting these prayers in *Did.* 9–10 as eucharistic is underlined by the evidence of the New Testament: the institution narrative in Luke 22. 14–20 includes blessings first over the cup (Luke 22. 17) and only second over the bread (Luke 22. 19). Only the longer version of the Lucan text then goes on to include another reference to the cup in Luke 22. 20.[80] And although the words of institution in 1 Cor. 11. 23–8 show the normal order bread–cup several times, the apostle Paul can also refer to the Eucharist with the sequence of cup–bread (1 Cor. 10. 16; cf. 10. 21). This observation must not lead to the conclusion that *Did.* 9. 2–3 should be taken as evidence for a different Eucharist altogether.[81] But it surely supplements our understanding of the diversity of eucharistic forms in early Christianity. In *Did.* 9 we find a Eucharist which seems to be a lot closer to ordinary Jewish meals.

Did. 9. 2, 3; 10. 2, 3—Jesus, the *παῖς* of God, our father

Above all the reference to Jesus clearly indicates that *Did.* 9–10 are Christian prayers. To designate God as father is, of course, possible in a Jewish text.[82] However, as the Lord's Prayer precedes the treatment of the Eucharist in *Did.* 8, the phrase *πάτερ ἡμῶν* equally belongs to the early Christian environment already. This is even more so for the expression *πάτερ ἅγιε* (cf. John 17. 11). Again, it is not possible to identify the origin more clearly. In the present context, calling God 'father' correlates with the Christian expression 'through Jesus your servant / child' (*Did.* 9. 2, 3; 10. 2, 3).

Did. 9. 2—The holy vine of David

The first benediction in *Did.* 9. 2 is obviously similar to the usual Jewish blessing over wine: 'over wine a man says: (Blessed are you, O Lord, our God, King of the world,) who creates the fruit of the vine.'[83] More important

[80] For a helpful discussion of the textual evidence, see Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 139–59. That the sequence struck ancient translators of the text as odd can be seen in the Old Latin MSS b and e, where the order is vv. 19a, 17, 18. This is clearly a modification to change the order to bread and cup.

[81] Against Audet, *Didachè*, 406, who calls the meal in *Did.* 9 a 'fraction du pain' (cf. Acts 2. 42, 46; 20. 7); cf. also Lietzmann, *Mass*, who distinguishes between two different types of the Eucharist: the Pauline type with its sacramental emphasis on sharing the body and blood of Christ (pp. 172–87, 204–8) on the one hand and the Egyptian tradition with a strong emphasis on eschatological expectations but no mention of the death of Jesus or any institution narrative (pp. 152–60).

[82] See Isa. 63. 16; 64. 7; Sir. 23. 1, 4; Wisd. 2. 16; 1QH^{a}17. 36 (=Sukenik 9. 35); Philo, *Opif.* 46, 89, 156.

[83] *m. Ber.* 6. 1.

are the differences. The very common Jewish ברוך אתה[84] is replaced by *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι*. A more natural rendering would have been *εὐλογητὸς εἶ/σύ*,[85] but the Didachist probably wants to allude to the Eucharist.

But what is it precisely that '(God) our Father... made known to us through Jesus your child' (*Did.* 9. 2)? The phrase 'the holy vine of David' has always been a puzzling one.[86] Any interpretation needs to take into account the well-established meaning of the 'vine' as a simile for Israel as the elect people.[87] 'David' may be read as a qualifying reference to the messianic expectations now fulfilled in Jesus.[88] Sandelin[89] points to the 'close relationship between David and personified Wisdom'[90] and Wisdom described as a vine in Philo.[91] This may indicate a Hellenistic Jewish background for the phrase. Although the meaning still remains cryptic, it seems most likely that the Jewish-Christian community who prays it thanks God for being part of his elected people through Jesus and through the wisdom which they have received through him.

Did. 9. 3—Life and knowledge; *Did.* 10. 2—Knowledge, faith, and immortality

The concepts of life and knowledge are central in sapiential texts of the Old Testament.[92] In *Did.* 10. 2 *ἀθανασία* replaces *ζωή* in the parallel *Did.* 9. 3. Since *ἀθανασία* never appears in those parts of the LXX which are translated from the original Hebrew, one can already suspect a Hellenistic Jewish environment.[93] This is confirmed by Philo's frequent use of the term[94] and by a number of occurrences in *Wisdom of Solomon* and *4 Maccabees*.[95] The word

[84] See 1QH[a] 18. 16 (= Sukenik 10. 14); 13. 22 (= Sukenik 5. 20); 4Q414 frg. 2 2. 6; 4Q512 frgs. 42–44 2. 3.

[85] That *εὐχαριστεῖν* and *εὐλογεῖν* are not simply synonymous has been shown convincingly by R. J. Ledogar, *Praise Verbs in the Early Greek Anaphoras* (Rome: Herder, 1968); Talley, 'From Berakah to Eucharistia'; J. A. Draper, 'A Commentary on the Didache in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents' (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1983), 182–8.

[86] See already Harnack, *Lehre*, 29. For an overview of the history of research see Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl*, 432–3.

[87] Cf. Ps. 80. 9–17 or *4 Ezra* 5. 23, where the election of the vine from all trees of the earth is mentioned.

[88] Greiff, *Paschartituale*, 61–9.

[89] Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher*, 195.

[90] Cf. Ps. 154 (cf. 11Q5); Sir. 51.

[91] Philo, *Somn.* 2. 190; *Fug.* 176.

[92] Prov. 1–9, esp. 2. 6, 10, 12, 20; 3. 13–18; 9. 1–6; Sir. 4. 11–12.

[93] See Dibelius, 'Mahl-Gebete', 37.

[94] *Plant.* 37–8, 45; *Conf.* 7; *Migr.* 37, 189, etc.

[95] Wisd. 3. 4; 4. 1; 8. 13, 17; 15. 3; *4 Macc.* 14. 5; 16. 13.

πίστις could also stem from a Hellenistic Jewish background.[96] But in Philo and in the LXX there is no close connection between πίστις and γνῶσις, but this is very common in the New Testament.[97] Thus a Christian background is more likely.

Did. 9. 4—Scattered and gathered; *Did.* 10. 5—from the four winds into your kingdom

The terms διασκορπίζω and συνάγω belong to the terminology of the Jewish diaspora.[98] In the parallel *Did.* 10. 5, the plea to 'remember your church, O Lord' (μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου) sounds almost like a Christian adaptation of Ps. 73. 2, LXX: 'Remember your congregation, which you acquired long ago' (μνήσθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου ἧς ἐκτήσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς). The closest parallel to this in the New Testament is John 11. 51–2, where the high priest is said to prophesy that Jesus would die in order 'to gather into one the dispersed children of God (τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν)'. That the elect will be gathered by the angels 'from the four winds' is stated in the synoptic eschatological discourse (Mark 13. 27; cf. Matt. 24. 31). But similar usage also appears in the Old Testament[99] and in the Qumran literature.[100]

Did. 9. 4, 10. 5—your church; *Did.* 10. 5—save it from all evil, and perfect it in your love

In the Old Testament we do not find the idea that God perfects (τελειόω) his people or an individual. But in Wisd. 4. 7 the righteous man who died is described as 'being made perfect (τελειωθείς)'. And according to Philo, God leads human beings to perfection.[101]

As a result of this analysis, it has become obvious that it is not possible to view *Did.* 9–10 just as a Jewish text with Christian adaptations. While a

[96] *4 Macc* 15. 24; 16. 22; 17. 2; Philo, *Abr.* 262.

[97] 1 Cor. 12. 8–9; 13. 2; 2 Cor. 8. 7; Phil. 3. 8–9.

[98] Deut. 30. 1–4; Isa. 11. 12; Ezek. 28. 25; 37. 21. Especially Clerici, *Einsammlung*, 65–92, has collected and analysed the relevant material. But for the same view see also Moule, 'Note', 240–1; H. Riesenfeld, 'Das Brot von den Bergen; Zu Did. 9, 4', *Eranos*, 54 (1956), 142–50, on p. 146; Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions*, 143; Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher*, 202–3.

[99] Jer. 49. 36; Ezek. 37. 9.

[100] E. Main, 'For King Joshua or Against? The Use of the Bible in 4Q448', in M. Stone and E. G. Chazon (eds.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996*, STDJ 28 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998), 113–35, esp. 115–17.

[101] Philo, *Agr.* 169, 173; *Fug.* 172; *Mut.* 270.

number of expressions point to Philo, the Old Testament and especially wisdom literature seem to provide equally important insights into the background of the Didachist and his community. That they may be designated as part of Jewish Christianity is obvious. However, as we do not have Jewish meal-prayers from the first century, it is not possible to reconstruct the history of composition of *Did.* 9–10. Nevertheless, these prayers are very different from most other early Christian accounts of the Eucharist. This is particularly true with regard to the relationship between the *Didache*'s eucharistic expressions and the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

THE EUCHARIST IN THE *DIDACHE* AND THE IDEA OF SACRIFICE

The words of institution in the New Testament emphasize the connection between Christ's atoning death as sacrifice and the Lord's Supper.[102] However, the *Didache*'s understanding of the Eucharist does not concern the death of Jesus.[103] Unlike the Pauline epistles[104] or the Letter to the Hebrews,[105] there is no indication that the author of the *Didache* has any interest in the atonement. He does not make use of the Passover tradition, which for many scholars is crucial for understanding the origins of the Eucharist.[106] This is even more surprising given that this document is heavily influenced by Jewish tradition.

Thus, it comes as another surprise that *Did.* 14. 1–3 uses the term 'sacrifice' (*ἡ θυσία*) in a eucharistic context.

Did. 14. 1–3

1. On the Lord's day, when you gather together, break bread and give thanks *[Or: celebrate the Eucharist]* after you have confessed your transgressions (*τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν*), that your sacrifice may be pure.

[102] Matt. 26. 28; Mark 14. 24; Luke 22. 20; 1 Cor. 11. 25–6.

[103] H.-W. Kuhn, 'The Qumran Meal and the Lord's Supper in Paul in the Context of the Graeco-Roman World', in A. Christophersen, C. Claussen, J. Frey, and B. Longenecker (eds.), *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J. M. Wedderburn*, JSNTSup 217 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 221–48, on p. 237 n. 57, points out: 'There are traces of a meal, without mention of the soteriological aspect of the death of Jesus, in Mk 14. 25 (following the ritual words) and in Lk. 22. 15–17 (before the ritual words).'

[104] Cf. Rom. 3. 25; 5. 8; 8. 31–2; 2 Cor. 5. 17–21.

[105] Heb 9. 26–8; 10. 10.

[106] See the classic study of Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*.

2. Let no one quarrelling with his neighbour join you until they are reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled.

3. For this is the sacrifice mentioned by the Lord: 'In every place and time, bring me a pure sacrifice. For I am a great King, says the Lord, and my name is considered marvelous among the Gentiles (Mal 1. 11, 14)[107]

There is no reference to sacrifices in the rest of the text, not even in the eucharistic prayers of *Did.* 9–10, where one could expect them, too. What does 'sacrifice' refer to in *Did.* 14. 1–3?

Of course, it is tempting to identify the Eucharist in *Did.* 14. 1–3 as the θυσία. Around 150 CE Justin Martyr calls 'the bread of the eucharist, and also the cup of the eucharist' sacrifices.[108] This interpretation would make *Did.* 14. 1–3 the earliest instance of the later common understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrifice.[109] But such an identification is far from certain. The later tradition saw a connection between the Eucharist and sacrifice precisely because the Pauline and the synoptic traditions connect the Eucharist with the passion of Jesus. However, as the passion tradition does not surface in the *Didache*, one should be careful not to see the same connection implied here as well.[110]

It is much more likely that the prayers of thanksgiving for the cup and the bread which appear in *Did.* 9–10 may be viewed as 'sacrifices'.[111] The literature of ancient Judaism provides many examples of prayers as spiritualized sacrifices. Numerous passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls speak of prayer in connection with sacrifice.[112] In Philo we find prayers described as part of the sacrifices for sins in general.[113] In the early Christian tradition, Justin

[107] The translation follows Ehrman, *Didache*. However, he translates παραπτώματα as 'unlawful deeds'.

[108] Justin, *Dial.* 41. 3 (Goodspeed, 138). Interestingly enough he also quotes Mal. 1. 10–12: 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord; and I will not accept your sacrifices at your hands: for, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, My name has been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to My name, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord: but ye profane it.' Cf. *Did.* 14. 3. Harnack, *Lehre*, 55–6, quotes a number of early Christian sources which quote Mal. 1. 11, 14, in relation to the Eucharist. *Dial.* 117. 1 refers to the eucharistic prayers as sacrifices.

[109] Possibly 1 Cor. 10. 14–22 already implies an interpretation of the Eucharist as sacrifice. Cf. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 197 n. 22.

[110] Wengst, *Didache*, 53.

[111] Ibid. 53–7; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 70–1; W. Rordorf, 'L'eucharistie selon la *Didachè*', in *idem et al.* (eds.), *L'eucharistie des premiers chrétiens*, Le point theologique, 17 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), 7–28; J. Neijenhuis, *Das Eucharistiegebet—Struktur und Opferverständnis: Untersucht am Beispiel des Projekts der Erneuerten Agende*, Arbeiten zur Praktischen Theologie, 15 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 43–5.

[112] CD 11. 20–1; 1QS 9. 4–5, 26; 10. 6, etc.

[113] See J. Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, TSAJ 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 132.

Martyr in *Dial.* 117. 2, 4 refers to prayers and thanksgivings as sacrifices, following a quotation of Mal. 1. 11 (!).

None of the above interpretations seems to be impossible. However, one still wonders whether they fit well with the *Didache*'s overall intention to instruct catechumens and also baptized members of a Christian community in general.

For the author of the *Didache*, confessing one's transgressions is not just a preparation for the Eucharist or for Sunday worship as a whole. For him, confessing sins is a necessary preparation for 'the path of life' (*Did.* 4. 14). Without confession of sins, there is no prayer and no good conscience (*Did.* 4. 14), no Lord's Prayer (*Did.* 8. 2), no baptism of catechumens (*Did.* 7. 1), no holiness (*Did.* 10. 6), no participation in the Sunday worship and its Eucharist (*Did.* 14. 1–3). One 'who has committed a sin against his neighbour' is to be shunned until he repents (*Did.* 15. 3).

One can easily imagine that the *Manual of the Two Ways* (*Did.* 1–6) with all its ethical instructions and its long listing of sins may have served for the examination of conscience (*Did.* 4. 14). Therefore, it seems quite likely that 'your sacrifice' (*Did.* 14. 1–2) refers to the sacrifice that every individual member and the local Christian community as a whole offers by choosing and pursuing the 'path of life' (*Did.* 4. 14).[114] That this interpretation of 'sacrifice' is quite likely in a Jewish-Christian context is supported by Heb. 13. 15–16:

> Through him [i.e. Jesus Christ], then, let us continually offer a sacrifice (θυσία) of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that confess his name. Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices (θυσία) are pleasing God.

Here it is quite obvious that 'to do good' in connection with sharing one's belongings (cf. *Did.* 4. 8) is understood in terms of a Christian sacrifice.[115]

Nevertheless, the culminating point of such a radical way of life in terms of a sacrifice to God would still be the eucharistic worship service when the consequences of confession and reconciliation are put to the test.

The social reasons for such strictness should not be underestimated. If people quarrelling with their neighbour were not prepared to seek forgiveness and reconciliation, this could easily divide a small house church community like the ones the author of the *Didache* had in mind. Finally, it must have been unbearable to petition the Father 'to gather the members of the community together into his kingdom at the end of time' (*Did.* 9. 4; 10. 5) if someone did

[114] Cf. Heb. 13. 16.

[115] Perhaps Heb. 6. 4–5; 9. 20; 10. 29 and 13. 9–10 (!) even refer to the Eucharist. For the question of the Eucharist in Hebrews, cf. H.-F. Weiß, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 726–9.

not even 'want to see or encounter, much less to eat with' his or her neighbour on earth.[116] What can we learn from the *Didache*'s understanding of the Eucharist for interpreting the Fourth Gospel?

THE 'EUCHARIST' IN JOHN IN LIGHT OF THE *DIDACHE*

The *Didache* reveals parallels to the Eucharist in the Gospel of John in several areas. First of all, we find a number of nearly verbal parallels, which are especially frequent in John 6 and 17 but also in John 15.[117] Words and formulations like the vine (*ἄμπελος* in *Did.* 9. 2 and John 15. 1–2), the plea to be saved from all evil (*πονηρός* in *Did.* 10. 5 and John 17. 15), the importance of God's name (*ὄνομα* in *Did.* 10. 2 and John 17. 6, 11, 26), and the reference to God's love (*τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου* in *Did.* 10. 5 and *ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας* in John 17. 23[118]) already give the impression of some closeness. Some verbal parallels between *Did.* 9–10 and John 17 are partly due to these texts being prayers. Thus both address God as *πάτερ ἅγιε* (*Did.* 10. 2; John 17. 11).

For some scholars a corner-stone of the proposed connection between these two texts is the term *κλάσμα*, which really means 'fragment'. It is used in *Did.* 9. 3, 4, to describe the eucharistic bread. In the New Testament it appears in all four gospel accounts of the feeding of the multitudes.[119] Erik Peterson has pointed out that *κλάσμα* is a technical term for the particle of the host.[120] It is common in the eucharistic language of Egypt. A number of exegetes want to see this as a late emendation of the text.[121] The original word would have been *ἄρτος*, as in similar patristic contexts.[122] Although *ἄρτος* would probably make better sense in *Did.* 9. 3, such a changing of the present text is highly unlikely because of *κλάσμα* in *Did.* 9. 4. Since both instances would have to be replaced, *ἄρτος* would have to make sense in *Did.* 9. 4 as well.

116 A. Milavec, 'The Purifying Confession of Failings Required by the Didache's Eucharistic Sacrifice', *BTB* 33 (2003), 64–76.

117 See the lists in Harnack, *Lehre*, 79–81; J. Betz, 'The Eucharist in the *Didache*', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 255.

118 Cf. 1 John 2. 5; 4. 12, 17, 18.

119 Matt. 14. 20, 15. 37; Mark 6. 43; 8. 8, 19, 20; Luke 9. 17; John 6. 12, 13.

120 E. Peterson, '*Μερίς*: Hostienpartikel und Opferanteil', in *idem*, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis: Studien und Untersuchungen* (Rome: Herder, 1959), 97–106, esp. 99–100.

121 Peterson, '*Μερίς*', 100; Vööbus, *Traditions*, 89, 146–48; Wengst, *Didache*, 97–8 n. 71.

122 The evidence is gathered in J. Magne, 'Klasma, sperma, poimnion: le vœu pour le rassemblement de Didachè IX,4', in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 197–208, esp. 199–201.

But why should 'bread' (= *ἄρτος*) be more likely than 'broken bread' (= *κλάσμα* in the sense of 'crumbs or fragments of bread') to be 'scattered upon the mountains'? This clearly does not make any sense.[123] As Jewish Christians, the Didachist and the members of his community were accustomed to the breaking of bread at every meal. So only a fragment would have been lifted up for the benediction, which makes perfect sense in *Did.* 9. 3. Probably they also knew about the regulations for meal offerings where *κλάσματα* were used.[124]

In John 6. 12 *κλάσματα* is used when Jesus commands his disciples to 'gather up (*συνάγειν*) the fragments, so that nothing may be lost', which eventually filled up twelve baskets (John 6. 13). One needs to take into account the strong Johannine emphasis in John 6. 39; 17. 2, 24, that none of those that were given (*δίδωμι*) to Jesus by his father should be lost, which always has an eschatological aspect,[125] and the number 'twelve'[126] as a reference to the disciples as representing the complete people of God. These thoughts come very close to the expectation of a gathering (*συνάγειν*) of the *ἐκκλησία* into God's kingdom (*Did.* 9. 4; 10. 5; cf. 14. 1; 16. 2), which God prepared (*ἑτοιμάζω*) for them (*Did.* 10. 5; cf. John 14. 2–3). Both *Did.* 10. 3 and John 6. 27 refer to a special kind of—eucharistic—'food' (*βρῶσις* in John 6. 27, 55; cf. 4. 32; 6. 35, 51–8; *πνευματικὴ τροφὴ καὶ ποτός* in *Did.* 10. 3) in connection with eternal life.[127]

Also striking is the connection between knowledge (*γνῶσις* in *Did.* 9. 3; 10. 2; *γινώσκω* in John 17. 3) and eternal life (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος* in *Did.* 10. 3 and John 6. 27, 40, 47, 54, 68; 17. 2; cf. 17. 3 etc.; *ἀθανασία* in *Did.* 10. 3; cf. *ζωή* in *Did.* 9. 3 and John 6. 33, 53, etc.), both given through Jesus (*Did.* 10. 3; cf. *Did.* 9. 3; John 6. 40, 51, 54; 17. 2, etc.).[128] The phrase 'bread of life' and Jesus' self-identification with it in the eucharistic context of John 6. 35, 48, make this connection in the Fourth Gospel even clearer than in the *Didache.* However,

[123] Milavec, *Didache*, 8.

[124] Lev. 2. 6, LXX = פִּתִּים in Lev. 2. 6, MT; Lev. 6. 14, LXX = פִּתִּים in Lev. 6. 14; פִּתִּים in *m. Menaḥ* 3. 2. This is not to say that the Eucharist in the *Didache* is a meal offering, but to provide evidence that the use of *κλάσμα* neither has to be a *late* emendation nor points to a late origin for the *Didache.* The later was argued by C. Bigg, 'Notes on the Didache', *JTS* 6 (1905), 411–15, esp. 414. However, later authors drawing on the *Didache* may no longer have been aware of this background. Thus *Ap. Const.* 7. 25. 3 presents the reading *ἄρτος*.

[125] John 6. 39: resurrection on the last day; 17. 2: eternal life; 17. 24: prayer that the disciples may be with Jesus in his glory.

[126] For the first time the disciples are referred to as 'the twelve' in this chapter: John 6. 67, 70; cf. 20. 24.

[127] Cf. Ign. *Rom.* 7. 3; *Eph.* 20. 3.

[128] Jesus as the one who gives (eternal) life: *Did.* 10. 3; cf. *Did.* 9. 3; John 6. 40, 51, 54; 17. 2, etc., and the one through whom things are made known (*γνωρίζω*): *Did.* 9. 2, 3; 10. 2; John 15. 15; 17. 26.

there is no connection between the Eucharist and the death of Jesus in the *Didache*. This is different from the Fourth Gospel: especially in John 6. 51 where Jesus identifies 'bread' and 'flesh' with himself, which he will give (δώσω—future!) 'for the life of the world' it clearly points to Jesus death on the cross and thus links the Eucharist with it.[129]

Neither the *Didache* nor the Gospel of John include the words of institution, and there is no definite evidence that their authors knew them.[130] As a result, one can assume that both texts belong to a liturgical tradition which did not use the institution narrative in the eucharistic liturgy. Such eucharistic prayers of ancient origin like the early East Syrian Anaphora of Addai and Mari (AM) are well known, and still in use in some eastern churches up to the present day.[131] As in *Did.* 14. 1–3, sacrifice in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari is referred to not in terms of the atonement but as something which the priest representing the church offers to God: 'in the commemoration of the body and blood of thy Christ, which we offer to thee upon the pure and holy altar, as thou hast taught us'.[132] While the death of Christ is mentioned only once, the resurrection appears several times: 'celebrating this great and awesome mystery of the passion and death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[133]

[129] See also σάρξ in John 6. 51–6. Cf. Ign. *Smyrn.* 7. 1; *Rom.* 7. 3; *Phld.* 4; *Trall.* 8. 1, who also uses σάρξ instead of σῶμα for a eucharistic element. Cf. Schnelle, *Johannes*, 131–2.

[130] Although ἔλαβεν οὖν τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εὐχαριστήσας διέδωκεν shows some similarities to 1 Cor. 11. 23b–24 and Luke 22. 19, the verbs εὐχαριστεῖν and δίδωμι also appear in the synoptic feeding miracles. See the synopsis of the passages in Brown, *Gospel according to John*, 243. However, there is good reason to argue that the Fourth Evangelist knew at least the Gospel of Mark, perhaps even the Gospel of Luke. Cf. M. Lang, *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Eine redaktiongeschichtliche Analyse von Joh 18–20 vor dem markinischen und lukanischen Hintergrund*, FRLANT 182 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 61–206; J. Frey, 'Das Vierte Evangelium auf dem Hintergrund der älteren Evangelientradition: Zum Problem: Johannes und die Synoptiker', in T. Söding (ed.), *Johannesevangelium—Mitte oder Rand des Kanons? Neue Standortbestimmungen*, QD 203 (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 60–118. Thus one may *assume* that the Fourth Evangelist knew the words of institution.

[131] E. C. Ratcliff, 'The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion', *JTS* 30 (1928), 23–32, the most significant early study on the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, called them 'εὐχαριστία pure and simple'. A. Gelston, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); St. B. Wilson, 'The Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari', in Paul F. Bradshaw (ed.), *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1997), 19–37. For the relevance of the question of the validity of a Eucharist without the words of institution, see Lugmayr, 'Anaphora von Addai und Mari'; *idem*, 'Anaphoren'. For similarities between the Anaphora of Addai and Mari and the *Birkat ha-mazon*, see G. Rouwhorst, 'Jewish Liturgical Traditions in Early Syriac Christianity', *VC* 51 (1991), 72–93, esp. 79–80.

[132] AM E 39–40, cf. A 7. The translation here and further on follows Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer*, 48–55.

[133] AM G 54–5; cf. D 24: 'thou mightest restore us to life by thy divinity'; D 27: 'resurrect our mortality'; H 58: 'for the great hope of the resurrection from the dead'.

This leaves us with a picture of early eucharistic prayers in *Did.* 9–10 and in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari and allusions to the Eucharist mainly in John 6 and 17 for which the celebration of the resurrection of Jesus and the hope for the resurrection of his followers were much more central than the memory of his death.[134] Consequently, the early Christians did not meet on the Friday but on the Sunday as the day of the Lord (*Did.* 14. 1)—i.e., the day of Jesus' resurrection.[135]

The connection between the *Didache* and John may, however, be most obvious as one tries to address the question of self-identity of their authors and the communities around them. Both groups view themselves as being set apart from the rest of mankind on the one hand and as being very close to God on the other hand. Although this may to some degree be true for every Christian group, the consequences for these two communities' understanding of the Eucharist are remarkably close. As we have seen above, *Did.* 10. 3 makes a distinction between God's provision of food in general for everyone and 'spiritual food and drink, and eternal life through your child'. Just the same distinction is obviously at work in John 6: While there is more than enough food for everybody present (John 6. 12–13)—as with the manna in the desert (John 6. 49)—only very few have faith (John 6. 47)—i.e., receive spiritual food in terms of Jesus himself (John 6. 48–51, 56–7) and are given eternal life (6. 58). In both contexts we end up with a picture where in the very middle of a meal,[136] which—according to the benediction (*Did.* 9–10; John 6. 11) is not really very different from a normal Jewish meal—something special happens to the elect. These few are in return prepared to worship and live their life as sacrifice (*Did.* 14. 1–3). In John 6. 68 Simon Peter is portrayed as having sacrificed everything with the words on his lips: 'Lord, to whom can we go? You have the words of eternal life' (NRSV).

However, there is a crucial difference regarding the 'process' of how the group of the elect is created in the two contexts. In the Fourth Gospel a 'eucharistic experience' is possible only through the spiritual interpretation of Jesus' words (John 6. 53–8). Only for those who receive Jesus, not just ordinary (or even special) food, can an ordinary meal suddenly become something special as the eucharistic colouring of the terminology in John 6 reveals. The preaching of Jesus provides the organizing force which selects the followers. By contrast, the *Didache* employs clear-cut criteria for admission to the Eucharist. As we have already mentioned, only those who have been

[134] Cf. O. Cullmann, 'The Meaning of the Lord's Supper in Primitive Christianity', in *idem* and F. J. Leenhardt (eds.), *Essays on the Lord's Supper* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1958), 8–16, esp. 22 n. 1.

[135] Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, 10–12.

[136] Cf. Mark 14. 22: ἐσθιόντων states that the words of institution were spoken within the framework of a meal. Cf. Kuhn, 'Qumran Meal', 237.

baptized (*Did.* 9. 5) and who are prepared to confess their trespasses in church (*Did.* 4. 14), who seek reconciliation with their neighbour if necessary (*Did.* 14. 1–3)—but otherwise are to be shunned (*Did.* 15. 3)—may come to the Eucharist. The ones who have not followed the ethical advice of *Did.* 1–6 need to repent before the Eucharist (*Did.* 10. 6).

While the Fourth Gospel is interested only in the centrality of receiving Jesus, the *Didache* reveals a much more developed stage of institutionalization. Nevertheless, the goal for the authors of both the Fourth Gospel and the *Didache* and also of the communities who pray with them is unity. The Didachist prays for the church 'to become one' and to 'be gathered together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom' (*Did.* 9. 4). For John's Gospel this unity among the disciples is based on the unity between Jesus and his father (John 17. 11, 21–2). This is certainly more than early Christians like those of the *Didache* would have been able to express in their eucharistic prayers.

CONCLUSION

This paper first described the eucharistic prayers of *Did.* 9–10. Comparing them with ancient Jewish meal-prayers led to the conclusion that there must have been a broad variety and thus great fluidity in wording of these texts in the first century CE. In addition to the above-mentioned prayers of the *Didache*, a further eucharistic passage in *Did.* 14. 1–3 has shown that the worship of the Christian community behind this text and practically the whole life of its members are understood as sacrifice. However, there is no understanding of Christ's death as a sacrifice.

Comparison of the terminology of *Did.* 9–10 has revealed clear parallels in the Old Testament and especially in Hellenistic Jewish texts like the writings of Philo and in wisdom literature. A significant number of words and phrases are, however, best understood against a Christian background. This fits well with the identification of the Didachist and his community as Jewish Christian. Although there is a rather large number of verbal parallels between *Did.* 9–10 on the one hand and especially John 6 and 17 on the other hand, they are not close enough to allow a conclusion of textual dependence in one or the other direction.[137] Similarities in wording and theology make it quite likely

[137] The parallels between other sections of the *Didache* and the Gospels of Matthew and Luke seem to be much closer. See C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 197–230; repr. in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 92–128. For a very recent study of the relationship

that the Fourth Gospel and the *Didache* may be seen as belonging to the same liturgical tradition. They may date from roughly the same time, around the end of the first century, with the *Didache* probably a bit later because of its more developed ecclesiology.

Thus the *Didache* provides significant insights for our understanding of an early type of Eucharist without an institution narrative and a strong emphasis on resurrection and eternal life that can also be seen behind the eucharistic allusions in John's Gospel.

between Matthew and the *Didache*, cf. A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the* Didache, JSNTSup 254 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2004); however, such an early dating of the *Didache* before the Gospel of Matthew seems to be rather unlikely.

9

Prophecy and Patronage: The Relationship between Charismatic Functionaries and Household Officers in Early Christianity

Alistair Stewart-Sykes

During the nineteenth century, and throughout the twentieth, a consensus was built that office as such did not exist in early Christianity but developed at a later stage. This consensus has been described at length by Burtchaell and by Brockhaus,[1] and for this reason there will be no attempt to repeat the description at any length. In essence the consensus holds not only that the earliest generation of Christians knew no office and that the emergence of offices was a later development, but that in the absence of any office, congregations were ordered by the Spirit in an unmediated manner. Of course there is great variety of detail amongst exponents of the consensus, but this brief statement will suffice for the present.

The consensus has recently received thoroughgoing critiques from Burtchaell, basing himself on the assumption that the structures of early Christianity must have derived from the synagogue, and thus that they could not have emerged later but must have been present from the beginning,[2] and from Campbell, who bases himself on the Pauline and deutero-Pauline evidence, again suggesting that office was present in the church's organization from the beginning.[3] Whereas these are adequate critiques of the more extreme forms of the consensus, as represented, for instance, by von Campenhausen and Käsemann,[4] they do not deal with the question of potential conflict between these offices and those exercising charisma, except in so far as Burtchaell

[1] J. T. Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church: Public Services and Offices in the Earliest Christian Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 61–179; U. Brockhaus, *Charisma und Amt: die paulinische Charismenlehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen* (Wuppertal: Rolf Brockhaus, 1972), 7–94.

[2] Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church.*

[3] R. A. Campbell, *The Elders* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994).

[4] H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries* (ET Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969); E. Käsemann, 'Ministry

suggests that such a conflict none the less may have taken place.[5] Brockhaus confronts this issue, but deals solely with the Pauline evidence.[6] Burtchaell's critique, moreover, is highly contentious as a result of his dependence upon the synagogue as the sole source of Christian office. Thus Campbell, who joins him in critique of the consensus, will not, for instance, accept a synagogal origin of Christian presbyters,[7] but bases his theory on the widely recognized domestic origin of early Christianity. Since early Christian communities were based on the household, he suggests, they took their structures likewise from the household. This, more widespread, understanding of the origins of Christian office is what is assumed in this paper. Length precludes any deeper engagement with this debate, or indeed with many other aspects of church order in early Christianity such as the origin of the titles employed for officers in the churches and their significance. Thus the starting-point of the essay is broad agreement with Campbell that there was office in the earliest church, that such office was based on the household, and therefore that extreme forms of the consensus are invalid. However, alongside the more extreme statements, there are exponents such as von Harnack, who argued that local offices existed uneasily alongside those who claimed charisma.[8] It is the interplay of these which is the subject of our investigation. Although most of the study of the phenomenon of the interplay between charisma and office has been based on the Pauline literature, the same assumptions have marked studies of the literature of the second century. The critique of the consensus, however, has not been extended specifically to the Apostolic Fathers, and therefore the focus of this essay will be the extension of the critique to later documents, taken by the consensus as representing the betrayal of the charismatic ideal.

In doing so I am indebted to the typology of domination produced by Weber, and will begin by expressing the thesis of this paper in Weberian terms. Whereas it is generally assumed that there was a conflict in early Christianity between charismatically legitimated leadership and rationally legitimated leadership, I suggest that there was no such conflict. There was no conflict because those concerned with charisma were not concerned with leadership. Weber's typology concerned domination, which has led to the assumption that those who *acted* charismatically must have been concerned to *govern* charismatically. This does not follow. The conflict which can be traced in the

and Community in the New Testament', in *idem*, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (ET London: SCM Press, 1964), 63–94.

[5] Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church*, 335.

[6] Brockhaus, *Charisma und Amt*, 203–18.

[7] Campbell, *Elders*, 203–4.

[8] A. von Harnack, *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries* (ET London: Williams and Norgate, 1910).

New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers is between rationally legitimated leadership and traditionally legitimated leadership. Charisma enters into the equation only marginally, and does so only when a rational type of domination is established, which hardly occurred in the period under discussion.

Although Burtchaell claims Weber as a follower of the consensus,[9] and although it is true that Weber's understanding of early Christianity was largely derived from Harnack and Sohm, his typology was not based solely upon early Christian evidence but upon a far broader reading of history; so his typology continues to have heuristic value in the examination of this question.[10] Broadly, he identifies three modes by which leadership may be legitimated. His three modes are charismatic leadership, traditional leadership, and rational leadership. Charismatic leadership derives from the force of the personality of the individual leader alone, and claims no legitimation beyond the leader except perhaps some supernatural legitimation. Weber's typology has been extended more recently to suggest that charismatic leaders arise within traditional societies when these societies are breaking down as a result of external stresses such as urbanization or colonization.[11] Traditional leadership is derived from custom and is exercised through the maintenance of traditional values. So, for instance, feudal societies and gerontocracies are traditionally legitimated forms of authority. Finally, rational-legal leadership is that known in most modern states and institutions, by which the leader exercises leadership on the basis of an appeal to law and competence, rather than custom or a particular gift of the leader.[12]

The utility of Weber's typology lies in its analysis of the manner in which charisma can be routinized in traditional or rational societies, and in providing categories for classifying forms of domination. It also enables us to comprehend tension between traditionally and rationally legitimated structures of leadership. This is not the place to enter into a full-scale critique of Weber, but two points must be made regarding the category of charismatic leadership as it may apply to early Christianity. First, that whereas we may assume that prophets exercised charisma on the grounds that they claim supernatural revelation, the prophets of early Christianity do not meet all the criteria of Weber's charismatic leader. In particular, whereas Weber's

[9] Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church*, 138–40.

[10] J. H. Elliott, in 'Elders as Honored Household Heads and not Holders of "Office" in Earliest Christianity: A Review Article', *BTB* 33 (2003), 77–82 (a review of Campbell's *Elders*), has recently suggested that NT scholars have made insufficient use of Weber.

[11] A. F. C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), 264–81, on pp. 268–70.

[12] For further discussion and examples of the typology employed here and its terminology, see especially M. Weber, *Economy and Society*, i (ET Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 213–71.

leader plays no part in any institution, but rather seeks to overthrow existing norms, we find prophets participating in the worship of early Christian communities. Secondly, whereas charismatic leaders along the lines of Weber's typology have existed, this does not mean that every society has known a charismatic leader. Thus it has been assumed that prophets exercised leadership in early Christianity, but there is no evidence that such was the case. This will be explored further below, but the point is made at the beginning because the assumption that charismatics are leaders can skew our reading of the evidence. The confusion has come about because the general term 'charisma', which has meaning within the sociology of religion as referring to one who has a particular gift or revelation, has been confused with the charismatic leader of the sociology of domination.[13] Early Christian prophets were charismatic in the former sense, but this does not necessitate their being charismatic leaders.

Although the focus of this paper is the second century, I must begin with Paul, in order that the fundamental flaw in the consensus may be identified. For whatever may be wrong with the consensus, it does at least have some initially plausible basis in the Pauline writings. Thus, whereas Paul speaks frequently of function, he says little of formal ministries, and he suggests, moreover, that functions are bestowed on members of the congregation by the Spirit. It is this Pauline vision of charisma which leads to the effective negation of ministries by the consensus.

This, however, is to make the illegitimate assumption that, because Paul discusses charisma and not office when listing functions within the congregation, he intends thereby to denigrate official ministries, or even to deny their existence. Again, a complete discussion of the consensus and the arguments raised against it is beyond the scope of this paper, but there is one major point which must be raised: namely, that the assumption is based partly on an argument from silence, the silence being the relative absence of officials from the lists of charismatic functions to be found in Paul's writings.[14] The silence may be explained, however, not by presupposing the absence of officials, but their irrelevance to any discussion concerning the liturgy, which is the context of the Pauline lists of functions.

We may begin by noting Brockhaus's contention that the context of Paul's discussion of charisma is charisma alone, and not charisma and office, and particular issues relating to the exercise of charisma in Corinth. 1 Cor. 12,

[13] See, similarly, the brief discussion of B. Malina, 'Was Jesus a Charismatic Leader?', in *idem*, *The Social World of the Gospels* (London: Routledge, 1996), 123–42.

[14] We may note as an example a relatively recent version of the consensus: D. L. Bartlett, *Ministry in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 46–8.

which contains two lists of *charismata*, is part of a wider treatment of congregational life in general. Two broad points are made: first, that it is the Spirit which appoints gifts and directs them to different individuals, and second, that, just as a body is made up of a number of functioning parts, so the body of Christ needs the performance of a number of distinct spiritual functions in order to be healthy. As such, the passage does not concern itself with office, but purely with particular charismatic functions. Brockhaus observes that not only is the whole point of the passage an exhortation to unity within the congregation, and thus that he is not describing an actual order but setting out an ideal, but, moreover, that Paul is acquainted with the congregation and that individuals are indeed intended by the different groups which are described. Paul's point, in this context, is that gifts should lead to unity, not division and strife, within the congregation. The context in which the unity is expressed, moreover, is the worship of the church, for which reason the discussion in 1 Corinthians goes on to the conduct of prophecy.[15]

None the less, the relative absence of official ministries is seized upon by proponents of the consensus. Yet Brockhaus recognizes, as Theissen and Chow more recently have made very clear, that there was abuse of positions of leadership by many who exercised them within the Corinthian congregation.[16] I therefore suggest that the relative downgrading of positions of leadership is deliberate. The whole context of the passage is not only an exhortation to unity, but also a treatment of those gifts which are of the highest significance: principally love and, as far as utility within congregational life is concerned, prophecy. As such, the charisma of prophecy is being opposed not to any leadership, but to the alternative charisma of glossolalia. Part of this discussion concerns women prophets, who are directed not to teach in church and not to prophesy with uncovered head.[17] But whereas this is a conflict with a charismatic party, it is once again not a conflict between charisma and office as such, but a conflict regarding what Weber would recognize as the process of routinization which must occur on the departure of the charismatic leader. As Weber notes, the problem with any charismatic leader is the problem of succession; charisma operates fully only when a movement begins, and in time it must be either traditionalized or

[15] Brockhaus, *Charisma und Amt*, 142–92.

[16] Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (ET Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); J. K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks at Corinth*, JSNT Sup 75 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

[17] See the discussion and reconstruction of A. C. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990). Recognition that women prophets were one of the parties involved in opposition to Paul's appointees is not to accept the entirety of Wire's reconstruction.

rationalized, a process that has potential for conflict.[18] Paul has designated Stephanas as his effective successor in Corinth, and Stephanas may claim leadership on the basis of his householding, but because of the lack of established structure, his claims are not accepted. As Weber notes, pure patrimonialism depends upon the acceptance of authority by others.[19] Thus Stephanas is opposed by others who claim traditional legitimation (other householders), just as Paul, who is simply temporarily absent and therefore unable personally to exercise his charismatic authority, is opposed by other charismatics (women and glossolalists.) It is even possible that the householders and the charismatics are the same people.[20]

The discussion in which the relative absence of officials occurs is, as has been noted, a discussion of functions within the worshipping assembly. However, bound up to the consensus recognition of the absence of office-holders is an assumption that were these ministries not being carried out through charisma, they would fall to office-holders; for this reason the relative absence of office-holders is noted. However, the assumption that office-holders would have a liturgical role, the assumption which in turn makes the relative absence of office-holders noticeable, is the assumption which, more than anything else, leads in turn to the assumption of conflict. If prophets were concerned with leadership, and if leaders were concerned with the communication of the word of God in the assembly (which is properly the task of the prophet), then there is potential for conflict. But there is no evidence of the leadership of communities by prophets, or indeed of a liturgical role in the assembly for officers such as bishops or elders. We are used to the Christian leader being the person who is responsible for teaching and preaching as part of leadership, but we must recognize that this was not the case in the earliest centuries.

One point which may indicate some confusion of roles is the *Didache*'s prescription that prophets might offer the Eucharist using whatever words they wish (*Did.* 10. 7). This has universally been taken as implying that they would do so instead of bishops. However, it is to be noted that the *Didache* is here concerned solely to regulate the words used, not the person who says them: 'Now regarding the thanksgiving, give thanks thus . . . but allow the prophets to give thanks just as they wish' (9. 1; 10. 7).

One might anticipate that the bishop was eucharistic president on the assumption that the Didachist's community is based on a household, in that the *episkopos*, as patron, might reasonably be expected to preside in his own house, and indeed that the provision of the community meal might be

[18] Weber, *Economy and Society*, 246. [19] Ibid. 231.
[20] As suggested by Chow, *Patronage and Power*, 184–5.

part of his (or her) benefaction. All that the *Didache* actually says about this, however, is that prophets are allowed to give thanks in whatever manner they deem fitting, rather than using the standardized graces provided. Thus, although the *episkopos* might be the community president, this does not necessitate his presiding at the Eucharist. We may note that in Jewish custom, to which the graces of the *Didache* are acknowledged as proximate, certain graces were said individually, others by the president, and one is entitled to ask whether the *Didache* is referring to individual graces. In other words, far from seeing the president as either the bishop or a prophet, it is possible that we should see the same informality with regard to the speaker in the act of thanksgiving that has been perceived in the liturgy of the word. The regulation leaves this possibility open, as it regulates only the words that are to be used by those who are not prophets, but does not regulate who is permitted to give voice to the graces it prescribes. However, Audet links the instructions regarding the appointment of *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* to the preceding instructions regarding the gathering of the community, suggesting that the link is the role of these officers in the worship of the community.[21] Although he is mistaken, in view of the argument above, in assuming that this reflects a proper concern that the bishop should have a part in the eucharistic liturgy, the link might not be altogether without logic. *Did.* 14 regards the Eucharist as an offering; is it not possible that the direction for the appointment of *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* follows because these are the officials who are to receive, and distribute, offerings made at the Eucharist? Thus, seeing the bishop as eucharistic president is an assumption which is reasonable, but unsupported by the text, whereas there is absolutely nothing which would support the assumption that the bishop has any role beyond presidency, and in particular that he has any role in teaching or preaching.[22]

Another point at which a liturgical role for officials has been identified is *1 Clem.* 40, in which it is stated that God commanded the offering of *προσφοράς* and *λειτουργίας*. On this von Campenhausen writes: 'In what the essential work of the bishops consists is made clear in *1 Clement*; like the priests of the old covenant they "present the gifts", that is to say, they are the leaders of worship, and at the celebration of the eucharist they offer prayer on behalf of the congregation.'[23] In response to such assertions, Bowe

[21] J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres*, ÉBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 464–7; similarly Harnack, *Constitution*, 79.

[22] G. Schöllgen, 'The *Didache* as a Church Order', in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 43–71, on p. 61 and at n. 109 comes close to the interpretation offered here, but is unable to conceive of bishops who have no liturgical role whatever.

[23] Von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, 85.

marshalls impressive arguments for not overemphasizing 'the cultic aspects of... *leitourgia*'.[24] She notes that Lightfoot's suggestion that the offerings were as much alms and offerings for the ἀγάπη as prayers or thanksgivings. Moreover, Bowe notes that the adverbs used in *1 Clem.* 44 of the service of the presbyters in offering, ἀμέμπτως and ὁσίως, are part of the vocabulary of moral conduct rather than of ritual purity, and finally that, in *1 Clem.* 44, the presbyters are said to have given good service (καλῶς πολιτευμένους), which is, she notes, language not used of cultic officials but of public servants. We may thus suggest that Clement's *leitourgia* is a public office, and that the offering of gifts to which he refers in the same context is in no sense a sacrifice, but refers to the gifts which are made through the *leitourgia*. This point is so vital that we may pause to illustrate the fact that *leitourgia* and its cognates continue to be employed in the ancient sense of public service. We shall note below that the same misunderstanding has bedevilled interpretation of the *Didache*. The meaning of *leitourgia* may be illustrated both from literature and from the Oxyrhynchus papyri. Thus *P Oxy.* 1119 is concerned with the *leitourgia* of tax collection; *P Oxy.* 1412 uses the term λειτουργήματα for public responsibilities; and *P Oxy.* 82 concerns a fair and even distribution of λειτουργῶν. In the second century, Dio Chrystostom frequently refers to *leitourgiai* as the responsibility of wealthy citizens,[25] and Strabo, in describing the system of poor-relief at Rhodes, states that the provision of food for the poor was considered a *leitourgia*.[26] This usage may still be found in some of Eusebius' sources, when succession lists imply that the bishop's role was considered a *leitourgia*.[27]

Next we may turn to the suggestions of Jefford. Jefford is arguing that the reason why presbyters are not mentioned in the *Didache* is that they are the addressees of the document. They, he assumes, are those who are to instruct, baptize, and celebrate the Eucharist in conformity with the directions given. But the evidence which he presents for liturgical functions is weak indeed, being restricted to Polycarp, *Phil.* 6. 1, and *1 Clem.* 40. *1 Clement* has already been discussed; Poly., *Phil.* 6. 1, concerns the social duties of *presbuteroi*, but would seem here to mean older men, as the prior instruction is addressed to *neōteroi*.[28] More to the point, there is no mention here of a liturgical role, but solely of charity.

[24] B. E. Bowe, *A Church in Crisis* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988), 150–2.

[25] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7. 26. 2–4; 20. 2. 2; 34. 1. 4; 46. 6; 46. 14.

[26] Strabo, *Geog.* 14. 2. 5.

[27] Euseb. *HE* 3. 22; 5. 28. 7; 6. 11. 1; 6. 29. 1.

[28] Though neither J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe,* KAV 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 55, nor W. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias* (London: Nelson, 1967), 21, appear to countenance the possibility.

Next we may note that, in asserting that the duty of the bishop according to Ignatius is teaching and preaching, Lohse is able to adduce only one passage which is a proverbial use of the term μαθηταί, which tells us nothing about a bishop's responsibilities, and a much adduced passage which is often taken to refer to preaching, but actually concerns conversation:[29] τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ (*Pol.* 5. 1). That the speech here is not teaching or public proclamation, but conversation, I have argued at length elsewhere.[30] Anyone might speak at the dinner table of the Ignatian communities, as perhaps at that of the *Didache*, but none, not even the *episkopos*, is under obligation to speak. There may be an expectation that teachers and prophets will speak, but not that bishops, deacons, and presbyters will do so. So it is that in Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians we meet the silent bishop Onesimus, whose silence Ignatius defends (*Eph.* 6. 1). If Onesimus lacked eloquence, this would lead to an implicit defence of Onesimus' silence, but a defence would be impossible on any terms were a bishop's fundamental role to teach in the assembly. Clearly there is some expectation that Onesimus should be refuting heresy, but this is to be undertaken in the same way that Polycarp refutes κακοτεχνίαι: namely, in discussion among the members of the household. In the event, according to Onesimus at least, this is not necessary (*Eph.* 6. 2).[31] This implies, in turn, that, whatever the competence of the Ignatian bishop, his role did not extend to teaching in the assembly.[32]

Ignatius' direction of duties addressed to Polycarp, whom he assumes to be the *episkopos*, is particularly interesting; it is the most comprehensive list of the duties of a bishop within the literature under examination, yet nowhere is any liturgical role in the assembly envisaged. Apart from refuting heresy with individuals (*Pol.* 2. 1–3), Polycarp is to care for widows (4. 1), ensure that slaves do not purchase manumission from the funds of the church (4. 3), and to oversee the marriage of individuals (5. 2). His principal concern is therefore with the financial management of the church, for although this latter duty might not appear at first sight to be related to the funds and finance of the church, this would inevitably be bound up with the question of a dowry

[29] E. Lohse, 'Die Entstehung des Bischofamtes in der frühen Christenheit', *ZNW* 71 (1980), 58–73, on p. 59.

[30] A. Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy to Preaching*, VCSup 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 20–2, 77, 90–1, 276–8.

[31] See, however, the discussion below.

[32] So von Campenhausen candidly admits: 'it is part of this man's duty to instruct his congregation . . . but . . . it is astonishing how little weight is put upon this side of his work' (*Ecclesiastical Authority*, 101). In fact, the only references to instruction which von Campenhausen is able to quote are references to converse (*Pol.* 1. 2; 5. 1).

and the disposition of funds;[33] it is for the same reason that the *mebaqqer* has oversight of marriage and divorce within the Essene community.[34]

The same is true if one examines the qualifications laid down. Bishops and deacons should be ἀφιλαργύροι and πραεῖς, states the Didachist; meekness is, as de Halleux observes, linked in *Did.* 5. 2 to a proper concern for the poor.[35] It is thus close in significance to the concern that the bishop and the deacon should be free of avarice, in that it indicates that the function for which qualification is being sought is the handling of money. A similar concern for an absence of avarice is exhibited in Onasander's treatise on the general.[36] Here the rationale is given that a general should not be corrupt in management. Beyond this, bishops and deacons should be honest (ἀληθεῖς) and tested (δεδοκιμασμένους, probably meaning that they are long-standing members of the community). We may thus note that nothing here equips the bishop to speak in the assembly, but rather that the qualifications given are those of an economic administrator.

Although there has been some attempt to justify the notion that officials had a liturgical role, for all the frequent assertions of charismatic leadership in early Christianity no example of a charismatic leader in a stable community has yet been adduced, with the exception of Hermas, who will be discussed shortly. Certainly Paul was a charismatic leader, but Paul did not have charge of a community. This is because of the inherent instability of charismatic leadership, which depends solely upon the personality of the leader.

It thus seems that there is no overlap between the functions of bishops and of prophets, and thus no basis for conflict between them. As already noted, alongside the older consensus, a new and different consensus has emerged in recent years, that church order in the first two centuries, the period covered by the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers alike, is a development from the household. The frequent references to churches meeting in houses, the adoption of domestic rituals, the frequent statement of the requirement that Christian leaders should offer hospitality, and the architectural adaptation of households all support this. In this instance one would expect that the leader and patron of the community, the presbyter or bishop, would be the householder. But, to turn to Weber's typology again, we should note that in this instance the leader is legitimated not on the basis of a rational-legal

[33] Cf. M. Y. MacDonald, 'The Ideal of the Christian Couple: Ign. *Pol.* 5.1–2 Looking Back to Paul', *NTS* 40 (1994), 105–25.

[34] CD-A 13. 16–17.

[35] A. de Halleux, 'Ministers in the *Didache*', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 300–20, on p. 313.

[36] Onasander, *De Imperatoris officio* 1. 2, 1. 8. See B. S. Easton, 'New Testament Ethical Lists', *JBL* 51 (1932), 1–12.

occupation of an office, but on the basis of the traditional legitimation of a patron, a wealthy householder who offers social support to others. So when von Campenhausen, observing the presence of *kubernēsis* in the list of functions at 1 Cor. 12, denies that this means governance, 'for an office of governor on the lines of the presbyterate or of the later monarchical episcopate there was no room at Corinth either in practice or in principle',[37] and suggests instead that these terms refer to the giving of social support, he is failing to observe that whereas social support is indeed part of what is intended here, patronage can hardly be separated from governance in the ancient world, but that governance by patrons is no block to the exercise of charisma in the context of worship and in the communication of the word of God.

Having suggested that there is no theoretical basis for a conflict between charismatic functionaries and church officers in the period of the Apostolic Fathers, we may go on to examine in detail the points at which conflict has been determined by exponents of the consensus, in order principally to refute the suggestion that a conflict between office and charisma was occurring, and secondly to discover what was actually occurring. For the reasons outlined above, we concentrate on evidence provided by the Apostolic Fathers.

We begin with a discussion of the *Shepherd of Hermas*. This is because a case can be made for seeing Hermas as a charismatic leader in conflict with traditional modes of domination. Hermas has much to say about leaders of the churches in Rome, and much of it is critical.

> You shall say to the leaders of the churches that they should reform their ways. (*Vis.* 2. 2. 6)

> I speak now to you leaders of the church, and those who preside. Do not be like sorcerers, for sorcerers carry their potions in boxes, but you carry your potion and poison in your heart. (*Vis.* 3. 9. 7)

> Those with spots are those deacons who served ill and devoured the living of widows and orphans and served themselves through the ministry which they received to administer. (*Sim.* 9. 26. 2)

It is also true that Hermas was a prophet. As Young points out, not only is he the recipient of revelations which he communicates to his *oikos* and to the church at large (the whole context of Hermas's book), but the depiction of his prophetic activity is the exact opposite of that of the false prophet depicted in *Mand.* 11: that is to say, he is careful to give way to the elders, he makes his prophecy a public, rather than a private, affair, and is not concerned with divination but with proclaiming the message as he has received it.[38]

[37] Von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, 65.

[38] So S. Young, 'Being a Man: The Pursuit of Manliness in the *Shepherd of Hermas*', *JECS* 2 (1994), 237–55.

Given that Hermas is a prophet who is critical of those in leadership positions, does this therefore mean that Hermas is a charismatic leader? This is the manner in which Jeffers seeks to characterize Hermas, contrasting him as such with the traditionally legitimated Clement of *1 Clement* and claiming that Hermas holds a social locus relatively low in Roman Christianity and represents a revival of charismatic leadership in Roman Christianity responding to the wealth of the circle of leaders around Clement.[39] However, even if Hermas's prophetic charism contributed to his position of leadership, charisma is certainly not the sole basis of his leadership. For in a church led by householders, he himself is a householder, and head of his household (*Sim.* 7. 3), for this is the clear implication of his address to his children. His *oikos* (*Mand.* 12. 3. 6; *Sim.* 5. 3. 9) is his church.[40] Thus we may note that Hermas owns land (*Vis.* 3. 1. 2–4), and is knowledgeable concerning business matters (*Sim.* 4. 5); these are indications that his social status, although not that of the decurionate, is relatively high.[41] This of itself is enough to disqualify Hermas as a charismatic leader in the pure sense, in that he holds office not simply on the basis of charisma but through being a member of the traditional class of leaders. Moreover, even if Hermas's prophetic charisma contributes to his performance of his office, and even though he criticizes the conduct of many leaders, there is no critique of leadership *per se* and no suggestion that the leader should be other than a householder, for unless the leader were a householder, he would not be in a position to exercise the hospitality and the charity that Hermas believes are essential marks of Christian leadership (*Sim.* 9. 27. 2). Similarly he encourages the wealthy within the Christian church of Rome to exercise patronage (*Vis.* 3. 9. 3);[42] he thus supports the traditional structures of society, and wishes to see them exercised within the church. In so far as the house churches are, as Maier demonstrates, already based on a traditional model,[43] his prophetic call is to maintain the tradition. There is no dispute with leadership as such, and so Hermas speaks of the bishops and deacons alongside apostles and teachers, some of whom are still alive, who serve in holiness and who agree among themselves (*Vis.* 3. 5. 1).

[39] J. S. Jeffers, *Conflict at Rome: Social Order and Hierarchy in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 145–59.

[40] H. O. Maier, *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1991), 63–5, argues for a household arrangement for Hermas's church without making it explicit that Hermas is himself such a leader.

[41] For further discussion of Hermas's household, and his economic status, see M. Leutzsch, *Die Wahrnehmung sozialer Wirklichkeit im Hirten des Hermas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 50–62.

[42] The point that this is patronage is observed by Maier, *Social Setting*, 61.

[43] Ibid. 59–65.

What is interesting about Jeffers's discussion is his explicit use of Weber, and his identification of Clement as representing, and recommending to the Corinthians, a traditionally legitimated mode of leadership. However, although Hermas represents some of the characteristics of the charismatic leader, he is himself a traditionally legitimated person, and supports the traditional structures of leadership. Hermas is a charismatic in the sense employed in the sociology of religion, but not a charismatic leader; he is humble and self-deprecating, not one who demands leadership, and whilst he criticizes the social conduct of some, he accepts the social order.[44] Jeffers is led to characterize Hermas as he does, not via Weber, but via the weight of the consensus which sets up charisma in opposition to office, which understands all office effectively to be of a rational-legal type, and reckons charismatic leadership to be more primitive.

Although there is no dispute regarding leadership *per se*, there is a critique of certain individuals. In the eleventh Mandate there appears one seated on a chair who is a false prophet. It is noteworthy that the false prophet is seated on a chair, as this was the normal position of the teacher in the ancient world. That the listeners are seated on a learners' *sumpsellion* is further indication of the scholastic setting intended. The point is that it is a teacher, rather than a bishop, who is characterized as a false prophet. Thus we may characterize this dispute as one between one who holds his position by virtue of patronage, a traditional form of legitimation, and one who seeks position on the basis of competence as a teacher (that is to say, on a rational basis). If we turn to the Ignatian correspondence, we find the same conflict. Ignatius' insistence on the claims of the bishop are taken as implying opposition from a charismatic party, in particular by Meinhold.[45] It is the suggestion of this essay that the opposition comes not from charisma, but represents a conflict between rational and traditional legitimation.

We may begin with Ignatius' letter to the Philadelphians, since here at least a case can be made for charismatic opposition to the bishop on the grounds of Ignatius' use of charismatic speech to reinforce his message of unity with, and submission to, the bishop. This may be read as an indication that those who oppose the bishop are claiming charisma, and that their point is being countered with their own weaponry.

While I was with you I cried out. I spoke in a great voice, the voice of God: 'Give heed to the bishop and to the presbytery and deacons. Some suspected me of saying this having foreknowledge of the schism of certain persons. He, on whose account I am in chains, is witness to me that I had no knowledge from any human flesh. The spirit

[44] Cf. Jeffers, *Conflict at Rome*, 156–8.
[45] P. Meinhold, *Studien zu Ignatius von Antiochen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979), 19–36.

proclaimed this, saying: 'Do nothing separately from the bishop, keep your flesh as the temple of God, love unity, flee divisions, be imitators of Jesus Christ, as was he of his Father.' (Ign. *Phld.* 7. 1)

Ignatius' subsequent comment that some suggested that he had prior knowledge of the situation, and that this therefore invalidated his prophecy, has likewise been seen as opposition from a charismatic party, on the grounds that they do not recognize his speech as genuinely prophetic or charismatic.

Apart from this, however, there is no indication within the letter of any 'charismatic' opposition. Rather, there appear to be issues arising from Jewish Christianity and the interpretation of the first Testament, as Ignatius urges the Philadelphians to give no heed to anyone 'who expounds Judaism to you' (Ign. *Phld.* 6.1).

There is certainly opposition to the bishop, but this opposition might come as much from the 'Judaizing' party as from any charismatic group. According to Trevett, there is no link between the opponents of the bishop and the 'Judaizing' party, but the anti-episcopal activity is a third error, alongside Judaizing and Docetism.[46] However, both Trevett and Meinhold make the simple assumption that opposition to the bishop must derive from those opposed to office in any form, a charismatic group. This is an assumption only. Ignatius suggests that the bishop had his office from God and from Christ, and not from vainglory or through human election (*Phld.* 1. 1), but in doing so is implying an opposition that would claim leadership on the basis of human election, not a group that would not have leadership at all.

The report of Ignatius' prophecy is peculiar, but we should note that if charismatic speech is employed in favour of the bishop, this implies that the charisma of prophecy is recognized by the episcopal party, which in turn indicates that they would hardly oppose those who exercise charisma on principle, or be opposed in turn. The failure of Ignatius' prophecy to pass the test in some quarters is not a necessary indication that the opposition is charismatic, as the testing of spirits is widespread and normal; we do not know, however, who undertook the testing and on what criteria, and therefore we can hardly attribute the testing to a party of charismatics. Moreover, the reading of the opposition as charismatic, and as such opposed to the investment in office of the Ignatian party, is not the only possible reading of the situation. It is quite possible that teachers independent of the bishop and presbytery have formed the opposition, and are organizing their households separately from that of the bishop. Indicative of this is the issue regarding the use of the Old Testament, for if the opposition is representative of some kind

[46] C. Trevett, 'Prophecy and Anti-Episcopal Activity: A Third Error Combatted by Ignatius?', *JEH* 34 (1983), 1–18.

of Judaizing Christianity, then it is possible in turn that their church order is based entirely on synagogal models, with the evolving role of the authoritative teacher and interpreter, which thus has no room for an episcopate. As such, there is no third error at Philadelphia, but rather a single party of opponents who are influenced by a Jewish form of Christianity and are organizing households as schools teaching a Christianity distinct from that of the bishop.

If this is adopted as a hypothesis, then it makes sense of Ignatius' response to the opponents of the bishop: Ignatius urges χριστομαθία, and denies any demand to find any point expressed in Scripture. Teaching in Christ, and Christ as the true ἀρχεῖα, thus oppose any other teaching and any dependence upon written documents (*Phld.* 8. 2). Ignatius' response is an answer to those who teach from Scripture, subordinating Scripture to the more urgent claim of the Spirit speaking in the assembly. Ignatius is the charismatic, and not the opponents. It is in this light, moreover, that we may read Ignatius' statement that the bishop did more through being silent than those who employ words, which implies that the use of speech is the preserve of the opposition. Certainly it is possible that the speech is prophecy, and that the expectation is that the bishop should be prophesying,[47] but it is more likely that the speech in question is ordered teaching from the Scriptures of the old covenant, for Ignatius joins the prophets in his love together with the bishop and the presbytery (*Phld.* 5. 2).

Not at Philadelphia alone, but at Ephesus, Meinhold sees opposition to the bishop from a charismatic party, characterizing the opponents specifically as *Wanderprediger*.[48] Certainly the opposition has come from outside Ephesus, for Ignatius states that they had arrived at Ephesus (*Eph.* 9. 1), but this need not mean that they are wandering charismatics, as the reason for their travel is not stated and, as Draper rightly reminds us, not all travellers are wandering charismatics;[49] yet their supposed itinerant status is the sole basis on which charismatic legitimation might be attributed to them. The two main points which may be gathered are that the opponents of the *episkopos* held their own eucharistic celebration, and that they criticized the silence of the bishop (*Eph.* 5. 3–6. 2). These are the very same points which are at issue in Philadelphia. For Meinhold the criticism of Onesimus' silence indicates that those who opposed the bishop claimed inspired speech.[50] However, whereas this is a possible reconstruction of the situation, it is not the only possible reconstruction. Is it not possible that other households had separated themselves from

47 So Meinhold, *Studien*, 27.
48 Ibid. 20–1.
49 J. A. Draper, 'Weber, Theissen, and Wandering Charismatics of the *Didache*', *JECS* 6 (1998), 541–76, on pp. 565–8.
50 Meinhold, *Studien*, 21–2.

the household represented by the bishop, in order to form schools in which they might hold their own eucharistic celebrations? Is it not possible that the bishop is expected not to speak prophetically, but to speak anti-prophetically, or to teach, and that failure on the part of the bishop to act as a teacher is causing those households of scholastic character to break away? Moreover, the silence of the bishop may be held as a mark of respect for those who prophesy, in that the bishop is allowing prophecy, whilst making no claim himself to the prophetic charism. Meinhold explains the separate eucharistic celebrations by noting the provisions of *Did.* 10. 7, which allow the prophets to say the eucharistic prayer, and suggests that the same situation had previously obtained in the communities addressed by Ignatius, but that prophets had separated because their right to offer the Eucharist had been effectively usurped by the bishop.[51] However, as we have already noted, the eucharistic president is nowhere named in the *Didache*; the *Didache* does not state who the eucharistic president should be, but simply lays down the words to be used by those who are not prophets, and the assumption that otherwise the eucharistic president should be the bishop is an assumption only. There is therefore more than a simple choice between bishop and prophet as regards the person who says the eucharistic words. Similarly, in the case of Ignatius, we must note that he nowhere states that the bishop is to say the eucharistic words, simply that a eucharistic celebration should not take place unless the bishop is present. A silent bishop is not offering the Eucharist, and if the bishop is not doing so, then perhaps the prophets are!

Not only do the cohesion with Philadelphia and the internal coherence of the hypothesis sketched above indicate that the issue is with teachers, but Ignatius' comments about the opposition point in this direction. The visitors have 'wicked teaching' (*Eph.* 9. 1), they are μεγαλορημοσύνας (*Eph.* 10. 2), whereas it is better to be silent than to speak of what is not real, for teaching is good only if the teacher acts in accordance with what is taught, and there is but one true teacher (*Eph.* 15. 1).

We may deal more briefly with Meinhold's reading of the situation at Magnesia and Smyrna.[52] In Magnesia, Meinhold detects opposition on the basis of his understanding of Ignatius' defence that the episcopate is an office independent of the personality of the office-holder. This rational-legal legitimation (to employ the terms of Weber), he suggests, must therefore be opposed to a charismatic legitimation. However, once again, the only certain

[51] Ibid. 21.

[52] Ibid. 25–6. Meinhold finds no charismatic opposition at Tralles, and so his discussion of this letter is not noted here.

thing about the situation in Magnesia, other than opposition to the bishop, is that there is difficulty with Judaizing practices, such as keeping the sabbath (*Magn.* 9. 1). It is possible that the same situation that was discerned in Philadelphia is prevailing, though the evidence from Ignatius' language is less strong, the only indication of opposition from a scholastic party being Ignatius' comment that the only title worth having is that of pupil (*Magn.* 10. 1). This is not of itself convincing, but it is more convincing than any a priori conviction that the opposition is charismatic. Finally, in the letter to Smyrna, we meet a party opposed to the bishop, whom Ignatius loudly upbraids. But once again, as Meinhold recognizes, the fundamental issues are not charisma and office, but the content of the opponents' teaching,[53] which once again indicates a pattern of opposition on the basis not of legitimation but of emerging orthodoxy.

Thus, in so far as it is possible to derive a coherent picture of opposition to the *episkopos* from the Ignatian correspondence, there is no correlation between claims of charisma and opposition to the bishop. It seems overall most probable that opposition to the bishop comes from teachers. It may be objected, however, that the teachers were themselves charismatic functionaries and that on these grounds the existence of a conflict between charisma and office may continue to be maintained. Harnack noted the appearance of 'apostles, prophets and teachers' as a triad at 1 Cor. 12. 28 and, given that this group appeared in the context of a discussion of charisma, concluded that 'They are all charismatics, i.e. their calling rests on a gift of the Spirit, which is a permanent possession for them'.[54] Yet he had already noted that the reason why the triad was placed at the head is that they are each principally concerned with the proclamation of the word of God, and so their position here is unrelated to any claim of charisma. To return to the observations of Brockhaus, the focus of the chapter is the discussion of the communication of the word of God within the assembly, and for this reason the teacher finds a position with the prophets. It is the same rationale—namely, their common task of speaking the word of God—which places the teachers alongside the prophets in the *Didache*. For although Niederwimmer[55] and Stempel[56] assert that the teacher in the *Didache* is a charismatic figure, no evidence is produced for this assertion beyond the close association between teacher and prophet. Rather, Ignatius is the charismatic and, in exhorting submission to the bishop, the presbytery, and the deacons, has some of the qualities of the charismatic

[53] Ibid. 31. [54] Harnack, *Constitution*, 24.
[55] K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache* (ET Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 189–90.
[56] H.-A. Stempel, 'Der Lehrer in der "Lehre der zwölf Apostel"', *VC* 34 (1980), 209–17.

leader.[57] The charisma may be undergoing routinization, but is real none the less.[58]

At this point we may turn again briefly to the *Didache*. At *Did.* 15 a new topic appears to be introduced in the instruction that bishops and deacons should be appointed. The common reading of this passage in line with the consensus is that no bishop or deacon had previously been appointed, and that theretofore the community was either under the governance of a charismatic hierarchy or was completely without hierarchy, and that the appointment of officers is an entirely new departure.[59] But as de Halleux points out, and as we may point out here more forcibly, to see the appointment of *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* as a new departure is completely to misread the text. The *Didache* does not say *tout court* that ministers should be appointed, but that the ministers who are appointed should demonstrate certain qualities,[60] those qualifications for office examined above. This leaves open the question of the origin of officers in this community, but even if this chapter is an addition to the work of the original Didachist,[61] it means that *episkopoi* and *diakonoi* are already established offices in the community. There is no sudden take-over by bishops from prophets. Given that *Did.* 15 is not about the appointment of officers *de novo* but concerns the qualifications such officers should have, we may turn to the following statement:

> for they themselves liturgize for you the liturgy (ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν) of the prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them. For they are honoured among you alongside the prophets and teachers (*Did.* 15. 1–2)

The statement that the officials should not be despised has been interpreted as stating that the officers appointed should not be despised at the expense of charismatic officers,[62] which would be an indication that they are indeed being despised. But the point, given the argument above that officers such as bishops exercised no liturgical ministry, is that they are to be honoured alongside prophets and teachers, even though they exercise no public ministry, which is the preserve of prophets and teachers.

[57] So, perceptively and with due reservations, Maier, *Social Setting*, 158–63.

[58] So A. Brent, 'Pseudonymity and Charisma in the Ministry of the Early Church', *Augustinianum*, 27 (1987), 347–76, on pp. 352–4, in response to Schillebeeckx's statement of the consensus.

[59] So, notably, W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres*, 2nd edn. (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 63–4, 73–7.

[60] De Halleux, 'Ministers', 313.

[61] As Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 63, suppose.

[62] So Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 200; J. A. Kleist, *The Didache*, ACW (Westminster: Newman Press, 1948), 165.

Rather, as the *Didache* says, they 'liturgize . . . the liturgy of the prophets'. It might be suggested that just as in *1 Clement* the *leitourgia* of the presbyters was a public office undertaken at one's own expense, so the term 'liturgize' is here likewise used in its ancient sense—that is to say, the bishops provide financial support for the teachers and prophets, and enable them to carry out their ministry. Thus, just as the requirement for meekness and the concern for lack of avarice indicate that the concern of the bishop and deacons is financial, so the reason for these qualifications is explained by their function: namely, the support of those who do exercise a ministry in the assembly. The liturgizing of the liturgy of the prophets and teachers is not the performance of the office of prophets and teachers, as is generally assumed,[63] but is social and economic support for those who do exercise this office. It is this misunderstanding of the term in this text which has bedevilled interpretation from Harnack on. The bishops and deacons should be honoured, states *Did.* 15. 1–2, because they provide the means by which the prophets and teachers exercise their ministry, and should therefore receive like respect.

These bishops and deacons are therefore patrons of the Didachist's community, householders who are in a position to offer support to the charismatics. There is thus no conflict between the groups;[64] nor have the bishops and deacons been obliged to take over from the 'charismatic' functionaries due to their decline and disappearance,[65] but rather a position of mutual support is envisaged. The situation is rather as Burtchaell puts it: the office-holders were present in the church, but, compared to those who exercised more public ministries, were relatively insignificant.[66] Burtchaell argues that offices begin entirely in the synagogue, and suggests that office-holders come to prominence because of the failure of the charismatic functionaries, whereas I have argued elsewhere that borrowing from the synagogue is something which marks the second or third generation of the Pauline communities[67] and that the offices of early Christian communities are transformed in their nature so that the functions previously performed by individuals become attached to offices; but in his assessment of the fundamental state of affairs in the earliest stratum of Christianity, Burtchaell is surely correct. The one thing which *Didache* says about bishops and deacons is that their responsibility is a

[63] A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts,* TU 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1884), 140–1; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 201; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 73.

[64] As presupposed by Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 200–1.

[65] So Harnack, *Lehre*, 153–8; H. Lietzmann, 'Zur altchristlichen Verfasssungsgeschichte', in *Kleine Schriften*, i, TU 67 (Berlin: Akademie, 1958), 141–85, on p. 169; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 76–7.

[66] Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church*, 188, 310–12, 348–51.

[67] Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy to Preaching*, 79–87, 170–4.

leitourgia, and involves the financial support of those who teach and prophesy, and that the qualifications demanded for this post indicate those prepared to offer such a *leitourgia*. If this point seems to have been somewhat laboured, it is because of the significance lent to the text in the past. There is no decline of prophecy leading to the necessity of bishops stepping in to fill the role, and no conflict between these functionaries and their patrons.

A conflict between functionaries and their patrons may, none the less, be the conflict in Corinth which occasioned *1 Clement*. This characterization of the conflict is different from the widespread assumption that *1 Clement* is the result of a conflict between emerging office and continuing, or resurgent, charismatic activity,[68] for if the suggestion of this paper that the assumption of a conflict between office and charismatic activity derives from a flawed methodology has any validity, then even a relatively cautious statement of the consensus such as that of Lona, who suggests that the transfer from the charismatically orientated community described by Paul in 1 Corinthians to one in which office is known would hardly occur without difficulty,[69] is without ground. We need not therefore repeat the argument and deal in detail with the various versions of the consensus which have been brought to bear on *1 Clement*, but may set about seeking a new solution. The solution suggested, in line with the argument of the essay so far, is that functionaries were no longer content to accept the *leitourgia* of patrons, but sought leadership on their own account. The situation has thus moved on significantly from that described in the *Didache*.

Although I have suggested that the consensus is wanting, none the less there is a prima-facie case for seeing the conflict in Corinth as in some way relating to the emergence of office, not simply in that the occasion of the dispute was the removal of presbyters, but also in Clement's statement that the apostles knew that there would be strife over the episcopate (*1 Clem.* 44. 1). However, although the removal of presbyters is a vital issue, we must note that *some* presbyters had been removed, which does not indicate that there was general dissatisfaction with the presbyteral system, since it equally implies that some presbyters were left in place. Moreover, when Clement states that the Lord himself knew that there would be strife as to who bore the office of oversight, he is implying that, far from wanting to avoid all fixed order in the congregation, the group of opponents themselves desire to hold office. The same is implied in Clement's indication that certain individuals had brought about the strife through their failure to observe their proper

[68] See the references at O. M. Bakke, '*Concord and Peace*'*: A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition*, WUNT 2.143 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 282–3.

[69] H. E. Lona, *Der erste Klemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 81.

station (*1 Clem.* 14. 1). We may thus begin to see that the conflict might not be so much about office itself as about legitimation.

Before suggesting that the issue at Corinth was the same as that addressed by Ignatius, particularly in Philadelphia, we may recall the domestic basis of the Corinthian church, in line with the newer consensus observed above which aligns office with status within a household. The emphasis that Clement assigns to hospitality implies that the household is still the essential unit in the Corinthian church (*1 Clem.* 1. 2; 11. 1; 12. 1), on which basis we may assume that the leading householders would take the place of presbyters.[70] The word consistently used by Clement to describe the situation is *stasis* (*1 Clem.* 1. 1; 2. 6; 14. 2); in political discourse this was classically applied to factionalism within a state, being defined by Aristotle as the desire of individuals to be self-governing;[71] as such it implies that the factionalism is taking place within households. Secondly we should note Clement's statements that a few individuals only are the cause of the strife (*1 Clem.* 1. 1; 47. 6). Again this implies that the *stasis* is occurring within households, rather than being more generalized (although we must recognize that the minimization of the numbers involved may serve some rhetorical effect). Finally, we may recall again Clement's statement that there would be strife among those who would claim the office of bishop, which is why a system of succession was set up. Whereas this might mean that a single householder is attempting to exercise *episkopē* over other households, *episkopē* would be found within households; thus I suggest that the strife was taking place within individual households, and that presbyters have been deposed within certain households.

In this light we may turn to the interesting explanation of the situation addressed by *1 Clement* offered by Bakke, who suggests that the cause of stasis is economic inequality.[72] He points to the relative lack of economic homogeneity which marked the Christian households known in the Corinth of Paul, and suggests that the poor in the congregations were seeking office instead of the existing presbyters in order to obtain a better division of wealth, which leads to dishonour as the rules of patronage are not obeyed by those below. Competition for the honour of leadership is thus the basis of the tension in Corinth, and the competition results from economic factors. Certainly this fits with what is otherwise known of conflict in Corinth in an earlier period, and coheres with some of the thematic statements of *1 Clem* 3. 3[73] by explaining the opposition to presbyters as opposition to a

[70] So Bowe, *Church in Crisis*, 11–16.

[71] Arist. *Pol.* 5. 6. 1; *Eth. Nic.* 9. 1167A.

[72] Bakke, '*Concord and Peace*', 289–317.

[73] E.g., the statement that 'The worthless rose up against those in honour, those of no reputation against the renowned, the foolish against the prudent, the young against the elders

patronal system—as opposition, in other words, to a traditionally legitimated form of leadership.

A relative lack of economic homogeneity may have led to the situation of *stasis* within these households, and this would explain the characterization by Clement of the opponents of the presbyters as motivated by ζῆλος and φθόνος (*1 Clem.* 3. 2; 4. 7; 5. 2), as well as the exhortations of Clement to submissiveness and obedience. But if Bakke is correct in pointing to economic inequality as the motivation for the activity of the opponents, then a closer characterization of the opponents is still required. Economic revolutions do not occur within traditional societies, which are always marked by economic stratification, without leaders opposed to the traditionally legitimated leadership. We should not see the *stasis* here as generalized popular revolution, but rather as a leadership bid by some class which is relatively economically disadvantaged by comparison with the patrons, but which has a reasonable claim to the honour and status enjoyed by the patrons, though on a basis different from patronage. This class could be that of the teachers; a teacher may hold a subservient position in an ancient household, and need not be a person of social status, may indeed be a slave or a freedman, and may accept the patronage of a householder as, we have suggested, teachers, alongside prophets, accepted patronage in the Didachist's community.[74] Teachers, who were the recipients of patronage, might be those who are disturbing the accepted order of patronage.

But some more positive argument than this is needed. In providing one, we may turn to an exponent of the older consensus, namely Meinhold, as there is much to commend his view that the opponents were charismatics who based their case on superior spiritual gifts, and in particular glossolalia.[75] The spiritual gifts which Clement praises are fundamentally concerned with wisdom, knowledge, and speech. *1 Clem.* 15 is a series of citations which concern true speech: *1 Clem.* 17. 5, in using the example of Moses as one of humility,

(*presbuterous*)'. Whereas we might be excused for thinking that *presbuterous* here simply refers to older men, we must recall that both sender and recipients were aware of the issue, and therefore would not need to have matters spelt out. The language recalls Isa. 3. 5, but as Bakke, '*Concord and Peace*', 291–2, points out, this is a clever rhetorical adoption of the language of Scripture.

74 U. Neymeyr, *Die christlichen Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert*, VCSup 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 218–20, notes the various ways in which teachers in the ancient world might support themselves. The other option apart from the charging of fees or dependence upon patronage would be an officially endowed chair, which is clearly out of the question here. For a satirical treatment of the situation of a teacher, dependent on patronage, who gradually finds himself dropping down the social scale, see Lucian, *De Mercede conductis potentium familiaribus*, esp. 14–18, 26. Such loss of status within a patronal system might lead to the questioning of the social order within the Christian households of Corinth.

75 Peter Meinhold, 'Geschehen und Deutung im ersten Clemensbrief', *ZKG* 58 (1939), 82–129.

points out that he is a person of simple speech; at 31. 5 Clement suggests that the opponents take pride in their words rather than in God, and at 30. 3 and 38. 2 Clement contrasts good works with fine words as the sign of one who is truly wise. A similar view is proposed by Opitz.[76] Apart from the passages observed already, Optiz notes the exhortation of Clement at 57. 2: 'Learn to be submissive, putting aside the boastful and haughty effrontery of your tongue!'

Although Meinhold and Opitz, in reliance on the older consensus, assume that the opponents are charismatic, and are therefore opposed to office in principle, whereas we have already seen that, far from being the work of those who seek a charismatic order and do not recognize office, the factionalism results from those who seek office for themselves, none the less they point to an important issue: namely, that the opponents claim a superiority of speech and a superiority of teaching. There is no reason, however, to assume that this is charismatic speech. For all Meinhold suggests that the charismatic party appeals to Paul,[77] when Clement cites 1 Cor. 12, he does not cite the discussion of glossolalia, which would have helped his case had this been in his purview, but encourages fidelity and wisdom and notes the parallel factionalism between the households.[78]

The strength of Meinhold's case lies in his identification of speech as a central issue, and the weakness is that there is no indication that the speech was charismatic. But if the speech is not charismatic, then we point once again to the possibility that there are teachers who are providing the focus of opposition within some households. They too may claim a wisdom of speech, but their speech is not charismatic. As such, they may claim a greater wisdom than the householders, and it is their wisdom which in turn is characterized as foolishness by Clement (*1 Clem.* 39. 1); the wise should manifest their wisdom in good deeds (38. 2). They are supported by the householders, and may receive the fruit of their labour with the Stoic freedom of *parrhēsia*, but a true *parrhēsia* is in Christ, as the position of those in receipt of patronage is that of the angels who serve God (34. 1–6). Clement's answer to the claims of the teachers is to point to the *diadochē* of leadership received from the apostles; since *diadochē* is a concept deriving from the philosophical schools, we may see Clement's use of the idea as directly countering the claims of those claiming a *diadochē* along scholastic lines.[79]

[76] H. Opitz, *Ursprünge frühkatholischer Pneumatologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlaganstalt, 1960), 13–15. Opitz, however, presses the case too far by suggesting that the presbyters are seeking control over an entirely glossolalist congregation.

[77] Meinhold, 'Geschehen und Deutung', 100–1.

[78] So Bakke, '*Concord and Peace*', 288, with reference to *1 Clem.* 47–8; see also Maier, *Social Setting*, 89.

[79] On *diadochē* as a scholastic concept transferred to the Christian realm, note A. Brent, 'Diogenes Laertius and the Apostolic Succession', *JEH* 44 (1993), 367–89.

Office at Corinth, as already argued, was not a bureaucratically legitimated office which was in the process of emergence at the expense of religious charisma, but a traditionally legitimated office which had always existed alongside the exercise of charismata in the assembly. The challenge made is to these traditionally legitimated officers, and the basis of the challenge is superiority in speech and wisdom. This is not charismatic speech, for charismatic speech coexisted at the time of Paul with a system of traditional leadership, but the very ordered speech which Paul encouraged. Herein may be the basis of an appeal to Paul: not to Paul the charismatic, but to the Paul who would rather speak a few words of edification than a thousand in tongues (1 Cor. 14. 19). For this reason, in citing 1 Cor. 12, Clement makes no allusion to the discussion of glossolalia, because the fundamental thrust of Paul's discussion would lead to a discussion of the place of teachers in a Christian community.

The point has been reached at which a summary is possible. In exploring the consensus that office in Christian communities had in some way supplanted the exercise of charisma, it was observed that one of the reasons why a conflict between office and charisma has been assumed is the assumption, in turn, that officers exercised functions in the assembly. As far as is possible, it has been shown that they did not, and so there were no grounds for conflict. A second confusion in the consensus was identified: that charismatic leadership has been identified with the exercise of charismatic functions. Rather, it has been suggested, charismatic functions could be exercised within a society with traditionally legitimated leadership. This occurs in the Didachist's community and in the community of Hermas, as well as in the Corinth addressed by Paul. Rather than representing a conflict between charisma and office, as the older consensus assumed, an examination of the relevant material has shown either that there was no conflict, or that the conflict which occurred was between teachers and householder-bishops. I suggest that the conflict comes about because teachers may threaten the traditionally legitimated bishop, in that they are capable of acting outside the structures of the household through becoming self-supporting. At the time of the *Didache*, no conflict has appeared, and the teachers appear content to accept patronage from the bishops and deacons, but we may deduce that there was criticism of the bishop, presbytery, and deacons from various teachers in several of the communities addressed by Ignatius, that teachers had adopted the position of presbyters in the Corinth addressed by Clement, and that Hermas, a householder, is suspicious of a teacher whom he characterizes as a false prophet.

This essay leaves many questions unanswered, such as the origin of bishops, deacons, and presbyters, the precise extent and scope of their duties (as part of which we should pose the, as much unasked as unanswered, question of how bishops and/or presbyters come to have the exclusive right of presidency at the Eucharist), the fate of the teacher in the second century, and the manner in which, despite the opposition of such figures as Clement, Hermas, and Ignatius, the episcopate takes on an intellectual role in the second century.[80] By escaping from the assumptions of the consensus, however, the way is cleared for a fresh examination of these issues.

[80] A term borrowed from L. W. Countryman, 'The Intellectual Role of the Early Catholic Episcopate', *Church History*, 48 (1979), 261–8.

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Part V

The *Didache*

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10

Didache 1. 1–6. 1, James, Matthew, and the Torah

John S. Kloppenborg

The topic of the *Didache* and James is perhaps an odd choice for this conference commemorating the 1905 publication of *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, whose purpose it was to inquire into the likelihood that the Apostolic Fathers displayed some acquaintance with books of the New Testament.[1] Kirsopp Lake found no reason to mention James in his chapter on the *Didache*; James is in fact discussed only in the chapters on the *Shepherd* and *2 Clement*.[2] Even in the more recent index, *Biblia patristica*, which adopts generous definitions of 'citation' and 'allusion', there are no entries for the *Didache* in the section that compiles early patristic citations of James.[3] There are indeed no good grounds for believing that James and the *Didache* enjoyed any direct literary relationship.

The question of the relationship between the *Didache* and Matthew is, of course, a much livelier subject of debate, with scholars defending the Didachist's knowledge of the first gospel,[4] others denying any direct

[1] Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

[2] *NTAF*, 108–13 (the *Shepherd*), 127–8 (*2 Clement*).

[3] *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, i: *Des origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien*, ed. J. Allenbach (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975).

[4] E. Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1950), 604–46; B. C. Butler, 'The Literary Relations of *Didache*, Ch. XVI', *JTS* 11 (1960), 265–83; *idem*, 'The "Two Ways" in the *Didache*', *JTS* 12 (1961), 27–38; F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache* (London: SPCK, 1938), 92–119; S. E. Johnson, 'A Subsidiary Motive for the Writing of the Didache', in M. H. Shepherd and S. E. Johnson (eds.), *Munera Studiosa: Studies Presented to W. H. P. Hatch on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Cambridge, Mass.: Episcopal Theological School, 1946), 107–22, on p. 112; C. C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, The Library of Christian Classics, 1 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), 161–79, esp. 163, 165–6; B. Layton, 'The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.1', *HTR* 61 (1968), 343–83; L. W. Barnard, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls, Barnabas, the *Didache* and the Later History of the "Two Ways" ', in *idem*, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (New York: Schocken Books; Oxford: Basil Blackwell,

relationship,[5] and still others advocating the use of a common source[6] or even Matthew's knowledge of the *Didache*.[7] With respect to the Two Ways document (1. 1–2; 2. 2–6. 1), it is much more difficult to find defenders of Matthaean dependence; the case for dependence on Matthew is normally made from the uses of *εὐαγγέλιον* in *Did.* 8. 2; 11. 3; 15. 3, 4, from the convergence between the sayings in *Did.* 16. 3–8 and Matt. 24–5, and from the similarities between the catena of sayings interpolated into the Two Ways section (1. 3b–2. 1) and sayings of Jesus in Q, Matthew, and Luke.

The third pair in this literary triangle, the relationship between James and Matthew, has also received some attention. A few scholars defended a direct relationship between James and Matthew,[8] but such a hypothesis demands too high a degree of ingenuity to command much assent. Nevertheless, the numerous contacts between James and the Jesus tradition suggest that even if there is not a direct literary relationship between James and either Matthew or

1966), 99 n. 2; E. Schweizer, *Matthäus und seine Gemeinde*, SBS 71 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1974), 141 n. 12, 164–5; C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*', in J. M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity: La Réception des Écrits Néotestamentaires dans le Christianisme Primitif*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 197–230; K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet, eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert*, SUC 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 19, 24–31.

[5] J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres*, ÉBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 166–86; W. Rordorf, 'Does the Didache Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?', in H. Wansbrough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 394–423; W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè): introduction, texte, traduction, notes, appendice et index*, 2nd edn. rev. et augmentée, SC 248 (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 91, 232. K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (ET Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 48–51) argues that if there is any influence of the NT, it is only at the level of the redactor of the *Didache*. The Two Ways documents (*Did.* 1. 1–2; 2. 2–6. 1), the liturgical section (7. 1–10. 7), the church order (11. 1–15. 4), and probably the apocalypse (16. 3–8) display no dependence on the NT at all.

[6] E.g., R. Glover, 'The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 5 (1958), 12–29.

[7] A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the* Didache, JSNTSup 254 (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004).

[8] One of the first to defend James's use of Matthew was W. Brückner, 'Zur Kritik des Jakobusbriefes', *ZWT* 17 (1874), 530–41, on p. 537: 'So ist es auch leichter in allen Stellen, an die hier gedacht werden kann, die unmittelbare Abhängigkeit vom Matthäusevangelium vorauszusetzen.' The case was taken up by M. H. Shepherd, 'The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew', *JBL* 75 (1956), 40–51; he divided James into eight didactic discourses, each of which, he argued, was built around a central macarism or gnomic saying that had striking parallels with Matthew. Similarly, C. N. Dillman, 'A Study of Some Theological and Literary Comparisons of the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle of James' (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1978). Shepherd explained the lack of verbal agreement between Matthew and James on the theory that James was acquainted with the first gospel through its oral use in the liturgy. But F. Gryglewicz, 'L'Épitre de St. Jacques et l'Évangile de St. Matthieu', *Roczniki Theologicano-Kanoniczne* 8, no. 3 (1961), 33–55, later argued that James knew the written text of Matthew.

Luke, there may be some indirect relationship, either via the Sayings Gospel Q or oral Jesus tradition.[9]

Although it is difficult to make a case for direct literary dependence among the Two Ways document, James, and Matthew, conceptual similarities exist, similarities that point to origins in a common intellectual milieu. The thesis of this paper, stated briefly, is that the conceptual similarities that exist among these three documents exist not so much at the level of literary relationships—relationships of dependence—as at the level of shared assumptions, shared *topoi*, and shared argumentative strategies. The three documents, taken together, point to a sector of the Jesus movement which held Torah observance to be a mark of identity, and which therefore found itself at some variance with Paul, and later with Barnabas and Ignatius. This sector of the Torah-observant Jesus movement eventually lost ground to those sectors represented by Paul and Ignatius.

The working assumption of this paper is that not only can we isolate the contours of the Two Ways document (TW) employed by the *Didache*, but that a history of editorial development can be reconstructed.

A synoptic analysis of the available 'Two Ways' documents (1QS 3. 13–4. 26; *Barn.* 18–20; *Did.* 1–6; *Doctrina* 1. 1–5. 2; the *Canons of the Holy Apostles* (or *Apostolic Church Order*) 4. 1–13. 4, the *Epitome of the Canons of the Holy Apostles*, and the *Ap. Const.* 7. 2. 2–6) permits us to work out a rough genealogy of the Two Ways tradition (see Fig. 1). This involves three basic forms: (α) a recension used by Barnabas, displaying a rather loose topical organization and having many conceptual affinities with 1QS 3. 13–4. 26; (β) a second recension with a greater degree of topical organization and betraying an effort to assimilate the list of prohibitions in *Did.* 2 / *Doctrina* 2 to those of the Decalogue. This version was used independently by the Greek *Vorlage* of the *Doctrina* (δ) and the *Didache*, which was in turn used in the *Didache*'s successor, book 7 of *Apostolic Constitutions*; and finally, (γ) a slightly attenuated version used by the *Canons* and the *Epitome* closely paralleling β but missing the Way of Death and sharing a few elements with α that are missing in β.[10]

[9] See the surveys of the question by D. B. Deppe, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Epistle of James* (D.Th. diss., Free University of Amsterdam; Ann Arbor: Bookcrafters, 1989); P. J. Hartin, *James and the 'Q' Sayings of Jesus*, JSNTSup 47 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991); J. S. Kloppenborg, 'The Reception of the Jesus Tradition in James', in J. Schlosser (ed.), *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition*, BETL 176 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 93–141.

[10] See J. S. Kloppenborg, 'The Transformation of Moral Exhortation in *Didache* 1–5', in C. N. Jefford (ed.), *The* Didache *in Context: Essays on its Text, History and Transmission*, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 88–92. This agrees closely with, and is indebted to, the analyses of Stanislaus Giet, *L'Énigme de la Didachè*, Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, 149 (Paris: Éditions Ophrys, 1970), 71; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 30–41. Barnard

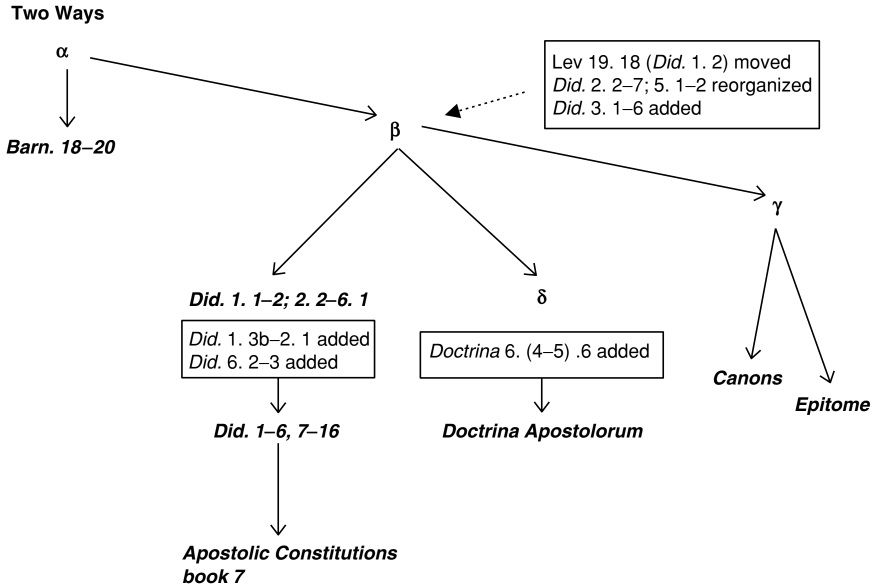

Figure 1 The Two Ways Tradition

Several developments within the β-recension are worthy of mention. In addition to an assimilation of its prohibitions to the Decalogue, this recension also contains the so-called τέκνον section (*Did.* 3. 1–6 / *Doctrina* 3. 1–6), missing in *Barnabas*. This section, characterized by the repetitive address, τέκνον μου, is a separate sapiential composition apparently inserted into the Two Ways document at this point.[11] This series of admonitions, which Audet calls 'une adapatation sapientielle du décalogue',[12] is formulated around key terms of the Decalogue (φόνος, μοιχεῖα, εἰδωλολατρία, κλοπή, βλασφημία), and takes the form of admonitions against lesser vices (anger, passion, augury,

("Dead Sea Scrolls', 107) proposes a similar stemma, but, following Goodspeed ('The Didache, Barnabas and the Doctrina', *ATR* 27 (1945), 228–47), places the Greek original of the *Doctrina* as the direct source of *Barnabas* and the *Didache*.

[11] R. H. Connolly, 'The Didache in Relation to the Epistle of Barnabas', *JTS* 33 (1932), 241–2 observes that of the twenty-five terms used for vices or faults in 3. 1–6, fully nineteen do not appear elsewhere in the *Didache*. Audet (*Didachè*, 299–300) observes that whereas *Did* 2. 2–7 uses οὐ with the future indicative, in imitation of the Decalogue, in 3. 1–6, 'on a . . . l'imperatif, beaucoup plus intime, plus enveloppé aussi de chaleur humaine, et à mon sens, plus <relatif>, de la tradition des sages'.

[12] Audet, *Didachè*, 301. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 95 n. 6, thinks that this characterization goes too far.

mendacity, and grumbling), on the grounds that these inevitably 'lead' (ὁδηγεῖ) to the vices named in the Decalogue.[13]

The *Didache*'s branch of the β-recension also contained a catena of Jesus' sayings (*Did.* 1. 3b–6) dependent on at least the Gospel of Luke and probably added in the mid-second century CE.[14] This catena is not present in the *Doctrina* (or presumably in its Greek *Vorlage*), but was taken up by the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The interpolation of 1. 3b–6 necessitated the addition of δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς in *Did.* 2. 1, serving as a transition back to the earlier Two Ways document (β).[15]

Limiting the investigation to the Two Ways (TW) portion of the *Didache*, i.e., 1. 1–2; 2. 2–6. 1, a number of general convergences with James and Matthew can be noted.

1. SPEECH ETHICS

a. The Two Ways (TW)

The editing of the TW document has paid particular attention to speech ethics. This is especially clear in the expanded Decalogue in 2. 1–7 and in the τέκνον section (3. 1–6). To the Decalogue's *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις* (2. 3), the *Didache* adds *οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις* and *οὐ κακολογήσεις*. The expansion continues by dwelling in particular on ambivalence in speech and thought:

[13] Several have suggested that *Did.* 3. 1–6 might be understood on the analogy of 'building a fence' around the Torah (*m. ʾAbot* 1. 1): C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles: With Illustrations from the Talmud* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1886), 1–17, on p. 23; Vokes, *Riddle*, 76; R. M. Grant, 'The Decalogue in Early Christianity', *HTR* 40 (1947), 9; C. N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*, VCSup 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 63–4. Audet (*Didachè*, 301), however, rightly points out that 'elle [the fence] est constituée, non par exhortations du genre de celles que nous avons ici, mais par des décisions et des décrets tranchant une question d'observance, visant généralement soit à adapter la loi ancienne aux conditions nouvelles, soit à redresser une situation jugée irrégulière ou simplement périlleuse'. In addition, I have observed that whereas 'the "hedge" in *m. ʾAbot* 1. 1 and elsewhere entails the formulation of precautionary extensions to the Torah that function to ensure that there will be no violations of the commandments', the logic of the *Didache / Doctrina* instead 'implies the fundamental *unity* of the Law, which now includes not only the Decalogue but numerous other admonitions, and warns that violation of an apparently lesser admonition, if it is not tantamount to violation of one of the commandments of the Decalogue, tends inevitably in that direction' ('Transformation of Moral Exhortation', 105–6).

[14] See J. S. Kloppenborg, 'The Use of the Synoptics or Q in Did. 1.3b–2.1', in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *The Didache and Matthew: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 105–29.

[15] Thus, among others, Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 86–7; Jefford, *Sayings of Jesus*, 53.

4 *οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία.* 5 *οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*

(Do not be 'double-minded' or 'double-tongued', for *diglossia* is the snare of death. Your speech shall not be false or empty, but shall be completed in action) (2. 4–5)

A comparison of the *Didache*'s Two Ways with *Barn.* 19 indicates that the warning against *dignomon*[16] and *diaglossia* in 2. 4 belonged to the tradition common to the *Didache* and *Barnabas.*[17] The contribution of the TW's editor was twofold: first, to associate the warnings concerning improper speech with the Decalogue, and thereby to bring such prohibitions under the aegis of the Torah, and second to expand the admonition against ambivalence in 2. 5 by a second admonition on empty promises (2. 6), also 'Torahized' by association with the Decalogue.

This association of speech ethics with the Decalogue continues in the *τέκνον* section. There the Decalogue's prohibitions of murder (3. 2), adultery (3. 3), idolatry (3. 4), theft (3. 5), and blasphemy (3. 6) are linked to lesser offences, including lying (3. 5), which the TW connects with theft, and grumbling (3. 6), linked to idolatry.

Finally, the TW concludes the 'way of life' with an admonition to communal confession of sins, which suggests that a clear 'consciousness' is a condition for efficacious prayer:

ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ

In the assembly confess your sins, and do not approach in your prayer with a defiled consciousness. (4. 14)

b. James

The convergences of the TW with James are clear and relatively numerous. It is well known that James displays a particular interest in control of speech. James has exhortations on control of the tongue (3. 1–12), slander (4. 11–12), boasting (4. 13–17), oath-taking (5. 12), and prayer and confession of sins (5. 13–18). William Baker notes that twenty-three of James's fifty-four imperatives directly concern speech ethics, and a further six are indirectly

[16] The term *δίγνωμος* is rare, though not unattested prior to the first century CE: Dorotheus (1st century BCE), *Fragmenta Graeca* 413. 21; Diogenianus [2nd century CE] *Paroemiae* 4. 32 (meaning 'vacillating').

[17] *Barn.* 19. 7: *οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.* *Barn.* 19. 8: *παγὶς γὰρ στόμα θανάτου.*

concerned with speech.[18] James's view of oath-taking goes well beyond that found in the TW: like Matthew's (5. 33–7), James's view is that oaths should not be taken at all. Like the *Didache*, James shows special interest in ambivalence: the concern for 'double mindedness' is found in 1. 6–7 in connection with petitions for wisdom, and especially in 3. 9–12, where James argues that the tongue ought not to be a simultaneous source of blessing and cursing.

At 4. 11–12 James includes a brief argument against slander (*καταλαλεῖν*), concluding that whoever slanders or judges a brother slanders and judges the Law—an argument which takes as its intertext Lev. 19. 15–16, the Holiness Code's prohibition of slander:

Μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί· ὁ καταλαλῶν ἀδελφοῦ ἢ κρίνων τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καταλαλεῖ νόμου καὶ κρίνει νόμον· εἰ δὲ νόμον κρίνεις, οὐκ εἶ ποιητὴς νόμου ἀλλὰ κριτής. εἷς ἐστιν ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ κριτὴς ὁ δυνάμενος σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι· σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων τὸν πλησίον;

Do not slander one another, brothers. Whoever slanders a brother or judges his brother slanders the Law and judges the Law. Now if you judge the Law, you are not a doer of the Law but a judge. The Lawgiver and the judge are One; who is able to save and to destroy. But who are you, judging your neighbour? (Jas. 4. 11–12)

As Luke Timothy Johnson has argued, James begins with an allusion to Lev. 19. 16, *οὐ πορεύσῃ δόλῳ ἐν τῷ ἔθνει σου*, representing the MT's לֹא-תֵלֵךְ רָכִיל בְּעַמֶּיךָ, 'do not go around as a slanderer among your people'.[19] But the logic of the second clause, *ὁ καταλαλῶν ἀδελφοῦ ἢ κρίνων τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καταλαλεῖ νόμου καὶ κρίνει νόμον*, which pairs slander with judgement, suggests that the author treats slander as a species of (false) judgement. For this reason it seems likely that not only Lev. 19. 16 is in view, but also Lev. 19. 15: *οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει . . . , ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖς τὸν πλησίον σου*. It is this intertext that supplies the rationale for the conclusion, *εἰ δὲ νόμον*

[18] W. R. Baker, *Personal Speech-Ethics: A Study of the Epistle of James against its Background*, WUNT 2.68 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 6. These include *αἰτείτω* (1. 5); *αἰτείτω* (1. 6); *καυχάσθω* (1. 9); *λεγέτω* (1. 13); *ἔστω . . . βραδὺς εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι* (1. 19); *ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν* (2. 1); *λαλεῖτε καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖτε* (2. 12); *μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε* (3. 1); *μὴ κατακαυχᾶσθε καὶ ψεύδεσθε* (3. 14); *κλαύσατε* (4. 9); *μὴ καταλαλεῖτε* (4. 11); *κλαύσατε* (5. 1); *μὴ στενάζετε* (5. 9); *μὴ ὀμνύετε* (5. 12); *ἤτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ* (5. 12); *προσευχέσθω . . . ψαλλέτω* (5. 13); *προσκαλεσάσθω . . . προσευξάσθωσαν* (5. 14); *ἐξομολογεῖσθε . . . εὔχεσθε* (5. 16).

[19] L. T. Johnson, 'The Use of Leviticus 19 in the Letter of James', *JBL* 101 (1982), 391–401, on pp. 395–6, points out that in both the LXX and the NT, *καταλαλεῖν* came to mean 'slander' (Ps. 100. 5: *τὸν καταλαλοῦντα λάθρα τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ*; Ps. 49. 20: *καθήμενος κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κατελάλεις καὶ κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς μητρός σου ἐτί θεις σκάνδαλον*; Wisd. 1. 11: *Φυλάξασθε τοίνυν γογγυσμὸν ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης*). M. Dibelius (*James: A Commentary on the Epistle of James*, rev. by H. Greeven, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 228) demurs: 'The author does not have in mind some specific commandment against slander found in the law—for then the statement would contain simply a truism—, but rather the commandment of love in Lev 19. 18 (notice "neighbor" (*πλησίον*) in v. 12 and cf. Jas 2. 9–11).'

κρίνεις, οὐκ εἶ ποιητὴς νόμου ἀλλὰ κριτής, for slander viewed as unjust judgement clearly violates the Law (Lev. 19. 15) and constitutes the slanderer as what James earlier calls *κριτὴς διαλογισμῶν πονηρῶν* (2. 4). The second part of James's argument appeals to the unity of God, as it did at 2. 11, and argues that the slanderer has arrogated to himself the role of God, who is both lawgiver and judge.

Many authors see Lev. 19. 18 as supplying the essential logic to Jas. 4. 11–12, pointing to the use of the word *πλησίος*.[20] But *πλησίος* also occurs in Lev. 19. 15, and hence the conclusion that the law of love (Lev. 19. 18) supplies the logical basis for Jas. 4. 11–12 is unnecessary. It seems more likely that the prohibitions of false judgement and deceit taken from the Holiness Code (Lev. 19. 15–16) have been coupled with the Jesus saying found in Q 6. 37 (Matt. 7. 1) to form an argument that slander not only violates the Holiness Code but also represents an arrogation of divine prerogatives. What is worth noting is that while James's argument against slander adopts a more elaborate argumentative form than the simple prohibitions of the TW, both expressly connect their prohibitions with the commandments of the Torah.

James also concludes with an exhortation on the practice of communal confession of sins which seems to make the same assumptions as *Did.* 4. 14—that confession of sins renders prayer more efficacious:

καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.
ἐξομολογεῖσθε οὖν ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, ὅπως ἰαθῆτε.
πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη.

The prayer of faith will save the sick, and the Lord will raise them up; and anyone who has committed sins will be forgiven. Therefore confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, so that you may be healed. The prayer of a righteous person is powerful and effective. (5. 15–16)

c. Matthew

Matthew's interest in speech ethics is perhaps not so pronounced as that in the TW or James, but is nonetheless present.[21] Famously, Matt. 5. 33–7 forbids not only perjury, but, like James, oath-taking in general. The prohibition

[20] Dibelius, *James*, 228; F. Mussner, *Der Jakobusbrief: Auslegung*, HTKNT 13.1, 3rd edn. (Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna: Verlag Herder, 1975), 187; S. Laws, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James*, BNTC (London: A. & C. Black, 1980), 187; P. H. Davids, *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 170.

[21] E.g., various injunctions concerning greeting others (5. 47), prayer (6. 5–6, 7; 7. 7–11), fraternal correction (7. 1–5; 18. 15–20), and acclamations of Jesus (7. 21–3; 10. 32–3).

which Matthew takes as his point of departure, *οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις*, is not from the Decalogue or any other biblical book,[22] but is a piece of Second Temple Jewish *paraenesis* presented as if it were one of the prohibitions of the Torah, i.e., precisely in the way that it appears in the TW's extended Decalogue.[23] In considering the relationship between *Did.* 2. 5 and Matt. 5. 33, Jefford points out that since the *Didache* lacks the prohibition of oaths distinctive of Matthew (and James), there is no reason to posit a literary dependence of the TW on Matt. 5. 33 at this point. Indeed, if there is any relationship at all, Matthew is more likely dependent on an expanded Decalogue of which *Did.* 2. 3–5 is an instance.[24] Matthew also 'Torahizes' his prohibition of angry and insulting speech by associating it with the Decalogue's prohibition of murder (5. 22).[25] The TW stands remarkably close to Matthew at this point, for while the TW uses the trope of one vice 'leading to' (*ὁδηγεῖ*) another instead of Matthew's equation of one vice with another, the TW expressly connects anger and quarrelsomeness with murder, and does so in the context of an exhortation structured around the Decalogue.[26]

All three documents display concern over teaching. Comparison of *Barn.* 19. 9b–10 indicates that the redaction of the *Didache*'s Two Ways has accentuated the importance of attending to teaching. Whereas *Barnabas* exhorts his audience to 'love as the apple of your eye all who speak the word of the

[22] The closest biblical parallels are the prohibitions of invoking the divine name in Exod. 20. 7: *οὐ λήμψῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἐπὶ ματαίῳ*; Lev. 19. 12: *καὶ οὐκ ὀμεῖσθε τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἐπ ἀδίκῳ καὶ οὐ βεβηλώσετε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν*; and Deut. 23. 22–4: *ἐὰν δὲ εὔξῃ εὐχὴν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου, οὐ χρονιεῖς ἀποδοῦναι αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐκζητῶν ἐκζητήσει κύριος ὁ θεός σου παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ ἔσται ἐν σοὶ ἁμαρτία: [23] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλῃς εὔξασθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν σοὶ ἁμαρτία. [24] τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα διὰ τῶν χειλέων σου φυλάξῃ καὶ ποιήσεις ὃν τρόπον εὔξω κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου δόμα, ὃ ἐλάλησας τῷ στόματί σου*. The final phrase in Matt. 5. 22, *ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὅρκους σου*, seems to be an adaptation of Ps. 49. 14: *θῦσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σου.*

[23] E.g., Ps-Phocylides 16–17: *μὴ δ' ἐπιορκήσῃς μήτ' ἀγνὼς μήτε ἑκοντί· ψεύδορκον στυγέει θεὸς ἄμβροτος ὅστις ὀμόσσῃ* ('Do not commit perjury, neither ignorantly nor willingly; the immortal God hates the perjurer, whosoever it is who has sworn'); *Sib. Or.* 2. 68: *μήδ' ἐπιορκήσῃς μήτ' ἀγνὼς μήτε ἑκοντί : ψεύδορκον στυγέει θεός, ὅττι κεν ἄν τις ὀμόσσῃ* ('Do not commit perjury, either ignorantly or willingly; God hates the perjurer, whatever it is he has sworn'); *Did.* 2. 5. Philo's elaboration of the Decalogue in *Spec. Leg.* 2. 224 interprets the third commandment (against invoking the Divine Name in vain) as a prohibition of perjury: *τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψευδορκεῖν ἢ συνόλως μάτην ὀμνύναι* ('[the prohibition] concerning perjury or vain oath-taking in general'). For parallels in Theognis, Hesiod, and Menander, see P. W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: With Introduction and Commentary*, SVTP 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 123.

[24] Jefford, *Sayings of Jesus*, 57–8.

[25] W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 237–8, points to a similar prohibition of angry speech in 1QS 6. 25–7, which, however, is not framed as an elaboration of the Torah.

[26] *Did.* 3. 2: *μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον, μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται.*

Lord to you', but then shifts to an exhortation to 'remember the day of judgment, day and night, and seek each day the face of the saints' (19. 9b–10a), the TW offers a more sustained exhortation on the honouring of teachers and the pursuit of their words in a communal context:

τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῇς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνευεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ.*

My child, remember day and night the one who speaks the word of God to you, honouring him as the Lord. For wherever the Lord's nature is spoken of, there the Lord is. Then seek daily the face of the saints so that you might find rest in their words. Do not create schisms, but reconcile those who strive; judge with righteousness, not showing favouritism in reproving transgressions. Do not be of two minds, whether it shall be so or not. (*Did.* 4. 1–4)

The focus of James's and Matthew's discourse on teaching and teachers is not so much an exhortation to attend to teachers as warnings to teachers. Whereas the *Didache*'s admonitions appear to be aimed at the congregation generally, Matt. 18. 1–35 has in view those in roles of leadership, presumably teachers. Nevertheless, the two display a common interest in reconciliation and reproof in a communal context (cf. also *Did.* 4. 14). And the TW's justification of the role of teachers by invoking the Divine Presence resembles Matthew's strategy for justifying the community's role in the forgiveness of sins (Matt. 18. 20).[27]

Though the TW does not betray much anxiety about the dangers of teaching, both Matthew and James do. James warns that teachers are judged by more stringent standards (3. 1), proposing a behavioural test based on the way of life (*ἀναστροφή*) of those claiming to be wise (3. 13–18). Such concerns are even more pronounced in Matthew, who is anxious to

[27] Compare *m. 'Abot* 3. 6: 'R. Halafta of Kefar Hanania said: [When there are] ten sitting together and occupying themselves with Torah, the Shekinah rests among them, as it is said: "God stands in the congregation of God" [Ps. 82. 1]. And whence [do we infer that the same applies] even [when there are] five? [From] that which is said: "And he founded his band upon the earth" [Amos 9. 6]. And whence [do we infer that the same applies] even [when there are three?] [From] that which is said: "In the midst of the judges he judges" [Ps. 82. 1]. And whence [do we infer that the same applies] even [where there are] two? [From] that which is said: "Then they who fear the Lord spoke one with another, and the Lord listened and heard" [Mal. 3. 16]. And whence [do we infer that the same same applies] even [when there is] one? [From] that which is said: "In every place where I cause my name to be mentioned I will come unto thee and bless you" [Exod. 20. 21].'

warn teachers of the dangers of teaching that is contrary to the Torah (5. 19–20). And Matthew, of course, also proposes a similar behavioural test for teachers (7. 15–20).[28]

2. PARTIALITY AND *DYPSYCHIA*

A second set of convergences, at least between the TW and James, has to do with partiality towards the rich and powerful and concern over ambivalence (*dipsychia*). In the TW the topic of partiality appears twice, once in 4. 3b–4, where the author counsels against partiality in judgement as this pertains to reproof of fellow members,[29] and a second time in 5. 2. The appearance of the Septuagintalism[30] *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν* (4. 3) in the context of an exhortation concerning reproof (*ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν*) strongly suggests that the Holiness Code (Lev. 19. 15–17) is the intertext here.[31] The same conclusion suggests itself when it comes to *Did.* 5. 2 and its list of vices, which concludes by condemning those who are merciless to the poor, exploit labourers, turn away the needy, serve as advocates for the rich, and are 'lawless judges of the poor (*πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί*)' (cf. Lev. 19. 10–15).[32]

Although James does not raise the issue of partiality in the context of communal reproof, he too is concerned with partiality (*προσωποληµψία*) in Jas. 2. 1–13. That the Holiness Code is in view is clear from the fact that

[28] See also Matt. 12. 31–7, which makes speech (blasphemy) a criterion of judgement (12. 36–7), since speech flows from the heart. Matthew's appeal to the relation of trees to fruit (12. 34–5) can be compared to James's similar argument in 3. 9–12.

[29] Again there is a partial parallel in *Barn.* 19. 4, but *Barnabas*'s exhortation (*οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι*) appears in a rather rambling and disorganized list of prohibitions.

[30] Cf. Lev. 19. 15: *οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον πτωχοῦ οὐδὲ θαυμάσεις πρόσωπον δυνάστου*; 1 Esd. 4. 39: *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν παρ αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα*; Mal. 1. 8: *εἰ προσδέξεται αὐτό εἰ λήμψεται πρόσωπόν σου*; 2. 9: *ἐλαμβάνετε πρόσωπα ἐν νόμῳ*; Job 42. 8: *εἰ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λήμψομαι*; Ps. 81. 2: *ἕως πότε κρίνετε ἀδικίαν καὶ πρόσωπα ἁμαρτωλῶν λαμβάνετε διάψαλμα*; Sir 4. 22: *μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σου*; 4. 27: *καὶ μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον δυνάστου*; 35. 13: *οὐ λήμψεται πρόσωπον ἐπὶ πτωχοῦ καὶ δέησιν*; 42. 1: *καὶ μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν*.

[31] Lev. 19. 17: *οὐ μισήσεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου τῇ διανοίᾳ σου ἐλεγμῷ ἐλέγξεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ οὐ λήμψῃ δι αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίαν*. Cf. also *Did.* 2. 7 (*οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις*).

[32] Cf. Lev. 19. 10–15: *καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνά σου οὐκ ἐπανατρυγήσεις οὐδὲ τοὺς ῥῶγας τοῦ ἀμπελῶνός σου συλλέξεις : τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ καταλείψεις αὐτά . . .*.[13] *οὐκ ἀδικήσεις τὸν πλησίον καὶ οὐχ ἁρπάσεις, καὶ οὐ μὴ κοιμηθήσεται ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ μισθωτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἕως πρωί . . .*.[15] *οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει : οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον πτωχοῦ οὐδὲ θαυμάσεις πρόσωπον δυνάστου, ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖς τὸν πλησίον σου.*

James cites Lev. 19. 18 (Jas. 2. 8) and alludes to Lev. 19. 15 (Jas. 2. 1, 9),[33] and that he invokes the *topos* of the powerful oppressing the poor with the co-operation of the courts (Jas. 2. 6; cf. Lev. 19. 15). According to James, those who defer to the rich and ignore the poor are *κριταὶ διαλογισμῶν πονηρῶν* (Jas. 2. 4), apparently not too different from the *Didache*'s *πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί*.

The use of *δίψυχος* and *διψυχεῖν* by James and the TW is also of great interest, especially if the thesis of Stanley Porter can be sustained, that James coined the term.[34] James uses the adjective twice, and, as Porter shows, there are differences in connotation. At Jas. 1. 8 (*ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ*) James's focus is on the practical and subjective issue of those who 'may be divided in their belief about God's faithfulness to answer a prayer for wisdom'.[35] At Jas. 4. 8. (*καθαρίσατε χεῖρας, ἁμαρτωλοί, καὶ ἁγνίσατε καρδίας, δίψυχοι*) the issue has to do with objective divisions among the addressees, where James is concerned with those who display loyalties to values or institutions outside the group—which he lumps together under the rubrics of the world and the devil (4. 4, 7).

The appearance of *διψυχεῖν* in *Barn.* 19. 5 (*οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ*) and *Did.* 4. 4 (*οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ*) in virtually the same phrase indicates that this admonition belongs to the TW tradition used by both the *Didache* and *Barnabas*. Although Porter treats both as second-century CE documents, and therefore (presumably) later than James, this is unlikely.[36] The final redactions of *Barnabas* and the *Didache* may indeed belong to the second century, but the TW document is now generally regarded as earlier. The agreement between *Barnabas* and the *Didache* in their use of *διψυχεῖν* suggests that this detail in fact belongs to the earliest strata of the TW tradition. Hence it is doubtful that James provides the first attestation of

[33] Cf. also Ps.-Phocylides 10–11: *μὴ ῥίψῃς πενίην ἀδίκως, μὴ κρῖνε πρόσωπον· ἢν σὺ κακῶς δικάσῃς, σὲ θεὸς μετέπειτα δικάσσει* ('Cast not the poor down unjustly, nor judge with partiality [Lev. 19. 15]. If you judge evilly, God will judge you thereafter').

[34] S. E. Porter, 'Is *Dipsuchos* (James 1,8; 4,8) a "Christian" Word?', *Bib* 71 (1991), 469–98, argues that James provides the earliest attestation of *δίψυχος* (1. 8; 4. 8) and suggests that James may have coined the term (p. 498). He does allow that James's usage might depend on *Did.* 4. 4 or *1 Clem.* 11. 2; 23. 3, but even in this case it stands that '*δίψυχος* is a Christian word' (p. 497). Sophie Laws argued earlier that the term was a local Roman term on the basis of its use in James, *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, and *Hermas* (S. S. C. Marshall, '*Δίψυχος*: A Local Term?', *SE* 6 (1973), 348–51; Laws, *James*, 60–1).

[35] Porter, '*Dipsuchos*', 484. Cf. *1 Clem.* 11. 2, which uses the adjectives in relation to Lot's wife, who is said to have changed her mind and was punished for this vacillation: 'she became a pillar of salt until this day, to make known to all that those who are double-minded (*δίψυχοι*) and have doubts (*διστάζοντες*) concerning the power of God incur judgment and become a warning to all generations'. Similarly, *2 Clem.* 19. 2, where *διψυχία* is paired with *ἀπιστία*.

[36] Porter, '*Dipsuchos*', 487.

the term.[37] The conjunction of James and the TW in using the same (probably newly coined) term nevertheless points to a common linguistic environment.

The precise connotation of *διψυχεῖν* in *Barn.* 19. 5 is difficult to determine, because it appears in a string of rather miscellaneous injunctions, sandwiched between admonitions not to bear malice towards one's fellows and not to use the divine name in vain. The use of *ἔσται* suggests that the ambivalence in question has something to do with expectations about the future, but this interpretation does not cohere with the immediate context, which concerns behaviour in the present, rather than attitudes or beliefs about the future. In the *Didache*'s TW, however, what was a rather miscellaneous set of admonitions in *Barnabas* has been reframed as a set of sayings which have to do with the inner cohesion of the group: the recognition of the authority of teachers, the importance of group solidarity, the dangers of schism, and high value placed on reconciliation. Reproof of members is an important value, but reproof must not be equivocal or display partiality:

> [3] *οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.* [4] *οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ.* (*Did.* 4. 3–4)

As argued above, the idiom *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν* recalls the prohibition of judicial partiality in the Holiness Code (Lev. 19. 15). Given this context, *διψυχεῖν* appears to connote equivocation and partiality when it comes to reproof, probably based on the fear of reproving one of higher social status.

Porter thinks that the vagaries in the usage of *διψυχεῖν* in *Barnabas* and the *Didache* are best explained if the TW is conflating the various senses attested in James.[38] But the TW's usage has nothing to do with ambivalence in prayer (cf. Jas. 1. 8). Nor does it converge with the usage in Jas. 4. 8, which concerns allegiances divided between the Jesus group and 'the world'. Rather than attesting semantic borrowing from James, the TW tradition as it is attested in *Barnabas* and revised in the *Didache* and Jas. 1. 8 and 4. 8 instances a certain fluidity and experimentation with a term newly coined in one sector of the Jesus movement. Later documents such as the *Shepherd* and the *Apostolic Constitutions* use the term with much greater consistency.[39]

The TW is, of course, concerned not only with ambivalent behaviour or attitudes (*διψυχία*), but *διγλωσσία*, *διγνώμων* (2. 5; above p. 198) and

[37] Whether the *δίψυχος* and its cognates are 'Christian' terms, as Porter avers, begs the question as to whether it is meaningful to distinguish 'Christian' from 'Jewish' in a (say) early to mid-first-century CE tradition or document.

[38] Porter, '*Dipsuchos*', 487.

[39] *1 Clem.* 23. 3; *2 Clem.* 11. 2, 5; and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 7. 11, apply the term *διψυχία* to doubts as to the veracity of oracles. Hermas's use in *Vis.* 2. 2. 4, 7; 3. 2. 2; 3. 3. 4; 3. 7. 1; 3. 10. 9; 3. 11.2; 4. 1. 4; 4. 2. 4, 6; *Man.* 5. 2. 1; 9. 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 10. 1. 1; 10. 2. 2, 4; 11. 1–2; 12. 4. 2; *Sim.* 6. 1. 2; 8. 7. 1–2; 8. 8. 3, 5; 8. 9. 4; 8. 10. 2; 8. 11. 3; 9. 18. 3; 9. 21. 1–2 is close to that of Jas. 1. 8

διπλοκαρδία (5. 1). This array of terms is probably rooted in the conceptual world of such literature as the *Testament of Asher* 1–2. *T. Ash.* 2. 2–3 uses διπρόσωπον rather than δίψυχος, and lays out the problem of ambivalence in some detail.

Two ways has God appointed for humanity and two dispositions (διαβούλια), two types of action (πράξεις), two courses (τόπους) and two ends (τέλη).... So, if the soul is inclined towards the good (θέλῃ ἐν καλῷ), each of its acts will be just, and even if it sins, it will immediately repent.... But if its disposition is towards what is evil, each of its acts will be evil. (*T. Ash.* 1. 3, 6, 8)[40]

T. Ash. 2 offers several examples of morally ambivalent situations—of someone who loves an evil-doer, of a thief who gives alms to the poor, and of an adulterer who observes *kashrut*. In each instance, the judgement is the same: τὸ ὅλον πονηρόν ἔστι (2. 2). The assumption of the *Testament of Asher* is that while such actions seemingly have two aspects (διπρόσωπον, 2. 2, 3, 7, 8), one evil and the other good, the fundamental unity of intention (διβούλιον, 1. 5) and the unity of God who gives the commandments (τόν ἐντολέα τοῦ νόμου κύριον, 2. 6) requires that seemingly ambiguous actions be judged as wholly evil.[41]

The TW's simple injunction οὐ διψυχεῖς becomes part of a sustained argument of James. James contrasts God's simplicity (ἁπλῶς) as a giver (1. 5) with the ambivalence of the 'unstable' person who 'is divided' (ὁ ... διακρινόμενος) in prayer, and compares the 'divided person' with the waves of the sea (1. 6). It is perhaps significant that James uses the same verb, διακρίνειν, when condemning the 'evil judges' of 2. 4 who are 'divided' (διεκρίθητε) in so far as they defer to the wealthy and dishonour the poor (2. 1–6). The partiality condemned by James in 2. 1–13 is for him related to the inability to act 'simply'—that is, in a manner that grasps the basic unity of moral law and the unity of the Lawgiver.[42] Indeed, this is exactly what James argues in 2. 8–11 (see below, p. 210), and what *T. Asher* had argued in regard to ambivalent behaviour.

It is worth observing again that what appears as a simple imperative in the TW is made the subject of sustained argument by either James or Matthew, or both. This is as true in the case of διψυχεῖν as it is in the case of the topics of

[40] Cf. the similar view expressed in *T. Jud.* 20. 1: ἐπίγνωτε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ὅτι δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης· καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως τοῦ νοός, οὗ ἐὰν κλῖναι.

[41] See the discussion of this point in H. C. Kee, 'The Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII as a Clue to Provenance', *NTS* 24 (1978), 259–70, on p. 266.

[42] I have argued elsewhere that James's description of God in 1. 5 as μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος already anticipates his argument against patronage in 2. 1–13. See J. S. Kloppenborg, 'Patronage Avoidance in the Epistle of James', *HTS* 55 (1999), 755–94, on pp. 768–70.

slander (above, p. 199), perjury (above, p. 201), and teaching and teachers (above, p. 202). What the TW enjoins in a single imperative is found in a more elaborated and articulated argument in James (slander, teaching, ambivalence) and Matthew (perjury, teaching).

3. LEV. 19. 18 AND THE ROLE OF THE TORAH

Both the TW and James elevate Lev. 19. 18 to a position of special prominence in their respective arguments.

a. The TW Document

The *Didache* deploys Lev. 19. 18 programmatically as the second of two principal commandments which preface the TW document: *πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν* (1. 2). That this positioning of Lev. 19. 18 at the head of the TW section is the result of deliberate redaction is clear from a comparison of the *Didache* and *Doctrina Apostolorum* with *Barn.* 18–20.

Like the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* (and hence, presumably, *β*), *Barnabas* prefaced his TW instruction with an elaboration of Deut. 6. 5 (*ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τόν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου*, 19. 2). To be sure, Barnabas quotes Lev. 19. 18, but it lies buried in the middle of a string of prohibitions that appear later in his list of commandments (19. 5).[43] By contrast, both the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* have moved Lev. 19. 18 to the head of the document, where it sits beside a version of Deut. 6. 5. Since a comparison of the *Doctrina* with *Did.* 1. 1–6. 1 indicates that the two represent parallel, rather than sequential, developments of the TW tradition, we must conclude that the promotion of Lev. 19. 18 in the structural hierarchy of the TW tradition is not the work of the framer of the *Didache*'s TW, but was already a characteristic of *β*, the *Vorlage* on which *Did.* 1. 1–6. 1 and the *Doctrina* are dependent.

The promotion of Lev. 19. 18 in the *β*-recension of the TW is part of a larger editorial strategy which included the assimilation of the prohibitions in *Did.* 2 / *Doctrina* 2 to those of the Decalogue. While *Barnabas*'s list of more

[43] Barn. 19. 5: *οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀνελεῖς. οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον κυρίου.*

than forty imperatives in *Barn.* 19 contains only adultery and covetousness from among the Ten Words,[44] the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* include the entire second register of the Decalogue: murder, adultery, theft (omitted by the *Doctrina*), covetousness, and false witness. Moreover, as Clayton Jefford has noted, the *sequence* of the *Didache*'s prohibitions also corresponds to that of the MT and Codex Alexandrinus of Exod. 20. 13–16 (and, we should add, Codex Alexandrinus of Deut. 5. 17–21).[45]

There are three other aspects of 'Torahizing' in the β-recension. The first is the TW's repetitive use of asyndetic future indicatives (*οὐ φονεύσεις*, *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, *οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις*, *οὐ πορνεύσεις*, *οὐ κλέψεις*, etc.), matching the characteristic syntactical form of Deut. 5. 17–21 / Exod. 20. 13–16 in LXX^{A}: *οὐ φονεύσεις*, *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, *οὐ κλέψεις*, etc. This contrasts with *Barnabas*'s more varied usage, which combines *οὐ* with the future indicative and *οὐ μή* with the subjunctive. Second, just as the β-recension assimilated 2. 2–7 to the Decalogue, so too has the Way of Death in 5. 1–2 been modified to include items of the Decalogue missing in *Barn.* 20. 1: *κλοπαί* / *furta*, and *ψευδομαρτυρίαι* / *falsa testimonia*. And the list of vices has been restructured so that elements corresponding to those of the Decalogue appear in six of the first ten positions on the list: *φόνοι*, *μοιχεῖαι*, *ἐπιθυμίαι*, *πορνεῖαι*, *κλοπαί*, *εἰδωλολατρίαι*, *μαγεῖαι*, *φαρμακίαι*, *φαρμακίαι*, *ἁρπαγαί*, and *ψευδομαρτυρίαι*.[46] By contrast, the overlap with the Decalogue is less noticeable in *Barnabas*, which has only *εἰδωλολατρεία* (in the first position), *μοιχεία* (in sixth position), and *φόνος* (in seventh position). Finally, as pointed out above, the interpolated *τέκνον* section in 3. 1–6 is constructed around five prohibitions of the Decalogue, and presents an argument according to which lesser vices are related by their inherent tendencies to the vices of the Decalogue. In these significant ways, then, the TW has been edited and restructured so as to make it clear that the ethical instruction of the TW flows from, and is grounded in, the Torah.

Given the Torahizing transformation of the TW document, the relocation of Lev. 19. 18 to the head of the list of imperatives is not at all surprising. For,

[44] *Barn.* 19. 4: *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*; 19. 6: *οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου.*

[45] Jefford, *Sayings of Jesus*, 55–6. The order of the first two prohibitions varies. The MT of both Exod. 20. 13–14 and Deut. 5. 17–18 placed murder before adultery, which agrees also with Codex A for Exod. 20. 13–14 and Deut. 5. 17–18, and with Matthew's sequence of verbs: *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, *οὐ κλέψεις*, *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις* (19. 18). The sequential agreement between *Did.* 2. 2–3 and the Decalogue is not perfect, however: the *Didache* uses the order *ψευδομαρτυρήσεις-ἐπιθυμήσεις*, while the MT / LXX^{A} have the reverse. Moreover, the *Doctrina* agrees with LXX^{B} against the *Didache* by placing *non moechaberis* (= *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*) before *non homocidium facies* (= *οὐ φονεύσεις*).

[46] The sequence of vices in the *Doctrina* displays greater variance from that of the *Didache* and the Decalogue: *moechationes* (2 in the *Didache*), *homicidia* (1), *falsa testimonia* (10), *fornicationes* (4), *desideria mala* (3), *magicae* (7), *medicamenta iniqua* (8), *furta* (9), *vanae superstitiones* (6).

as is well known, in Second Temple Judaism the command to love one's fellow, coupled with the injunction to love God, came to be treated as a summary of the two registers of the Decalogue. This pairing of the injunctions to love God and to love one's fellows can be seen in a number of documents of the Second Temple period.[47]

The promotion of Lev. 19. 18 to the head of the β-recension, by the *Didache* and the *Doctrina*, is appropriate in another respect. While the TW opens with ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, and while the τέκνον section and the Way of Death include warnings against εἰδωλολατρία (3. 4; 5. 1) and βλασφημία (3. 6), corresponding to the commands in the first register of the Decalogue against idolatry and misuse of the divine name, it is clear that the centre of gravity of β's interest is the second register, which is richly elaborated. Given this manifest interest in the 'philanthropic' side of the Decalogue, the use of Lev. 19. 18 as a κεφαλαῖον for the list is perfectly apt.

47 *T. Iss.* 5. 2: ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶτε κύριον καὶ τὸν πλησίον, πένητα καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἐλεᾶτε ('But love the Lord and your neighbour, show mercy to the poor and the weak'); *T. Iss.* 7. 1: τὸν κύριον ἠγάπησα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἰσχύι μου· ὁμοίως καὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἠγάπησα, ὡς τέκνα μου ('I loved the Lord with all my strength; likewise I loved every human as my own child'); *T. Dan.* 5. 3: ἀγάπατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ ('Love the Lord with all your life, and (love) each other with a true heart'); *T. Benj.* 3. 3: φοβεῖσθε κύριον, καὶ ἀγάπατε τὸν πλήσιον ('Fear the Lord, and love your neighbour'); Josephus, *Bell.* 2. 139 (of the Essenes): πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἅψασθαι τροφῆς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ὄμνυσι φρικώδεις, πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν ('Before touching the common food, they [candidates for the Essenes] must swear tremendous oaths, first to show piety towards the divinity, and then to observe just actions in respect to people') (cf. *Ant.* 15. 375); Philo, *Prob.* 83 (of the Essenes): παιδεύονται δὲ εὐσέβειαν . . . ὅροις καὶ κανόσι τριττοῖς χρώμενοι, τῷ τε φιλοθέῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ ('They are trained in piety . . . taking for their standard these three: love of God, love of virtue, and love of humankind'); Philo, *Spec.* 2. 63: ἔστι δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀμυθήτων λόγων καὶ δογμάτων δύο τὰ ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαια, τό τε πρὸς θεὸν δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὧν ἑκάτερον εἰς πολυσχιδεῖς ἰδέας καὶ πάσας ἐπαινετὰς τέμνεται ('Among the large number of particular truths and principles studied there [in synagogues], two main heads stand out high above the others: the (duty) toward God, (expressed) through piety and holiness, and the (duty) towards humans (expressed) through humanity and justice. Each of these is further subdivided into numerous ideas, all equally praiseworthy'; Mark 12. 29–31: πρώτη ἐστίν, ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστιν,[30] καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.[31] δευτέρα αὕτη, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. μείζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ('The first (command) is: "Hear Israel, the Lord your God is one, and you shall love the Lord your God with your entire heart and your entire life and your entire mind and your entire strength." This is the second (command): "You shall love your neighbour as yourself." No commandment is greater than these'). See K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament*, WMANT 40 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 99–136. According to P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 383, by the time of Sirach the Decalogue itself was viewed as divisible into two parts, the first pertaining to God and the second to one's 'neighbors' (see Sir. 17. 14).

b. James

James likewise promotes Lev. 19. 18 to the role of a *κεφαλαῖον* for the second register of the Decalogue. The text is given special prominence in the rhetorical organization of the argument against *προσωπολημψία* (2. 1–13):

8 *εἰ μέντοι νόμον τελεῖτε βασιλικὸν κατὰ τὴν γραφήν, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε·* 9 *εἰ δὲ προσωποληmπτεῖτε, ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζεσθε, ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὡς παραβάται.*

If indeed you fulfil the royal law, in accordance with the Scripture, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself', you do well. But if you act with partiality, you are committing sin, being convicted under the Law as a wrongdoer.

Two interpretive problems beset this text. First, scholars are divided over whether for James Lev. 19. 18 is the 'royal law' itself, such that fulfilling the love command amounts to fulfilling the entire Law[48] or whether it is a summary or epitome of the Law.[49] The latter view seems preferable, given the structure of James's argument in 2. 8–11. The *νόμος βασιλικός* of verse 8 is parallel to *ὅλος ὁ νόμος* in 2. 10, and both phrases are then elaborated with reference to individual commandments: Lev. 19. 18 in the case the 'royal Law', and the prohibitions of adultery and murder in the case of the 'entire Law'. Moreover, the structure of James's argument in 2. 8–11 is parallel to that in 2. 18–19. At 2. 8 James addresses the imaginary interlocutors who claim to be fulfilling the Law, summarized by Lev. 19. 18, congratulating them with *καλῶς*

[48] Laws, *James*, 107–10 argues that Jas. 2. 1–9 does not treat Lev. 19. 18 as one commandment among others; rather, the warning against partiality in Lev. 19. 15 (which is not even directly cited) is comprehended within Lev. 19. 18, which James dignifies with the honorific 'royal'. R. P. Martin, *James*, Word Biblical Commentary, 48 (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1988), 67–8, argues that Lev. 19. 18 is treated as a 'new law', the observance of which fulfils the entire will of God. Mussner, *Jakobusbrief*, 107: 'Den Wesensinhalt des "vollkommenen Gesetzes der Freiheit" sieht Jak sicher ausgesprochen in dem "königlichen Gesetz gemäß der Schrift: Du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben wie dich selbst," das auch Jesus dem Gebot der Gottesliebe gleichgeordnet hat.' Later, however, he says of 2. 8–10, 'im folgenden geht es nicht um das "Hauptgebot" und das Verhältnis der anderen Gebote zu ihm, sondern um die These, daß die Verletzung eines einzigen Gebotes eine unteilbare Totalverletzung des ganzen Gesetzes ist. . . . Darum scheint mit dem Ausdruck "königlichen Gesetz" nur gesagt zu sein, daß das Gebot von Lv 19,18 *königlichen Rang* under den anderen Geboten hat' (124, emphasis original).

[49] J. H. Ropes, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, ICC (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 198; Dibelius, *James*, 142; Davids, *Epistle of James*, 114; H. Frankemölle, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, ÖTKNT 17 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag-Haus; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1994), 402; L. T. Johnson, *The Letter of James: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 37A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1995), 230; C. Burchard, *Der Jakobusbrief*, HNT 15.1 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2000), 103–5; M. A. Jackson-McCabe, *Logos and Law in the Letter of James: The Law of Nature, the Law of Moses, and the Law of Freedom*, NovTSup 100 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 153; P. J. Hartin, *James*, Sacra Pagina, 14 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2003), 121.

ποιεῖτε. At 2. 19 the author addresses other imaginary interlocutors who affirm the monotheistic confession that heads the first register of the Decalogue, *εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός* (cf. Deut. 6. 4), again congratulating them with *καλῶς ποιεῖτε*. But in both instances, as the argument makes clear, the violation of *other commandments* subverts the claim to be Torah-observant. The structure of James's argument thus suggests that James treats Deut. 6. 4 and Lev. 19. 18 as summaries of the Torah, but rejects the notion that fulfilment of the two commandments, however important, amounts to fulfilling the whole Law.

The second question has to do with the logic of the argument in 2. 8–9. The majority view hold that the act of partiality in 2. 9 constitutes a violation of the Law because it violates the love command (Lev. 19. 18).[50] M. Jackson-McCabe has recently urged, cogently in my view, that the correspondence between 2. 8 (*εἰ μέντοι νόμον τελεῖτε βασιλ ικὸν* . . .) and 2. 10a (*ὅστις γὰρ ὅλον τὸν νόμον τηρήσῃ*), and between 2. 9 (*εἰ δὲ προσωπολημπτεῖτε, ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζεσθε, ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὡς παραβάται*) and 2. 10bc (*πταίσῃ δὲ ἐν ἑνί, γέγονεν πάντων ἔνοχος*) indicates that James is positing 'simultaneous rather than opposite conditions'.[51] That is, in spite of the summarizing functions that Deut. 6. 4–5 and Lev. 19. 18 have with respect to the rest of the Law, the violation of any of the other commandments—Lev. 19. 15 on partiality, or the prohibitions of murder or adultery—constitutes the agent as a lawbreaker and belies the claim to be Torah-observant.

In both the Two Ways and James, then, Lev. 19. 18 is treated as a *κεφαλαῖον* for the second register of the Decalogue, and the Law is also treated as an essential unity, since violation of one commandment compromises one's claim to be Torah-observant (James)[52] and lesser commandments not originally included in the Decalogue are related by their inherent *Tendenz* to those named in the Decalogue (*Didache*).

[50] Thus Mussner, *Jakobusbrief*, 124; Laws, *James*, 110; Davids, *Epistle of James*, 115; L. T. Johnson, *Letter of James*, 235–6; Burchard, *Jakobusbrief*, 105; W. H. Wachob, *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James*, SNTSMS 106 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95–6. Martin, *James*, 68, considers the possibility that James has Lev. 18. 15 in view, but adds: 'it may be that James also is speaking of the new law of 2. 8, since one cannot fulfill the "supreme law" and still discriminate against the poor'.

[51] Jackson-McCabe, *Logos and Law*, 170.

[52] Compare various *halakôt*: *t. Dem*. 2. 4–7: 'A proselyte who took upon himself all the obligations of the Torah and is suspected with regard to one of them—even with regard to all the Torah, behold he is deemed to be like an apostate Israelite.[5] An "*am ha-'aretz* who took upon himself all the obligations of the *haberut* except for one item—they do not accept him. A proselyte who took upon himself all the obligations of the Torah except for one item—they do not accept him. R. Yosé b. R. Judah says, "Even if it be a minor item from among the stipulations of the scribes" [2. 6–7 use the same formula for a priest and a Levite].' *b. Bek*. 30b ascribes the first opinion to R. Meir: 'R. Meir, as it has been taught: An "*am ha-'aretz* who accepted the obligations of a *haber* and who is suspected of ignoring one item is suspected of disregarding the whole Torah. But the Sages say: He is only suspected of ignoring that particular

c. Matthew

The importance of Lev. 19. 18 for Matthew is clear from his redaction of Mark 12. 29–31, where Matthew not only enumerates the commandments of Deut. 6. 4–5 and Lev. 19. 18 as *πρώτη … δευτέρα*, but also redactionally adds *ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται* (22. 40). The same attention to the Decalogue and Lev. 19. 18 is seen in Matthew's redaction of Mark 10. 17–22, where Matthew not only assimilates Mark's list of commandments to the second register of the Decalogue (omitting *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς*) and substituting *οὐ* with the future for Mark's subjunctives, but also adding *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν* (19. 19b).

There is no indication in Matthew that the Torah has been 'reduced' to Lev. 19. 18, any more than in James. On the contrary, Matt. 5. 17–20 makes clear that the Torah remains valid in its details,[53] and the logic of the 'antitheses' in 5. 21–48 take for granted that individual commandments remain in force.

d. Paul

The view of Lev. 19. 18 and of the Law developed in the TW, James, and Matthew is in stark contrast to that articulated by Paul in Gal. 5. 14 and Rom. 13. 8–10. Lev. 19. 18 is cited by Paul at Gal. 5. 13–15:

ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ

item'; *Sifra* Parashat Qedoshim 8. 5 agrees with *t. Dem.* 2. 5, but adds, following the statement of R. Yosé b. R. Judah, ' "… shall be to you as a native among you" [Lev. 19. 34], and you shall love him as yourself, just as it is said to Israel, "You will love your neighbour as yourself" [Lev 19. 18]'; *Sifre* Num. 112 to 15. 31: 'Whoever says, I will take upon me the whole Torah except for this one word, of him it is true, For he has despised the word of the Lord.' H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser (*The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, CRINT 3.5 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 164 n. 84) cite Mekhilta d'Rabbi Sim'on b. Yochai on Exod. 20. 14: "You might have thought that a person is not guilty unless he transgresses all these commandments; therefore does the Torah say: "You shall not murder, You shall not commit adultery, You shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness, you shall not covet" (Exod. 20. 13), in order to make one liable for each commandment separately. That being so, why does Deuteronomy join all these commandments together, saying, "You shall not murder *and* you shall not commit adultery *and*… covet." It is to teach us that they are all interrelated. When a person breaks one of them, he will end up by breaking them all.'

[53] See G. Barth, 'Matthew's Understanding of the Law', in G. Bornkamm *et al.*, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (ET Philadelphia: Westminster; London: SCM Press, 1963), 58–164, esp. pp. 64–73, 92–5; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew*, 3 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), i. 482, 492–3, 496; A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 124–64.

πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε.

For you were called to freedom, brothers; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for self-indulgence, but through love become slaves to one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in a single word, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'. If, however, you bite and devour one another, take care that you are not consumed by one another. (Gal. 5. 13–15)

Paul continues with a list of the 'works of the flesh and the works of the spirit' analogous to the *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge* of *Did.* 2. 2–7 and 5. 1–2:

φανερὰ δέ ἐστιν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς προεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἀγάπη, χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραΰτης, ἐγκράτεια· κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος.

Now the works of the flesh are plain: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like. I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against such there is no law. (Gal. 5. 19–23)

Although superficially it might seem that Paul is using Lev. 19. 18 as it is employed in Jas. 2. 8 or *Did.* 1. 2, there are profound differences. First, the list of vices Gal. 5. 19–21 shows no strong affinities with the Decalogue—only *εἰδωλολατρία* finds a counterpart in the Ten Words. More important is the difference in the argumentative context. In Gal. 5 Paul argues against the practice of circumcision on the basis of a claim that *τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε* (5. 1). The claim is remarkable for its use of *ζυγός* and for the assertion, articulated in Gal. 5. 3, that one who is circumcized *ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι.* The phrase *ζυγὸς δουλείας* in Gal. 5. 1 seems to be a deliberate and ironic use of 'yoke' as a metaphor for the commandments of the Torah.[54] What *Did.* 6. 2 considers as a yoke to be embraced, Paul treats as a

[54] See Sir. 51. 26: *τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδείαν*; Matt. 11. 29–30; Acts 15. 10: *νῦν οὖν τί πειράζετε τὸν θεὸν ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι*; *Did.* 6. 2: *εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ*; *Barn.* 2. 6: *ταῦτα οὖν κατήργησεν, ἵνα ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὤν, μὴ ἀνθρωποποίητον ἔχῃ τὴν προσφοράν*; *m. 'Abot* 3. 5: 'R. Nehunia B. Hakkanah said: Whoever takes upon himself the yoke of the Torah, they remove from him the yoke of government and the yoke of worldly concerns, and whoever breaks off from himself the yoke of the Torah, they place upon him the

yoke of bondage. At Gal. 5. 3 Paul shifts from irony to the recollection of a well-known *halakah*, according to which embracing the Torah entails embracing all of its individual commandments.[55] As commentators often observe, this *halakah* is also adduced in Jas. 2. 10. But Paul uses the *halakah contra sensum* by construing it in the light of the argument he had made at Gal. 3. 10. There, Jews stand under a curse if they do not 'do' (*ποιῆσαι*) *all* the Law (Deut. 27. 26). The implication of Gal. 5. 3, then, is that acceptance of circumcision ought to imply acceptance of the entire Torah, which in turn obligates the agent to full performance and places the agent under the curse of Deut. 27. 26. It is debated whether Paul believes the Law to be inherently unfulfillable,[56] or whether Paul's problem with the Law is that it manifestly rests not on faith but on performance (*ποιῆσαι*) and therefore cannot be the basis of salvation, even if one could achieve a perfect observance of the Torah.[57] The latter view seems to me to be preferable. This debate notwithstanding, it is clear that when in Gal. 5. 14 Paul declares that 'the whole law is fulfilled in a single word', citing Lev. 19. 18, this 'law' has undergone a *de facto* reduction, since circumcision, sabbath, and *kashrut* are no longer part of it.[58]

Although Paul's citation of Lev. 19. 18 in Rom. 13. 8–10 differs from that in Gal. 5. 14 in so far as it lacks the polemical context of Gal. 5 and in fact lists

yoke of government and the yoke of worldly concerns.' On 'yoke' as a metaphor for the Torah, see C. Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25–30*, JSNTSup 18 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987). On Gal. 5. 1 as an allusion to the yoke of the Torah, see H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 258.

55 P. J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakah in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*, CRINT 3. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 88–9, points out that Paul's use of *μαρτύρομαι* ('I testify') (5. 3) finds parallels in the Hebrew העיד ('testify'), which means to quote formally an oral tradition, usually a *halakah*: e.g., *m. 'Ed.* 1.3: 'But when two weavers from the dung gate which is in Jerusalem came and testified (והעידו) in the name of Shemaiah and Abtalion, "Three logs of drawn water render the miqweh unfit," the sages confirmed their statement' (see also 2. 1, 3).

56 See, e.g., H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 94–6.

57 E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 27–9.

58 So, in various ways, H. Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought: A Contribution to the Development of Pauline Theology*, SNTW (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984), 37: Gal. 5. 14 is described rightly as a reduction of the content of the Mosaic Law, 'but reduction means conscious abrogation of essential elements of the content of the Torah so that we can speak of the "whole" Law only in the critical and ironical way just described'; Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 101: Paul is engaged in a *de facto* reduction of the Law, but offers no theoretical basis for this reduction. Betz, *Galatians*, 260, speaks of rabbinic attempts 'to reduce the number of demands to their common denominator, in order to make it possible to keep the whole Torah', appealing to *b. Sabb.* 31a. But this seems to be a misreading of the text, which does not dispense with the commandments other than Lev. 19. 18, but instead construes them as pointing to Lev. 19. 18 as their epitome. Betz (*Galatians*, 275) argues that Paul distinguishes between 'doing' the Law and 'fulfilling' it: the Jew 'does' the works of the Torah; the Christian 'fulfils' the Torah through the act of love, to which he or she is freed by the acts of Christ. Thus the 'whole Law' (*ὁ πᾶς νόμος*) is here not the Law quantitatively with its 613 commandments.

four commandments from the Decalogue, it is none the less clear that Paul does not employ Lev. 19. 18 in the way James or the *Didache* did:

μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκεν. 9 *τὸ γὰρ οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, [ἐν τῷ] ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.* 10 *ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται· πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.*

Owe nothing to anyone except to love one another; for the one who loves another has fulfilled the Law. For 'you shall not commit adultery, you shall not murder, you shall not steal, you shall not covet' and if there is any other commandment, are summed up in one word, 'love your neighbour as yourself'. (Rom. 13. 8–10)

The citation of the four prohibitions from the Decalogue makes clear that Paul is here speaking of the Mosaic Torah. But since Paul almost immediately moves to dismiss *kashruth* in Rom. 14. 14, 20, it is equally clear that, just as in Gal. 5. 14, there is a reduction of the Torah rather than a summation.[59]

Where Jas. 2. 8–11 accepts the principle that one who is Torah-observant can claim to be so only if one is fully observant, on the principle of the indivisibility of the Torah and the unity of the Lawgiver, and whereas the TW holds the view that observation of *ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς* involves adherence to the Decalogue and to various prohibitions which are seen either to flow from those of the Decalogue (2. 2–7) or which might lead the agent to the transgressing of the Decalogue (3. 1–7), Paul argues *against* the embracing of circumcision as an element in the 'yoke' precisely because it obligates the agent to the full observance of the Torah. The Torah clearly does not provide the framework for salvation for Paul. At Gal. 6. 13 Paul accuses those who had been circumcised of being lawbreakers. The grounds for this accusation are unclear; but perhaps Paul is here employing a radicalized form of the logic of Gal. 5. 3 and Jas. 2. 10, that *any* transgression of the Torah by Jews or would-be Jews makes one guilty of breaking the whole Law.[60]

The comparison of James and the TW with Galatians shows that these documents engage a very similar issue with the same set of texts and arguments in mind, but from opposite perspectives. This *issue* has to do with the general framework for salvation. That the Torah as it is epitomized in the Decalogue and summarized by Lev. 19. 18 is conceived of as the framework for salvation is clear from the Two Ways' designation of its expanded

[59] Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought*, 85; Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 100–1.

[60] In this case Paul's use of the maxim would ignore the fact that the covenant provides means of expiation of sin. Sanders is right to point out that the force of halakic principles such as Gal. 5. 3 and Jas. 2. 10 is not that perfect obedience is required by the Law, but that full *acceptance* is required. See Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 28.

Decalogue as *ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς* (1. 1; 4. 12), from the 'Torahizing' of the Two Ways in 1. 2; 2. 2–7; 3. 1–6; and 5. 1–2, and from the Two Ways' allusions to the preface to the Deuteronomic Torah in its summation of the Way of Life (4. 13–14).[61]

In like manner, James seems to be thinking of the Torah when he refers to *νόμος τέλειος ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας* at 1. 25 and 2. 12 and *νόμος βασιλικός* at 2. 8. This is a controversial assertion, since such commentators as Mussner, Laws, and Martin hold that for James the 'royal law' is *restricted* to Lev. 19. 18, thus implying a dramatic reduction of the Law.[62] Other commentators argue that the qualifier 'of perfect freedom' implies that the 'law' in question lacks various portions of the Torah—normally the so-called ceremonial portions,[63] or conclude from James's concentration on Lev. 19. 18 as a summary of the Law and his silence concerning the 'ritual laws' that the full Mosaic Torah is no longer in view.[64]

[61] Cf. *Did.* 4. 13–14: *οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεὶς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν . . . αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς* with Deut. 4. 1–2: *καὶ νῦν, Ισραηλ, ἄκουε τῶν δικαιωμάτων καὶ τῶν κριμάτων, ὅσα ἐγὼ διδάσκω ὑμᾶς σήμερον ποιεῖν, ἵνα ζῆτε καὶ πολυπλασιασθῆτε καὶ εἰσελθόντες κληρονομήσητε τὴν γῆν,* [cf. *Did.* 3. 7] *ἣν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν δίδωσιν ὑμῖν.* [2] *οὐ προσθήσετε πρὸς τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· φυλάσσεσθε τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον.*

[62] Mussner (*Jakobusbrief*, 107) concludes 'daß es beim "vollkommenen Gesetz der Freiheit" weder nur um das alt. Gesetz (im jüdischen Verstande) noch nur um das "Evangelium" (im Sinn der Bergpredigt oder gar des Apostel Paulus) geht, sondern um den Willen Gottes, der sowohl nach atl. wie nach ntl. Ethik fordert, dem Nächsten Gutes zu tun. Das Gebot Gottes ise für Jak eines'; similarly, Martin, *James*, 51. Laws (*Epistle of James*, 14) argues that 'Law' in James is limited to Lev. 19. 18 and the Decalogue, and does not include the ceremonial law; she later contends that while James cites Lev. 19. 18 as the 'royal law', 'it is not a governing principle, but rather one commandment which has, however, a certain primacy of importance' (p. 28).

[63] E.g., Dibelius, *James*, 18, asserts that 'the expression "law of freedom" (1. 25 and 2. 12) is also a clear indication the author does not have the Mosaic Law in mind at all'; pp. 119–20: 'that Ja[me]s completely ignores the question of the Law—it is not even dealt with in 2:14ff.—, that he pays no attention to even the possibility of ritual commandments, can be explained only if this law is actually perceived as the perfect moral law; in other words—to use Stoic terms—, if it is perceived as a law of those who are truly free, or—to use the expression of our letter—as a "perfect law of freedom." ' Dibelius (p. 119) makes much of the fact that James is not concerned with 'ritualism', and concludes from this that James, along with *Did.* 1–6 and *Barn.* 18–21, exemplifies a form of Christianity which took its lead from a Hellenistic Jewish 'tendency toward simplifying and concentrating the requirements of the Law' and eventually eliminating 'the burden of ritualism'. See also M. Tsuji, *Glaube zwischen Vollkommenheit und Verweltlichung: Eine Untersuchung zur literarischen Gestalt und zur inhaltlichen Koharenz des Jakobusbriefes*, WUNT 2.93 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997), 110–15.

[64] According to R. Hoppe, *Jakobusbrief*, Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar. Neues Testament, n.s. 15 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1989), 47, early Christianity did not regard the obligation to fulfil the law as meritorious ('Verdienstlichkeit'), and 'der Jak kommt deshalb nicht auf dem Gedanken, dem Gesetz heilbedeutsame Kraft zuzusprechen; dies ist allein die Sache Gottes (4,11f.). . . . Jakobus versteht das Gesetz nicht als Ritualgesetz palästinischer Denkart, sondern als das Liebesgebot, das wir auch aus der synoptischen Tradition kennen und das als die Zusammenfassung des ganzen Gesetzes gilt . . . und das zusammengebunden ist mit dem Gebot

While it is precarious to draw strong inferences from silence, it seems to me a defensible view that James continues to embrace the Torah in its fullest form and regards it as the framework for salvation. First, it has already been argued above (p. 210) that the 'royal law' of 2. 8 is not simply Lev. 19. 18, but the Torah as epitomized by Lev. 19. 18. This conclusion is supported by Jackson-McCabe's observation that the argument of 2. 1–13 against partiality presupposes that the author has in view the *written text* of Lev. 19, where the prohibition of partiality (19. 15) stands beside the love command (19. 18), and the text of the LXX^{B} Decalogue where the prohibition of murder immediately follows the prohibition of adultery (cf. Jas. 2. 11).[65] Second, as Ropes pointed out, the description of the Law as 'perfect' or 'of freedom' hardly implies a reduction: Ps. 19. 7 calls the Torah 'perfect'; Philo contrasts the Torah with other law codes described as *ὡς οὐκ ἐλευθέροις ἀλλὰ δούλοις* (*Moses* 2. 9); and *m. 'Abot* 6. 2[66] declares that the truly free person is one who devotes himself to the study of Torah.[67] James's characterization of the law as 'the law of perfect freedom' may well be an answer to Paul's reference to the 'yoke of slavery'. It can be added that Philo contrasts the 'slaves' who lived under the domination of the passions with 'the free' who lived by the Law.[68]

der Gottesliebe (vgl. Jak 2, 5–7).' L. T. Johnson, *Letter of James*, 30, notes the influence of Lev. 19 on James, but concludes that 'whatever James means by *nomos*, it cannot be connected with any recognizable program for Jewish ethnic identity, still less any "Judaising" tendency in early Christianity'. Commenting on the lack of mention of circumcision, purity, food, marriage, sabbath, and festival-day commands, Burchard (*Jakobusbrief*, 89) suggests that 'vieles davon seinen Adressaten beschwerlich gewesen sein muß; also galt es nicht, weil er davon schweigt', admitting that this conclusion is not entirely secure.

65 Jackson-McCabe, *Logos and Law*, 176.

66 *m. 'Abot* 6. 2: 'R. Joshua B. Levi said: Every day a *Bath Qol* goes forth from Mount Horeb, and makes proclamation and says: "Woe unto men on account of [their] contempt towards the Torah", for whoever occupies himself not with the Torah is called: "[The] rebuked [one]", as it is said, "As a ring of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman that turns away from discretion" [Prov. 11. 22], and it says, "and the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven (. . .) upon the tables' [Exod. 32. 16]. Do not read *harut* (הָרוּת) [graven] but *herut* (הֵרוּת) [freedom]. For there is no free man for you but he that occupies himself with the study of Torah.'

67 Ropes, *James*, 178: 'These references show that there is no ground for the common affirmation that this phrase ["law of freedom"] implies a sublimated, spiritualized view of the Jewish law, which, it is said, would have been impossible for a faithful Jew. . . . It is also evident that the words *τέλειον* and *τῆς ἐλευθερίας* are not introduced in order thereby to mark the law which James has in mind as distinguished from, and superior to, the Jewish law.' Ropes nevertheless argues that James conceives of the Torah as an old law to be fulfilled along with 'Christianity as a new law'. But not only is there no basis for a distinction in James between an 'old' and a 'new' law, but there is no basis for a distinction between 'Judaism' and 'Christianity'.

68 *Prob.* 45–6: *τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρ' οἷς μὲν ὀργὴ ἢ ἐπιθυμία ἤ τι ἄλλο πάθος ἢ καὶ ἐπίβουλος κακία δυναστεύει, πάντως εἰσὶ δοῦλοι, ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ νόμου ζῶσιν, ἐλεύθεροι* ('people, among whom anger or lust or some other passion or treacherous evil hold power, are in all respects slaves, but as many as live by the Law are free').

Philo, of course, rejects neither circumcision nor *kashrut* nor purity laws, even if his principal focus was the Law as a means of moral transformation. Finally, that the Torah is in view is suggested by the fact that in his exhortation on slander in 4. 11–12 James alludes to Lev. 19. 15–16, arguing that slander strikes at both the Law and the Lawgiver. In brief, all of James's references to *νόμος* are consistent with the supposition that he has the Torah in view, and at 2. 8–11 and 4. 11–12 he cites specific commandments of the Decalogue and the Holiness Code as part of the Law.[69]

The *halakic principle* that in James has been employed to guard against a reductive attitude toward the Torah is also used by Paul to dissuade full acceptance of the Torah and its commandments. Both James and the Two Ways document understand Lev. 19. 18 as a summary of the Torah, but 'summary' that does not imply a reduction; Paul, by contrast, cites Lev. 19. 18 as 'summing up' the Law, but his argument indicates that he has a dramatic reduction in view. Although Matthew does not employ the same halakic principle as Jas. 2. 10, the logic of Matt. 5. 19 (and 23. 23) leads to the same conclusion: the Law is a unity such that neither the 'light' nor the 'heavy' commandments can be ignored.[70]

[69] R. J. Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James, Disciple of Jesus the Sage* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 142–7 argues that in Jas. 2. 8–12 'James can hardly be speaking of anything other than the whole law of Moses' (p. 142). This Law is 'understood as the law of the rule of God over his Messianically renewed people', and is transformed by 'internalization'—God's inward renewal—, 'concentration'—the content of the Law is understood through the lens of Lev. 19. 18—, and 'intensification'—the Law is interpreted via Jesus' teaching on specific commandments (e.g., Jas. 5. 12) (p. 147). R. W. Wall (*The Community of the Wise* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997), 86–8) likewise takes 'law' in James to refer to the whole of the biblical Torah. 'The status of law in Jacobean Christianity is different [from that in Pauline Christianity], since divine approval (2. 8) and judgment (2. 12–13) are conditioned upon observance of the law' (p. 87). Nevertheless, Wall avers that, like 'Jesus and other Jewish contemporaries who reduced the extensive rules of right conduct and ritual purity to a few principles, James defines the Torah's moral code in terms of the Decalogue and the "royal law" of neighborly love (2. 8)'. 'Clearly James does not take "whole law" literally, as a reference to the 600+ laws that make up the Torah's legal code' (p. 315). Hartin (*James*, 111–15) holds that the 'perfect law of liberty' in James is the 'biblical Torah'. Hartin notes that James pays no attention to the 'ceremonial law', but refrains from concluding that this implies that James does not treat these provisions as part of the Law. Davids (*Epistle of James*, 48–50) observes that while James is interested primarily in ethical commandments, other aspects of the Torah (circumcision, etc.) may or may not have been practised. Nevertheless, Davids insists on introducing a notion of the 'new law', constituted by Jesus' words (p. 50).

[70] Cf. *m. 'Abot* 2. 2: 'And be careful with a light precept as with a heavy one, for you do not know the grant of reward [for the fulfilment] of precepts' [cf. *b. Ned.* 39b]; 4. 2: 'Ben "Azzai said: Run to [perform] a light precept, as [you would] in [the case of] a heavy one, and flee from transgression; for [one] precept draws [in its train another] precept, and [one] transgression draws [in its train another] transgression.'

e. Barnabas

The apogee of the Pauline trajectory can be seen in *Barnabas*, which begins by arguing that the covenant cannot belong to both Jews and Christians, pointing to Moses' breaking of the tablets of the Law in reaction to idolatry (4. 6–7). In *Barn.* 9 the author declares that circumcision, in which the Jews trusted, 'has been abolished' and was in fact at the instigation of an evil angel (9. 4). Although the use of *καταργεῖν* might suggest that Barnabas is implying that circumcision was once valid, he immediately points out that it is irrelevant, since Syrians, Arabs, and pagan priests are also circumcised (9. 7). Instead, the true significance of circumcision (ch. 9) and *kashruth* (ch. 10) is moralizing.[71]

It is, then, not surprising that when Barnabas reproduces the Two Ways teaching in chapters 19–21, Lev. 19. 18, though present in a slightly modified form (19. 5), is in no way raised to the status of a *κεφαλαῖον* of the Decalogue, as it is in the *Didache*'s TW document. In fact, the Decalogue is hardly recognizable in Barnabas's string of imperatives in chapter 19.

CONCLUSION

The argument of this paper has been that the Two Ways document of the *Didache* displays significant convergences with other documents representative of the Torah-observant Jesus movement: namely, James and Matthew. Comparison of the Two Ways section of *Barnabas* with that in the *Didache* allows us to track some of the redactional transformations that contributed to the final form of the TW, just as comparison of Matthew with Mark allows us to notice Matthew's distinctive contributions.

In all three documents, the TW, James, and Matthew, the Decalogue is given special prominence, and Lev. 19. 18 is featured as a *κεφαλαῖον* of the second register of the Decalogue. Other commandments from the Holiness Code figure as important intertexts for both the TW and James. Further, we find various convergences in discussions of teaching and the role of teachers (TW, James, Matthew), oath-taking (James, Matthew), communal confes-

[71] Cf. *Barnabas*'s typological interpretation of the scapegoat (ch. 7) and red heifer (ch. 8). See Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 220: 'Barn thus consistently reduces the God-given law to a moral law. The moral law remains in force, as is shown by the detailed description of the "way of light" in ch. 19.... The Jewish Law is divided into two parts; of these one is a Jewish misunderstanding, the other is divine and valid.'

sion (TW, James), slander (TW, James), *dipsychia* (TW, James), and partiality (TW, James), and in each of these documents there is a pronounced tendency to 'Torahize' lesser commandments such as the prohibitions of perjury or slander by associating them directly with the Decalogue or the Holiness Code.

In several instances it was possible to observe that simple imperatives found in the TW, on perjury, slander, teaching, partiality, and ambivalence were subject to detailed elaboration and argument in either James or Matthew (or both):

2. 3 *οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις*	Matt. 5. 33–7; Jas. 5. 12
2. 3 *οὐ κακολογήσεις*	Jas. 4. 11–12
4. 1 *τοῦ λαλοῦντος σοι τὸν λόγον . . . μνησθήσῃ*	Matt. 18. 1–35; Jas. 3. 1–12
4. 3 *οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον*	Jas. 2. 1–13
4. 4 *οὐ διψύχεις*	Jas. 1. 5–8; 4. 1–8

This could imply either that the TW tradition as it is embodied in the *Didache* served as a basis for elaboration, much as gnomic sentences and chriae serve as the starting-point for rhetorical elaboration in Greek education,[72] or the TW might represent a condensation of the moralizing traditions found in James and Matthew. The former seems more likely, given the fact that the TW does not betray knowledge of any of the specific developments of the latter two (e.g., the prohibition of oath-taking). In either case, however, the convergences of these three documents in *topoi* and in argumentative assumptions suggest that the three come from a common intellectual milieu.

It is of course true that the TW underwent redaction through the addition of *Did.* 6. 2–3. It is disputed what this addition signifies. Niederwimmer, following Rordorf and Tuilier, argues that *ὅλος ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ κυρίου* now relates to the law of Christ as laid out in the sayings of Jesus interpolated by the redactor into the TW.[73] If this is so, it would imply that the rigorism of the earlier TW has been relaxed. More likely, in my view, is the contention of Draper and others that 6. 2–3 calls on Gentiles to observe the entire Torah; that is, it imagines two levels of observance, an absolute minimum that includes the avoidance of idol-meat and an ideal level that embraces the Torah.[74] In this case the *Didache* continues to represent a markedly different

[72] See G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

[73] Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 122–3. Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 32–3, had argued that 6. 2–3 was an original part of the Jewish TW, but that, as it stands, refers to 1. 3–2. 1.

[74] J. A. Draper, 'Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the *Didache* Community', *NovT* 33 (1991), 347–72; *idem*, 'A Continuing Enigma: The "Yoke of the Lord" in *Didache* 6: 2–3 and Early Jewish–Christian Relations', in P. J. Tomson and D. Lambers-Petry (eds.), *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature*, WUNT 158 (Tübingen: Mohr

pole in the Jesus movement than that represented by Paul and post-Pauline developments, which ignored the restrictions on idol-meat and advocated practices of table-fellowship and views of the Torah that effectively excluded Jewish Christians from participation.

Siebeck, 2003), 106–23, on p. 113; C. N. Jefford, 'Tradition and Witness in Antioch: Acts 15 and Didache 6', in E. V. McKnight (ed.), *Perspectives on Contemporary New Testament Questions: Essays in Honour of T. C. Smith* (Lewiston, Me.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 408–19; D. Flusser, 'Paul's Jewish-Christian Opponents in the Didache', in S. Shaked (ed.), *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions, Dedicated to R. J. Zwi Werblowsky*, Studies in the History of Religions, Supplements to Numen 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 71–90; repr. in Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, 195–211; Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE*, JSNTSup 244 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2003), 83–91.

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First-fruits and the Support of Prophets, Teachers, and the Poor in *Didache* 13 in Relation to New Testament Parallels

Jonathan A. Draper

1. INTRODUCTION

Few today would pronounce with as much confidence as Adolf Harnack, in his pioneering commentary *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*,[1] on the saying found twice in slightly different forms in *Did.* 13. 1–2, 'The labourer is worthy of his food': 'Der Verfasser fusst auch hier auf einem Herrnwort in der Fassung des Matthäus.' For one thing, scholarly opinions on the dependence of the *Didache* on Matthew's Gospel remain deeply divided,[2] and therefore an opinion on a particular logion will partly depend on one's judgement on the situation as a whole. For another, the possibility that individual logia set by the evangelists on the lips of Jesus may have originated from more general Jewish tradition is more widely accepted. So, on this saying, Rudolf Bultmann remarks that it is 'evidently a proverb which has been turned to use by the Church for the instructional material it provided'.[3] It is indeed a saying which is found not only in Q (Matt. 10. 10 = Luke 10. 7) but also in 1 Tim. 5. 18, and it probably also underlies the argumentation of Paul in 1 Cor. 9. 1–18 as well as the *Gospel of Thomas*, 88. In such a case, it seems that the balance of the evidence must favour caution, so that Helmut Köster's conclusion is probably right in this case: 'Ergebnis der zu Did. 13,1f gemachten Erwägung ist, dass hier ein Maschal verwendet wird, das schon früh als Herrenwort in der freien Überlieferung bekannt war. Da in der Did. jede Zitationsformel an dieser

[1] A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*, TU 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs' sche Buchhandlung, 1884), 50.

[2] See, e.g., C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*', in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 92–128, *contra* J. A. Draper, ' The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 72–91.

[3] R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (ET Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 103.

Stelle fehlt, ist es noch nicht einmal sicher, ob sie diesen Maschal als Herrenwort überkommen hatte oder nur also profanes Sprichwort.'[4] To this must be added the overwhelming evidence provided by Peter Tomson that this proverbial saying is rooted in Jewish *halakah*.[5]

I do not, therefore, intend in this paper to reopen the question of the dependence of the *Didache* on Matthew, which I have already opposed on numerous occasions.[6] In almost every instance where the *Didache* shows direct points of contact with the gospel tradition, it is with Q. It never occurs in an identical form to either Matthew or Luke, sometimes closer to one, sometimes to the other, though usually closest to Matthew. An exception is the eucharistic prayer, where traditions found also in the Johannine corpus surface.[7] It simply seems inconceivable that the Didachist could have known the extant gospels Matthew and/or Luke, yet used only the Q material in them, never the Marcan material.[8] I would go further. One of the consequences of the formation of the Christian canon is that the question is usually posed in the fashion, 'Is an early Christian writing dependent on the New Testament?' The question is rarely asked the other way round. In the case of a writing such as the *Didache*, this raises important issues. Most scholars today concur that its final form should be dated no later than the end of the first century or perhaps the beginning of the second century CE. Many, myself included, would date it much earlier.[9] Even if we were to accept the later end of the scale, most scholars would also agree that it contains much material that must be dated considerably earlier than its final form.[10] The same kind of

[4] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Väter*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 213.

[5] P. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakah in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*, CRINT 3.1 (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 122–31.

[6] Most recently J. A. Draper, 'A Continuing Enigma: The "Yoke of the Lord" in *Didache* 6:2–3 and Early Jewish–Christian Relations', in P. J. Tomson and D. Lambers-Petry (eds.), *The Image of Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature*, WUNT 158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 106–23; *idem*, 'Does the (Final) Version of the Didache and Matthew Reflect an "Irrevocable Parting of the Ways" with Judaism', in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *The Didache and Matthew: Two Documents from the same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen: van Gorcum Press, 2005), 217–41.

[7] J. Betz, 'The Eucharist in the *Didache*', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 244–75.

[8] Cf. J. S. Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16:6–8 and Special Matthean Tradition', *ZNW* 70 (1979), 54–67, for a similar argument.

[9] Most recently A. Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 C.E.* (New York and Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press, 2003); M. Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE*, JSNTSup 244 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2003), 54–116; A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the* Didache, JSNTSup 254 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2004).

[10] E.g., Enrico Mazza argues that Paul knows and is influenced by the eucharistic prayers prior to 1 Corinthians (i.e., prior to 50–2 CE): E. Mazza, '*Didache* 9–10: Elements of a Eucharistic

inconclusive result comes with regard to the dating of Matthew itself: while a few argue for a date as early as 80 CE, rather more opt for the period 85–95 CE, and many, like Saldarini, play safe with 'the last two decades of the first century'.[11] Essentially, this places Matthew and the *Didache* in the same time frame, especially if one adopts the concept of the latter as 'evolving literature'.[12] Many place either or both of Matthew and the *Didache* in the same milieu as well: namely, Antioch.[13] The question of influence, then, could legitimately be posed the other way round, particularly if the *Didache* is a genuine community rule of such an important Christian community. In that case, those familiar with the practice of the community would be formatively influenced in their writing directly and indirectly by their community's rule. I have already argued the possibility of such a scenario.[14]

In the case of the 'first fruits' in *Did.* 13, the question I would ask is not, 'Is the *Didache* dependent on Matthew?' but, 'Is there an internal coherence and authenticity in the use of the logion in *Didache*, which might shed light on the origin of the use of the saying in the New Testament in general and in Matthew in particular?' Historically speaking, the Jesus tradition probably emerged in concrete settings in life prior to its incorporation in more systematic and theologically ordered works such as the gospels.

2. THE UNDERLYING STRUCTURE OF THE *DIDACHE* AS JEWISH-CHRISTIAN CATECHESIS

Despite the recent attempt of Aaron Milavec[15] in his massive new commentary on the *Didache* to see a seamless and intentional 'pastoral genius' behind the work, it seems clear that it is a many-layered text, which has been

Interpretation', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 276–99; also *idem*, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1999), 36–41.

11 A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4. For a summary of the evidence, see D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 33–40.

12 R. Kraft; *Barnabas and the Didache: The Apostolic Fathers, A New Translation and Commentary*, iii (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1965); S. Giet, 'Coutume, évolution, droit canon, à propos de deux passages de la "Didachè" ', *RDC* 16 (1966), 118–32.

13 See esp. the recent work of Slee, *Church in Antioch*.

14 J. A. Draper, 'Christian Self-Definition against the "Hypocrites" in *Didache* 8', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 223–43; also *idem*, 'Continuing Enigma'; and *idem*, 'Does the (Final) Version?'. See also the arguments for the late dating of Matthew *vis-à-vis* the *Didache* in P. Tomson, 'Halakhic Elements in Didache 8 and Matthew 6', H. van de Sandt (ed.), *Didache and Matthew*, 131–41; Slee, *Church in Antioch*, 118–55; Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*.

15 Milavec, *Didache*, pp. vii–xiii.

repeatedly redacted in the course of the evolution of the community which used it as a rule of life. On the other hand, there is a logic and coherence to the *Didache*, when it is taken seriously as an integral composition, however long the process took. At the heart of the work lies its orientation as 'teaching of the twelve apostles' towards 'the gentiles (*τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*)', as its (to my mind) original *titulum* has it. Its concerns and argumentation reveal it to be a Jewish-Christian work, designed to integrate Gentile converts into the Jewish-Christian community(ies) which were striving to remain faithful to the Torah.[16] These communities were under pressure particularly from the growing rabbinic ascendancy over Jewish people inside and outside Palestine (*Did.* 8) and from those Christian groups in the Pauline tradition which had abandoned the Torah (*Did.* 11. 1–2; 16. 1–4).

The Two Ways teaching of *Did.* 1–6 provides the basic catechesis for the Gentiles joining the community, based on halakic development of the ethical second table of the Ten Commandments and the so-called Noachic Covenant. Acceptance of this teaching and strict avoidance of *eidolothuton*, food offered to idols (6. 3), provided the minimum basis for a common life between Jewish and Gentile believers. However, this was only a minimum, and the hope or even expectation of the community was that converts would eventually take on themselves the 'whole yoke of the Lord' and become observant Jews (*Did.* 6. 2). The baptismal procedure, with its emphasis on grades of water (7. 1–3), and the initiatory meal, with its concern to exclude those who had not been baptized as unclean like dogs (9. 5; 10. 6; cf. 14. 1), which follows, shows a major concern with ritual purity.

Since the teaching is understood to be mediated by the apostles, it is no surprise that the instructions on initiation are followed by hospitality rules concerning apostles (11–12). In the nature of things, apostles are those sent on a particular mission by a particular person or community and carry the authority of that person or community, indeed stand in the place of that person or community: 'the *shaliach* is as the one who sent him/ her'.[17] Hence,

[16] This was the hypothesis defended in my doctoral dissertation (J. A. Draper, 'A Commentary on the Didache in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents', unpublished Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1983), and it has undergirded my research since. See esp. J. A. Draper, 'Ritual Process and Ritual Symbol in Didache 7–10', *VC* 54 (2000), 1–38. A similar thesis is developed by Slee, *Church in Antioch*, except that she envisages it as written in its entirety in mid-first-century Antioch to regularize the table-fellowship of Gentile Christians with Jewish Christians after the incident mentioned by Paul in Gal. 2. 11–14.

[17] See, e.g., *m. Ber.* 5. 5; *b. Ned.* 72b; *b. Kidd.* 41b; *b. Hag.* 10b; *b. Nazir.* 12b; *b. B.M.* 96a; *b. Men.* 93b; *Mekh. Ex.* 12. 4, 6. For a more detailed argument see J. A. Draper, 'Weber, Theissen and the Wandering Charismatics of the Didache', *JECS* 6 (1998), 541–76. It is important to bear in mind that Christian apostles might be both male and female, sometimes in partnership, as in the case of Prisca and Aquila. This has been clearly argued by Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1989),

they are *en route* somewhere and carry letters of authorization. Unless their letters of commission specify that particular community receiving them as its target, setting out their authority and their business, they may only expect accommodation on the way and must leave the next day or two if need be, to take account of the prohibition on travelling on the sabbath, with enough provisions to reach their next stop on the way. To ask for more would reveal that they are not on a genuine embassy at all and would expose them as frauds. Takaaki Haraguchi comments that the word *ἐργάτης* became a *terminus technicus* for the early Christian missionary, and argues that it points in two directions: to the duty of the communities to support them and also to the duty of the missionaries to undertake an itinerant life-style.[18] In my own understanding, 'the duty to undertake a wandering lifestyle without protection' to which he points is an invention of modern scholars. I would argue that it simply points to the obligation of hospitality towards an extensive network of travelling emissaries connecting the various centres of the early Christian movement.[19]

This instruction on apostles has attracted instruction on prophets as well, since they were clearly, at some stage in the history of the community, liable to arrive in the community from outside also, but without any letters or authorization, and to make claims for sustenance. It would appear that this happened at a later stage in the development of the tradition, in view of the elaborate nature of the rules designed to correct abuse of hospitality. The Spirit, of course, cannot be tested, but prophets can be tested by their conduct. Rules are provided for this purpose (11. 7–12). My own hypothesis is that this section is an interpolation into the earlier rules, where instruction concerning apostles was originally followed by brief instructions concerning those arriving in the community who were not apostles and did not claim to be (12. 1–5). They may also be supported on their travel, but only after their genuineness has been tested. If they want to stay, the rule is 'let them work and let them eat (*ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω*)' (12. 3). Any refusal to live by this rule reveals them to be frauds out to exploit the community.

160–175; cf. A. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991).

[18] T. Haraguchi, 'Das Unterhaltsrecht des frühchristlichen Verkündigers', *ZNW* 84 (1993), 178–95, esp. 178, 181–2, 190, where he cites the many scholars who advocate the same position, particularly the influential work of G. Theissen, 'Legitimation und Lebensunterhalt: ein Beitrag zur Soziologie urchristlicher Missionäre', *NTS* 21 (1975), 192–221; *idem, The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978).

[19] R. A. Horsley and J. A. Draper, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in* Q (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999), 29–45.

Did. 13. 1–2 is really a part of this instruction, and rests on the same principle, 'let them work and let them eat', as Audet has also argued.[20] In this instance, prophecy and teaching are deemed to be work, so they are to be supported by the community who benefit from their work. However, it is, in my opinion, an interpolation into the earlier schema deriving from the same period as 11. 7–12 and 15. 1–2. The earliest material is marked above all by the use of the second person singular form of address; the redaction is marked by a second person plural form of address, as I have argued elsewhere.[21] However, since the giving of first fruits was probably originally connected logically with the instructions concerning apostles who were to receive them and take them back to Jerusalem in the form of money, there is a logical connection with what follows also.

Did. 13. 3–7 belongs to the underlying schema, since the giving of tithes and first-fruits was probably required for the food used by the Gentile members of the community, in order for them to share table-fellowship with Jewish members. Food rules concerning eating tithes and first-fruits originating in the Holiness Code for priests seem to have been extended by many Jewish groups, including Christian Jews, by the end of the Second Temple period to all their members on the basis of Exod. 19. 5–6.[22] In addition, Jewish communities in the Diaspora were particularly anxious about pollution from food offered to idols.[23] If they were in danger of eating contaminated food, then table-fellowship would be broken, and the unity of the community compromised. Thus these instructions are a development of *Did.* 6. 3: *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον*. Space is left for conscience in keeping Jewish food laws (*ὡς ἄν σοι δόξῃ*), but there is nevertheless a minimum requirement: namely, a strict prohibition on food offered to idols (*ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε*). The later Jewish tractate on proselytes, *Gerim*, requires newly circumcized and baptized converts to give 'gleanings, forgotten sheaves, the corner of the field and tithes' (1. 3). Hence it is probably part of the earliest substructure of the *Didache* also.[24] It is interesting to note, furthermore, that the discussion of the rights of an apostle to support from the Gentile Christian community at Corinth (1 Cor. 9. 1–4) comes in the context of Paul's discussion of food offered to idols. Tomson[25] has seen the

[20] J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres*, ÉBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 453–7.

[21] J. Draper, 'A Continuing Enigma', esp. 115–18.

[22] P. Seidensticker, *Die Gemeinschaftsform der religiösen Gruppen des Spätjudentums und der Urkirche* (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanorum Liber Annus, 1959), 94–198.

[23] The evidence is set out by Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 151–258; also Slee, *Church in Antioch*, 17–23.

[24] Draper, 'A Continuing Enigma', 118–20.

[25] Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 125.

discussion as a 'digression' from the latter, but perhaps it might indicate that the question of *εἰδωλοθύτον* and the question of support of apostles might have been linked by the allocation of first-fruits in the earliest Christian communities.

3. PROPHETS, TEACHERS, AND ENTITLEMENT TO SUPPORT FROM FIRST-FRUITS

Perhaps I should start by setting out schematically my understanding of the redactional layers of the text. The earliest layer is in bold type, marked by second person singular, concerned with the requirement to give first-fruits. The second layer is in italics, marked by second person plural, concerned above all with the income of prophets and secondarily of teachers. The third layer is underlined, and represents a further halakic development,[26] to cover the case of the absence of prophets (and teachers?) in the community:

1a *Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης*
ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
ἄξιός ἐστι
τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.
1b *Ωσαύτως διδάσκαλος*
ἀληθινός
ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης
τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.
2a *Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἅλωνος,*
βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων
λαβῲν
δώσεις *τοῖς προφήταις·*
αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν.
2b *Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην,*
δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς.

2c ***Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς,***
τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν
δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.
2d ***Ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας,***
τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν
δὸς *τοῖς προφήταις.*

[26] G. Alon, 'Halakah in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (*Didache*)', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 165–94., esp. 191–4.

2e Ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ
καὶ παντὸς κτήματος
λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχήν, ὡς ἄν σοι δόξῃ,
δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

The teaching is carefully composed and formulaic,[27] but fluctuates, as we have observed, between the first and second person plural. This could be the result, as some have argued, of a move in the sense from cultic to personal obligations.[28] However, since this feature is a mark of redactional activity throughout the *Didache*, it seems more likely to be a sign of revision here also.[29]

3.1 The Worker is Worthy of Her/His Food

Since the instructions regarding the prophets and teachers are almost exactly parallel, nothing suggests that they were not composed at the same time. In the first case, as the schema shows, the question is what happens when the prophet wishes to settle (θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς). If the prophet is genuine, then she or he speaks with the authority of the Spirit, and so there can be no further question of her or his right to support. In the second case, the question concerns whether the teacher is really engaged in full-time work for the community (καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης). In both cases, the community is required to test their genuineness (ἀληθινός). It is true that the second citation of the pericope, in the case of teachers, is somewhat clumsy, but this demonstrates that their status was disputed rather than that the instruction is a later addition. The teachers do not come, it seems, from outside the community but from inside it, since no mention is made of any desire to settle. If there were many claimants to be teachers in the community, it would have posed a financial problem had their support been automatically guaranteed. The criterion for support in this case would be that they had been designated as full-time workers by the community. In both cases, the same logion is used to support the claim: 'The worker is worthy of her or his food.'

This saying is directly cited three times in the New Testament, as we have already noted, in Matt. 10. 10, Luke 10. 7, and 1 Tim. 5. 18. Matthew and the *Didache* use τροφῆς, while Luke and 1 Timothy use μισθοῦ:

[27] For an analysis, see G. Schille, 'Das Recht der Propheten und Apostel—gemeinderechtliche Beobachtungen zu Didache Kapitel 11–13', in P. Wätzel and G. Schille (eds.), *Theologische Versuche*, i (Berlin: Evangelische Verlag-Anstalt, 1966), 84–103; M. del Verme, 'The Didache and Judaism: The ἀπαρχή of *Didache* 13:3–7', *SP* 26 (1993), 113–39, on p. 114.

[28] E.g. Schille, 'Das Recht'.

[29] See, e.g., the same fluctuation in *Did.* 6–7: Draper, 'A Continuing Enigma', 115–17. I agree with del Verme, 'Didache and Judaism', 114, that Schille's argument is unconvincing.

Did. 13. 1–2	Matt. 10. 8–10	Luke 10. 7–8	1 Tim. 5. 17–18
[1] *Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,* ***ἄξιός εστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.*** [2] *Ὡσαύτως διδσκαλος ἀληθινός* ***ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.***	[8] *δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε δωρεὰν δότε.* [9] *Μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν,* [10] *μὴ πήραν εἰς ὁδὸν λμηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μεηὲ ῥάβδον·* ***ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.***	[7] *Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν* ***ἄξῖος γὰρ' ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ*** *μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν.* [8] *καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε καὶ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν.*	[17] *Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ* [18] *λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, Βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις καί* ***Ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.***

In the first place, when we examine these texts, it is striking that the Q texts (Matt. and Luke) refer the logion to apostles and not to prophets. Matthew has combined Mark's account of the mission of the twelve apostles with Q's account of the mission of the seventy apostles, which is preserved separately in Luke. While Paul does not cite this logion, he clearly knows it and its use in the early Christian communities:[30]

Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐλεύθερος;
οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος;
οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα;
οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ;
εἰ ἄλλοις οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος
    ἀλλά γε ὑμῖν εἰμι.
        ἡ γὰρ σφραγίς μου τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ
Ἡ ἐμὴ ἀπολογία τοῖς ἐμὲ ἀνακρίνουσίν ἐστιν αὕτη.
μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν; (1 Cor. 9. 1–4)

Clearly the work of an apostle is regarded by the addressees as binding the communities which receive her or him to give provisions. The problem he faces is not that the community does not recognize the rights of an apostle, but that he himself is not accepted as an apostle because he does not carry letters of authorization from Jerusalem.[31] By refusing his right to support, he

[30] For a good account and an analysis of the halakic basis of the saying, see Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 125–31.

[31] Cf. Haraguchi, 'Unterhaltsrecht', 183: 'Die Korinther interpretieren seinen Verzicht auf das Lebensunterhaltsrecht als Zeichen des Mangels an apostolischer Autorität.' However, the

makes a virtue out of necessity and defuses the crisis. His apologia is another indication that the right originally belonged to the apostle and not to the prophet.

Luke presents the saying in the context of the requirement that the apostle should stay in one house and not go from one house to another. Since no time limit for the stay is given, this might lead to the kind of abuse which the *Didache* sets out to avoid by limiting the stay to one or two days at most. In any case, the logion is introduced to support the apostle's right to be provisioned during her or his stay in a town or village. In return, the household receives the peace pronounced upon it by the apostle as its reward. The use of the term μισθός makes it clear that the proclamation of the gospel by the apostle is regarded as labour earning a wage. The logion is obviously well known, and probably proverbial, regardless of whether or not Jesus himself used it, since it is introduced simply by γάρ. However, as Haraguchi has rightly pointed out, the practice already belongs to an ideal past for Luke, as 22. 35–6 shows.[32] Luke's version makes it clear that what is to be expected is 'eating and drinking', but the language of 'wages' might be open to misunderstanding if taken out of context. Tomson[33] argues that 'food' is more ancient, since it depends on extending the rights of the ox (Deut. 25. 4) to eat while threshing, *qal wa-homer*, to humans, and the rights of labourers in the fields to eat from the produce they are reaping (Deut. 23. 24 f.), *qal wa-homer*, to spiritual labour. Haraguchi argues, to the contrary, that Luke's form is more ancient, since he brings the saying in its original Q setting, while Matthew has mixed it in with Marcan material.[34] However, the argument from the ordering of the material, where Luke clearly preserves the more original sequence, does not necessarily apply to the *wording* of the material, in which Matthew often seems to preserve the more ancient form.

Matthew attaches the logion to Jesus' prohibition to the apostles of taking money, any begging bag for food, or clothing (spare tunic, sandals, or staff). The logion provides the rationale for taking no provision for the journey: food will be provided along the way by those who receive the proclamation. The logic of the saying is that clothes, including tunic, sandals, and staff, will also be provided if needed by those along the way. In addition, it is striking

sequence may have been the reverse of this. Haraguchi, pp. 183–4, points to the interesting difference in *content* between Paul and the Q saying: viz., that Paul bases the right on preaching, while Q bases the right on travelling. This significant shift reflects also a difference in their respective understandings of apostleship.

32 Ibid. 190–1.

33 Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 126–8.

34 Haraguchi, 'Unterhaltsrecht', 186, 189; though he does acknowledge that Paul's usage is derived from the earliest Palestinian missionary discourse (p. 179).

that the passage is introduced by the saying found only in Matthew: *δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε δωρεὰν δότε*. This amounts to a prohibition on demanding money for services rendered. In other words, the labourer is worthy of food (*τροφή*) and provisions, but not of a wage (in money)! This caution fits with Matthew's warning concerning false prophets who come from outside the community (7. 19–23), which may show that his community, like that of the *Didache*, was more used to prophets than to apostles, who had, perhaps, disappeared in practice from the life of the church after the destruction of Jerusalem.[35]

In 1 Timothy, it is the *πρεσβύτεροι* who are the objects of the logion's provision. All elders are worthy of honour; those (patrons) who administer the community well are worthy of double honour, but those who labour in 'word' and teaching should receive financial reward. I disagree with Dibelius[36] that the word *τιμή* implies of itself financial remuneration for all elders in the community, and would instead give it its literal meaning: honour accorded to those who perform voluntary service for the community (*λειτουργία*; cf. *Did.* 15. 1–2).[37] 'Liturgy', or public service, is an obligation for those who have the means, and its due reward is the public honour so coveted in the ancient world. Failure to perform patronage on the part of the wealthy results in shame.[38] It is only the performance of the teaching function that occasions the mention of entitlement to material support.

When the use of the logion concerning *ἐργάτης* in Q is compared with that in the *Didache*, it is remarkable, first, that it is applied to prophets and teachers.[39] This is particularly so, given that the text knows of apostles who are passing through the community on their way to other destinations, or, as I would argue, sent with letters to this particular community. Q would suggest that the logion applies originally to them, and not to the teachers and prophets. This is my suggestion, based on my redaction-critical analysis. In other words, what was originally the right of the apostles coming from Jerusalem to the communities which recognize its authority has been transferred to the new class of travellers which emerged after the destruction of

[35] Cf. ibid. 192–3.

[36] M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 78; so too Haraguchi, 'Unterhaltsrecht', 185, regards it as a clear reference to money (*eindeutig*).

[37] Cf. W. Michaelis, *Pastoralbriefe und Gefanenschaftsbriefe: zur Echtheitsfrage der Pastoralbriefe* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930; n.s. 1,6]) 1961), cited by Dibelius; cf. J. A. Kirk, 'Did "Officials" in the New Testament Church Receive a Salary?', *ExpT* 84 (1973), 105–8.

[38] See B. Malina, 'Patron and Client: The Analogy behind Synoptic Theology', *Forum*, 4 (1988), 2–32; K. C. Hanson and D. E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 63–97.

[39] Haraguchi, 'Unterhaltsrecht', 180, rightly observes that *ἐργάται* and *ἀπόστολοι* are two synonymous self-designations of Paul's opponents in Corinth and Philippi, and one would expect the same thing to be true in the *Didache*, which also knows travelling apostles.

Jerusalem: the prophets and, alongside them, the teachers (as in 1 Timothy).[40] Apostles as an institution seem to have retreated in the face of prophets in this community. The latter have the right to preside at the Eucharist (10. 7) and to preach and give instructions in the Spirit in the assembly (11. 7–12), and these instructions in the final form of the text show that the community of the *Didache*, like that of Matthew, is experiencing instances of abuse from prophets, and not from apostles.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that, as so often, the *Didache* is closer to Matthew than to Luke or 1 Timothy. Matthew, like the *Didache*, avoids the abuse of the apostolic commission to get money as a *μισθός*, allowing only food and necessities for the journey. Yet the use of *τροφή* in the *Didache* has a logic to it which is not present in Matthew: namely, the way it couples the right to food to the duty to give first-fruits.

Finally, the saying occurs in the *Gospel of Thomas*, which has a form of the apostolic commission dominated by concern with the purity of the food that is provided:

> When you go into any country and walk from place to place, when the people receive you, eat what they serve you and heal the sick among them. For what goes into your mouth will not defile you; rather, it is what comes out of your mouth that will defile you. (Saying 14b)

Here again, there is an underlying assumption of a right of angels / messengers and prophets to provision rather than to a wage:

> Jesus said, 'The angels (*ἄγγελοι*) and the prophets (*προφῆται*) will come to you and give to you those things you (already) have. And you too, give them those things which you have, and say to yourselves, 'When will they come and take what is theirs'. (Saying 88)

It seems to echo Matthew's linking of the saying,' You have freely received, so freely give', with the saying, 'The worker is worthy of her or his food'.

3.2 The First-fruits

The development and integration of the agricultural offerings, linked to the priestly and temple offering system, is complex and contested terrain. What originated as different systems for offering the first-fruits and tithes, presented variously by Num. 18. 8–32; Exod. 22. 28–31; Deut. 18. 1–5, was synthesized somewhat differently by different groupings in Israel into a whole system.

[40] Cf. J. A. Draper, 'Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the *Didache* Community', in Draper (ed.), Didache *in Modern Research*, 340–63.

The various rabbinic tractates in the division *Zeraim* seek to clarify, differentiate, and harmonize the different obligations incumbent on an Israelite with respect to offerings, tithes, and taxes.[41] However, it is not entirely clear what the exact circumstances were prior to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. According to Freyne,[42] the peasantry in the birthplace of the Christian movement in Galilee remained loyal to the Temple festivals and paid first-fruits, probably because of their perceived link to the fertility of the holy land, but did not pay tithes or the half-shekel tax. Beyond this, Sanders is probably right in saying that 'We cannot, however, be sure who tithed what!'[43] The tithe may have been collected by Herod locally, since he would have been responsible for the payment of the tribute from Galilee to Rome.

Fortunately, for our purposes, it seems fairly certain that the agricultural laws of first-fruits of the land were not considered valid outside Palestine, since they were understood as giving back to God a token of what belonged to God: namely, the land of Israel.[44] The ruling is made with regard to *bikkurim* by R. Jose the Galilean (T2): 'They may not bring First-fruits from beyond Jordan since that is not a land flowing with milk and honey.'[45] A Gentile who owns land in Palestine may bring them, but not make the avowal in the temple (unless his mother was a Jew), since he cannot make the declaration from Deut. 26. 3, 'Which the Lord swore unto our Fathers to give us' (*m. Bik.* 1. 4). This rabbinic understanding that first-fruits are due only on the produce of *Eretz Israel* is confirmed independently by Philo of Alexandria in *de Somniis* 2. 75, where Lev. 23. 10 is restricted to the land of promise (πλὴν οὐ παντί ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆν ἣν ἐγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν).

On the other hand, the variable distance from Jerusalem, even during the time when the Temple still stood, made the offering of first-fruits a problem. Some things just could not last the time it took to get there.[46] Hence, it was

[41] See, e.g., G. Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 CE)* (ET Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 254–60; S. Safrai and M. Stern, *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (Assen: Von Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 817–33; and the somewhat polemical description of E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), 146–69.

[42] S. Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 BCE to 135 CE: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1980), 259–304.

[43] Sanders, *Judaism*, 149.

[44] E. Schürer, G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, ii (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 269.

[45] H. Danby, *The Mishnah Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 95.

[46] E.g. *m. Ter.* 2. 4, in Danby, *Mishnah*, 54: 'Where there is a priest Heave-offering must be given from the choicest kind; but where there is no priest [it should be given] from the kind that best endures'. See Schürer *et al.*, *History of the Jewish People*, 2. 269; Sanders, *Judaism*, 147.

normal to take the produce of the first-fruits, where appropriate, rather than the fruits straight from the field. Chief among these were olive oil, wine, and fleece (Num. 18. 12; Neh. 10. 35, 37; Deut. 18. 4).[47] In other words, there was in effect a double first-fruits offering: once direct from the field, which could usually only be eaten by a local priest if available, and once from the produce of the field, which could be taken to the Temple on pilgrimage if possible. Another two aspects of the first-fruits already processed but owed to the priest were the three pieces of an edible animal slaughtered for food, and the dough or loaf of bread. These were not taken to Jerusalem, but offered to the local priest if such a person existed. Then again, the second tithe seems early on to have been redeemed by conversion into money for offering rather than carried to Jerusalem and consumed there.[48] All of these offerings of first-fruits in both kinds fell away as an obligation outside the land of Israel, but one might ask whether they continued in the Diaspora as a free-will offering for locally resident priests, Levites, and/or the poor (based on Deut. 14. 27–9; 26. 12–15).

The situation with regard to the tithe, or *ma'aseroth*, is not so clear. It was designed, not for the specific benefit of the priest, but for the maintenance of the whole Temple state. Its status after the destruction of the Temple was disputed for that reason, although the rabbis attempted to maintain it.[49] It is not clear whether Jews outside Palestine felt themselves obligated to pay it or not. They certainly paid the half-shekel Temple tax in the Diaspora.[50] It is likely that they felt themselves obligated to pay the offering for firstlings, at least of their own children, since their own fruit was not limited to the Holy Land. The Mishnah, at least, recognizes this difference by placing the tractate *Bekhoroth* in the division *Kodashim*, and not under *Zeraim*. We have little else to go by, except for the precious piece of evidence offered by Philo concerning the position in Rome, which he himself knew at first hand from his embassy there. Writing of Augustus Caesar, he says:

> He knew therefore that they have houses of prayer and meet together in them, particularly on the sacred sabbaths when they receive as a body a training in their ancestral philosophy. He knew too that they collect money for sacred purposes from their first-fruits (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν*) and send them to Jerusalem by persons who would offer sacrifices. Yet nevertheless he neither ejected them from Rome nor deprived them of their Roman citizenship because they were careful to preserve their Jewish citizenship also, nor took any violent measures against the houses of

[47] Cf. Sanders, *Judaism*, 152.

[48] *M. Ma'as Sh.* 5. 7; *t. Ma'as Sh.* 3. 18; *y. Ma'as* 4. 54d and 3. 54b. See Alon, *Jews in their Land*, 258.

[49] Alon, *Jews in their Land*, 256–7.

[50] The evidence is cited in Sanders, *Judaism*, 156.

prayer, nor prevented them from meeting to receive instructions in the laws, nor opposed their offerings of the first-fruits. (Philo, *Leg.* 156–7, LCL)

Since Philo has already said that first-fruits are not payable outside *Eretz Israel*, one can reasonably suppose that pious Diaspora Jews made a communal collection of the tithes and the price of the redemption of their first-born in cash and sent it to Jerusalem, while the Temple still stood.

3.3 The Offering of the First-fruits in the *Didache*

On the basis of what we have observed, it is possible to understand the instructions concerning the first-fruits in the *Didache* as carefully thought-through *halakah*. This is an observant Jewish community(ies) in the Diaspora, which wishes to remain a part of the broader Jewish society in its location.[51] We have to move away from the anachronistic understanding of Judaism in the first century as a religion. It is 'embedded religion', but not religion in our modern sense. It is a whole ethnic, cultural, economic, and social grouping, which includes, of course, at its centre a religious world-view. Buildings for communal gatherings, synagogues, were not only religious buildings, but social centres and foci of Jewish identity. The Jewish way of life, especially in the Diaspora, would have required special markets to make possible the observation of Jewish dietary laws. Then there was the question of making sure that children were able to marry within the community. Just as there was diversity, disagreement, and competition in Palestine around how one should live out one's social and cultural identity as a member of God's covenant people, which would be related to one's geographical location, class, and ideological position, so there was in the Diaspora. However, the need to maintain a Jewish identity under the pressure of living among Gentiles would have resulted in compromises and a grudging acceptance of a common identity in spite of these divisions. On this point I am entirely in agreement with Sanders's trenchant observation:

My basic assumption—here as throughout the book—is that other people besides the rabbis wanted to obey the law and that they considered how best to do so. A priest who lived in Upper Galilee would have seen the problem and offered some kind of advice. What we should not assume is what most scholars do assume: people either obeyed the rabbis (or Pharisees), or they were non-observant. We must always remember the very large number of people who, when push came to shove, were ready to die for the law, and who kept most of it in ordinary circumstances. . . . Just as

[51] Hence I agree with del Verme, 'Didache and Judaism', esp. 113, that the *Didache* 'reflects an ongoing process of interaction with Judaism and Jewish institutions'.

later they would fight and die for Jerusalem, the temple and the law, so during the heyday of the temple they tried to fulfil their scriptural obligations. In the case of first fruits, we cannot know just how they did so. We should assume, however, intention and effort to observe the law.[52]

I would argue that the community of the *Didache* was no different in its desire to fulfil the Law as best it could, despite its ambiguities when applied outside Palestine. The repeated phrase κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν indicates, in my understanding, a genuine belief that the community arrangements were a faithful and appropriate interpretation of Jewish Torah, rather than a Christian instruction developed *analogously*, as suggested by del Verme.[53] They were, in other words, Christian *halakah*.[54] The point has rightly been made by del Verme,[55] that the Greek word ἀπάρχη is ambiguous in first-century Hellenistic Jewish usage, and covers both first-fruits of the harvest, or *reshith*, and also agricultural offerings more generally, or *terumoth*. In what follows, I argue that the *Didache* has in mind the technical usage of first-fruits of the harvest, both primary and secondary (i.e., processed), *per se*.

For those who 'bore the whole yoke of the Lord' as observant Jews, an essential part of maintaining their position in Jewish society would have been sharing in the communal collection and dispatch of the half-shekel tax, the tithes, and the firstlings (the five shekels to redeem the first-born son, or *bekhoroth*) to Jerusalem before the fall of the Temple (opinion was divided on the continuance of the practice after that event; see *y. Sheq.* 8. 51b: 'In this age, one does not dedicate, nor evaluate, nor make sacrosanct nor set aside *terumot* and *ma'aserot*'[56]). Even after 70 CE, however, Christian Jewish members of the *Didache* community would have been obliged to fall in with the decisions of the local community concerning the disposal of these things, if they wished to stay a part of it. Gentiles who were initiated into the community, on the other hand, were not obligated to pay any of these things. In fact, they may even have been prohibited from doing so (in the case of firstlings, at least), unless they became full converts and adopted the Torah. Even then, opinion in the Jewish community as a whole was divided on whether or not they qualified.

[52] Sanders, *Judaism*, 153–4.
[53] Del Verme, 'Didache and Judaism', 115.
[54] Cf. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache*, 173; del Verme, 'Didache and Judaism', 116–18, argues for the necessity of examining Jewish *halakhah* of the period for understanding the background to the *Didache*, but does not seem to consider that the latter is itself *halakhah*, as I would argue.
[55] Del Verme, 'Didache and Judaism', 116–18; cf. Milavec, *Didache*, 508–25.
[56] Cited in Alon, *Jews in their Land*, 257.

First-fruits (*bikkurim*), on the other hand, were a different matter. They were to be paid only by Jews, not Gentiles, and on produce of *Eretz Israel*, but not of land outside it. First-fruits from the Holy Land were due to the priests in the Temple, but perishable goods were to be consumed by priests in the local communities where these were far from the Temple. Christian Jewish members of the *Didache* community would have required an assurance that the food eaten or provided for communal meals was in some sense uncontaminated by idol offerings, and had in some sense been offered to God in accordance with the Torah. The same concern is evidenced in the later rabbinic tractate on proselytes, *Gerim* 1. 3. This instructs converts being circumcized and baptized to give 'gleanings, forgotten sheaves, the corners of the fields and tithes'. Gentiles in the *Didache* community, on the other hand, were not full converts to Judaism. Hence they could not, and should not, pay tithes or firstlings, but they could, and should, offer first-fruits to God. As Milavec[57] rightly points out, first-fruits were an accepted and universal feature of pagan life, but the pagan practice of offering them to the gods rendered them *eidolothuton* according to the Jewish understanding. As we have already observed, the *Didache* demands that *eidolothuton* must be strictly avoided, in order to allow Gentile converts and Christian Jews to live together. *Did*. 13. 3–7 solves this legal question in *halakic* fashion.

Thus Gentile members of the community were to offer the first-fruits of primary agricultural and secondary processed products to the Lord, including *hallah* and *hullin*, the dough and parts of the slaughtered beast offered to the priests. They could not send tithes and offerings to the Temple in Jerusalem through the local Jewish community structures, as Christian Jews did. Their offerings would be unlikely to have been accepted by the broader Jewish community based around the synagogue, because of the danger of contamination from idol offerings, particularly since the local Jewish communities appear to have been dominated by the Pharisaic party in the areas where the *Didache* communities were located, as *Did*. 8 shows.[58]

In terms of my broader redactional hypothesis, I believe that the original practice of the *Didache* community, at its earliest redactional layer, was to convert the first-fruits into money, where possible, to send to Jerusalem, except for the perishable things, which would have been disposed of locally, possibly to local priests (though they might have worried about its state of purity) or more likely to the poor, in line with Jewish custom if there was a

[57] Milavec, *Didache*, 504–5.

[58] At least by the time of the final redaction of the text. See Draper, 'Christian Self-Definition', 223–43.

surplus or there were no priests.[59] These offerings would have been dispatched to Jerusalem in the hands of the apostles—either delegates from Jerusalem visiting or passing through, or the community's own nominated apostles sent to Jerusalem for the purpose (who would themselves have the right to hospitality in Christian communities along the way by virtue of letters they carried). In the logic of this Christian Jewish community, the 'pillars' in Jerusalem (Paul's term in his polemic in Gal. 2. 9) had taken the place of the high priests, at least with respect to the first-fruits, and were deemed the proper objects of their support. While Gentile members of the *Didache* community contributed first-fruits to the apostles, Christian Jews continued to contribute along with the rest of the local Jewish community their obligatory taxes, tithes, and redemption of firstlings, which are excluded from the list in the *Didache* for this reason. I believe that this Gentile offering of first-fruits was what lay behind the saga of Paul's collection for Jerusalem, which he had agreed to (Gal. 2. 10). But his insistence that the Gentile converts did not have to keep even minimal purity with regard to *eidolothuton* would lie behind his (fully justified) anxiety as to whether the offering would be accepted by the 'pillars' in Jerusalem (Rom. 15. 30–3).

After the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and the departure of the Christian leadership from the city—whenever that might have been and whether or not the leaders went to Pella in 68 CE—there were no more apostles coming from Jerusalem and no further possibility of sending the monetary value of the first-fruits there either. The place of Jerusalem and its apostles was taken by a newly emerging class of Christian prophets. I have argued[60] that this phenomenon was probably partly a feature of the dislocation experienced in Palestine during the Jewish War of 68–70, in which Christian Jewish refugees would have sought shelter in communities in Syria and elsewhere, taking their traditions of Jesus with them. Not unnaturally, many of them would have wished to settle in the communities they visited, particularly in light of probable loss of land and income in Judaea and Galilee. For most that would have meant finding employment, 'Let them work and let them eat'; but for those with deep knowledge of the Jesus tradition and for those who were prophets, the rule was that they earned their keep by their work of prophecy and teaching. The first-fruits, which had previously been taken by the apostles to Jerusalem for the support of the 'poor saints' (i.e., the

[59] At least, that was the custom in Jerusalem with the surplus, as indicated in *m. Maaser Sheni* 3. 5. See Safrai and Stern, *Jewish People in the First Century*, 823; Sanders, *Judaism*, 157.

[60] J. A. Draper, 'Social Ambiguity and the Production of Text: Prophets, Teachers, Bishops, and Deacons and the Development of the Jesus Tradition in the Community of the *Didache*', in C. N. Jefford (ed.), *The* Didache *in Context: Essays on its Text, History, and Transmission*, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 284–312.

Christian equivalent of the righteous poor, the scholars of Torah, among the Pharisees), were now diverted to the prophets and teachers settling (as refugees and migrants) among the communities of the *Didache*.

Even in non-Christian Jewish communities, the problem of what to do with tithes, taxes, and first-fruits was forced on them by the destruction of the Temple. Whereas the custom had been for first-fruits in the Holy Land, which could not be sent to Jerusalem, to be consumed locally by the priesthood, this seems gradually to have been replaced by payment to the synagogue and the rabbis. The local community was now seen to have an obligation to support their full-time teachers, and the formulation of this obligation often sounds remarkably like the saying 'The labourer is worthy of his hire'. So in the saying from *Tanhuma* 119a, 'He who busies himself with Torah gets his sustenance from it'.[61] There is an even more interesting saying attributed to R. Abin (A4) in *Leviticus Rabbah* 34. 13, where support for the rabbis, as righteous poor, is connected with the offering of first-fruits. Among various explanations of Isa. 58. 7 ('Thou shalt bring the poor *merudim* to thy house'), there is a discussion of the role of the righteous poor, which concludes:

> Whoso entertains a scholar in his house is regarded by Scripture as though he had offered first-fruits, for it says here, '*Thou shalt bring*' and it says elsewhere, '*The choicest first-fruits* thou shalt bring *into the house of the Lord thy God*' (Ex. XXIII, 19); as in the latter context it applies to firstfruits so here also it applies to first-fruits.[62]

This late saying indicates a continuing tradition which probably goes back to an earlier time. Although in its present formulation, *Did.* 13. 4 represents the latest stage in the redaction of the text, it is likely that the obligation to the poor and the presentation of the perishable first-fruits were part of the tradition from the beginning. This would be the way in which the community satisfied its obligations in terms of *Did.* 1. 5–6. The temptation to take from the community's store of first-fruits, even when one was not really in dire need, would have occasioned the kind of instructions and warnings given there. The community needs to test the poor also, to make sure that they too are ἀληθινός!

On the basis of this analysis, one can see the logic of the *halakah* in *Did.* 13. 3–6. The community sets aside only the first-fruits which are not part of the general collection of the whole Jewish community, because they are not applicable to produce outside *Eretz Israel*. While the Christian Jewish members were not obligated to pay them and were already paying tithes and taxes, they could perhaps offer them as a free-will offering beyond what was required by the Law. Of these, the interest is not in the token first head of corn or first ripe olive, but in the processed produce that could serve the needs of the community for the support of those who taught in the community, the

61 Quoted in Strack-Billerbeck i 569.

62 Soncino Edition, 439.

prophets and teachers and the poor. It would be only among Gentile Christian communities, and, later perhaps, Christian Jews after they had been expelled from the synagogue, that the offering of the tithe proper, or *ma'aseroth*, could be used in this way. The expression ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἅλωνος is clearly meant to be exemplary, rather than exclusive: the word ληνός, for example, refers in my opinion to what is produced by the press and so is gathered in the vat. It could refer to oil, as well as to wine, for which it is more normally used. Likewise, the word ἅλων could refer to any grain threshed on the threshing floor, barley as well as wheat. So too βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων refers to the first-fruits of all 'clean' animals, without raising the question of the first-fruits of unclean animals. It also leaves open the question of whether it refers to the redemption of the animals by a cash payment, or to provision of the priests' portion of sacrificed animal ('shoulder and two cheeks and maw', Deut. 18. 3–4). Perhaps both options are deliberately left open. The offering of bread or dough, or *hallah*, is a well-known and much-discussed right of the priest in rabbinic writings, and the extension of this right of 'second first fruits' to wine and oil is not without parallels. Certainly the offering of fleece is attested, and may underlie the gift of ἱματισμός to the prophets as high priests. The inclusion of money and every possession (παντὸς κτήματος) is surprising, especially in view of the reservations concerning apostles and prophets and money in *Did.* 11. It is not based on any specific Old Testament law, but on a general extension of the rule to give first-fruits to everything. However, the provision that all is subject to the conscience of the individual (ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ) is important, and is in line with the practice throughout the *Didache*, especially in chapters 6–7. Presumably the elders and deacons, who were appointed by the community itself (15. 1–2) and served in the fashion of the ancient world for τιμή and not for financial gain (which is why they must be ἀφιλάργυροι, 15. 2),[63] would have control of the allocation of the first-fruits, rather than the prophets and teachers themselves (11. 6, 12). They were given first to the 'religious poor' (i.e., those engaged full time in prophecy and teaching) and then, finances permitting, to the 'secular poor', the needy in general.

4. CONCLUSION

We have seen that the passage concerning first-fruits in *Did.* 13 has a coherence and a logic, which fits well with the text as a whole. The passage found not only here but also in Q and 1 Timothy, ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ/τῆς

[63] Draper, 'Social Ambiguity'.

τροφῆς αὐτοῦ is probably a free-floating proverb or midrash, which was known not only in the Christian communities but also more generally in early Judaism as well. The *Didache* is closest in its use of the saying, however, to Matthew, not just in the wording, but also in the concerns and the framework it provides. Matthew is concerned to avoid the idea of the apostle as working for a monetary wage: 'freely receive, freely give', while at the same time according the apostle the right of support on his or her travel. The *Didache* seems originally to have been concerned also with the right of apostles and the poor to support, both those travelling and also the apostles of the Lord in Jerusalem (both the 'poor saints' and the local poor). However, by the time of the final redaction, the right of support is given to prophets, teachers, and the poor. The support is given in terms of the first-fruits, which is primarily a matter of perishable food (*τροφή*), but which extends also to secondary production. While money and other durable goods (such as fleece or clothes) are likely to have been destined for Jerusalem, they remain on the list of first-fruits and are, potentially, in conflict with the prohibition on the apostles (11. 6) or prophets (11. 12) asking for money: *ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι : δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ*. However, it leaves room for the 'redemption' of materials which might be deemed liable to first-fruits, but which, for one reason or another, might not easily be given in kind.

In my opinion, the kind of situation underlying the instructions in the *Didache* on the first-fruits is presupposed by the Q tradition. It could not have been constructed from either Matthew or Luke's version as a source, but rather forms essential background material, together with the information from Paul in this case, for an understanding of that tradition. The *Didache* presents us with the kind of community practice in which a Q saying originated, prior to its incorporation into the gospel tradition, here as in many other instances. It is a form of Christian Jewish *halakah* designed to enable Jewish believers to admit, coexist, and share table-fellowship with Gentile believers, in one and the same community of faith, without severing their connection with the wider Jewish *ethnos*.

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Social Locators as a Bridge between the *Didache* and Matthew

Clayton N. Jefford

Numerous studies have appeared since the rediscovery of the *Didache* which have sought to explain the historical or literary relationships between that text and the Gospel of Matthew. Such efforts have provided various solutions that, under the assumption that there was indeed some relationship between the two writings, may be classified into three broad possibilities.[1]

The first solution, and among the earliest suggestions toward a solution to the problem, is that the author of the *Didache* (i.e., the Didachist) both knew and used some form of the Gospel of Matthew. This approach typically dates the text no earlier than the second century, and assumes that parallels between the two writings are evidence that the Didachist has quoted from Matthean materials. A distinct advantage to this position is that the author of Matthew and the Didachist need not have worked within a single setting.[2]

A second, more recent view offers that the author of Matthew both knew and used materials that came to form the *Didache* and perhaps, as has been recently suggested, may have actually borrowed passages from the written version of the text itself.[3] This tack must necessarily date the *Didache* quite early in the evolution of early Christian literature, and even if one is unwilling to attribute some formalized version of the text to a 50–70 CE date, recognizes that the traditions of the text were quite ancient in their origins and in their

[1] For a broader survey of positions on the literary (in)dependence of the *Didache*, see J. D. Crossan, *The Birth of Christianity* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), 363–406, and J. A. Draper, 'The Didache in Modern Research: An Overview', in J. A. Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, AGAJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 16–24.

[2] This view has dominated the history of *Didache* research from the early writings of F. W. Farrar, 'The Bearing of the "Teaching" on the Canon', *Expositor*, 8 (1884), 81–91, to the more recent scholarship of C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 197–230.

[3] Thus the recent volume of A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the* Didache, JSNTSup 254 (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004).

usage within the nascent church. An advantage of this perspective is that the late first-century author of Matthew must have come into contact with the *Didache* or its materials relatively quickly within the development of the New Testament, though most other canonical authors did not.[4]

A third position holds that the two texts arose more or less simultaneously, with the respective authors maintaining an awareness of materials and traditions that were incorporated into their counterpart's work. Adherents of this view are perhaps fewer than those of either of the other positions for various reasons, not the least of which is the difficulty that arises in efforts to offer conclusive proof for the likelihood of this solution. An advantage to this argument is that it sees the *Didache* and its materials as quite old; a disadvantage is that it strains to explain the specifics of the relationship between the author of Matthew and the Didachist, who presumably worked within a single community setting.

With the present essay I offer an additional argument in support of this third position that is directed toward the view that Matthew and the *Didache* contain common situational elements. Reflected in each work are historical moments and social indicators that characterize their evolution and vaguely define familiar community issues. Indeed, if some relationship between the two writings is to be seen as viable, then at least some such overlap should be expected.[5]

THE POSITION OF STEPHENSON H. BROOKS ON MATTHEW

In the 1987 publication of his dissertation,[6] Stephenson Brooks offers a relatively clear and concise summation of previous historical-critical examinations of Matthew that have taken two specific elements into consideration: the special nature of unique Matthean materials—that is, the so-called

[4] For a historical reconstruction that may also support this position, see M. Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE*, JSNTSup 244 (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2003), 54–76, 118–25.

[5] This essay is my third approach to this topic in recent years, with previous efforts appearing in my 'Reflections on the Role of Jewish Christianity in Second-Century Antioch', in S. C. Mimouni and F. S. Jones (eds.), *Actes du colloque international: Le judéo-christianisme dans tous ses états* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 147–67, and 'The Milieu of Matthew, the Didache, and Ignatius of Antioch: Agreements and Differences', in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), 35–47.

[6] S. H. Brooks, *Matthew's Community: The Evidence of his Special Sayings Material*, JSNTSup 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987). I have previously offered a brief summary of the Brooks hypothesis in my own published dissertation; see C. N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, VCSup 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 130–2.

M source—and the distinct likelihood that the Gospel of Matthew is the product of an evolutionary development through separate literary stages. Building on the work of B. H. Streeter, T. W. Manson, and G. D. Kilpatrick, Brooks seeks to identify through systematic analysis those materials within Matthew that can be identified as unique to the author of the gospel. He then employs these materials to reconstruct the historical steps of the evolving Matthean community.

In the summary of his research, Brooks settles upon three primary stages of development underlying the text of Matthew.[7] The first stage represents a community of Jewish Christians prior to 70 CE who were faithful to the synagogue but a challenge to its leadership. These messianic Jews anticipated the return of the Son of Man and focused their beliefs upon Palestine and the sayings of Jesus. The second stage is characterized by a time when this group found itself in conflict with the synagogue, having become somewhat well developed with respect to Christology and firm in its recognition of the authority of Jesus as the legitimate, eschatological lawgiver of God. The final stage represents the time of the evangelist himself, who, fixed firmly within the history of the broader community, incorporated the Gospel of Mark and the Q source into the broader M tradition in order to produce the gospel that we have today.

Brooks is convinced that the author of Matthew knew the M source materials in their oral form only, and that the construction of the gospel text ultimately broke the cycle of their oral transmission. With this acknowledgement in mind, he appeals to the observation of Werner Kelber that 'oral transmission is controlled by the law of *social identification* rather than by the technique of verbatim memorization',[8] by which he seeks to group the various sayings of the M materials into five separate traditions, the first three of which contain certain social locators of the developing community. The resulting traditions are identified as follows:

1. Matt. 5. 19, 21–2, 27–8, 33–5, 37; 12. 36–7; 18. 18; 19. 12 (?); 23. 8–10
2. Matt. 6. 1–6, 16–18; 23. 2–3, 5
3. Matt. 5. 23–4 (?); 23. 15, 16–22, 24, 33
4. Matt. 10. 5b–6, 23b
5. Matt. 6. 7–8; 7. 6[9]

Brooks assigns each grouping to a specific stage in the community's evolution. The collections of sayings in groups 2 and 4 are 'sayings representative of

[7] Brooks, *Matthew's Community*, 119–23.

[8] W. H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 24 (emphasis original).

[9] Brooks, *Matthew's Community*, 109–10.

a tradition coming from a Christian Jewish group'; groups 3 and 5 are 'sayings from an interim period'; and group 1 is 'sayings representative of a tradition coming from a Jewish Christian community'.[10] Through his analysis of 'social indicators' for each grouping, he thus concludes that the Matthean community was composed of several parties of divergent Christians, who maintained oral traditions that were preserved and reinterpreted—a process that was interrupted to some extent by the composition of the Gospel of Matthew. It is the 'historicizing' element of the gospel that ultimately served to bind these various oral traditions together into a literary unity.

Based upon his analysis of Matt. 10 and 23, Brooks describes the specific view of Christian history that was shared by the Matthean redactor and the community from which the M tradition was derived.[11] One finds in these chapters the gradual removal of the authority of the Jewish leaders from their influence upon the faith community of the evolving messianic consciousness of the Matthean community. These leaders were judged for their false interpretations of the Jewish tradition, for their behaviour with respect to that tradition, and for their persecution of the 'Christian prophets' who had criticized their shortcomings. According to Brooks, one finds within these materials 'four distinct historical stages in the relationship between the contemporary readers of specific sayings and the Jewish community':

> (1) the reader's religious life is circumscribed by the authority of the Jewish synagogue leaders; (2) in antithesis to this circumscribed position, the reader is subject only to the authority of Jesus as teacher and Christ, and God as Father; (3) the reader is given an explanation of the new position firstly with reference to the invalid interpretation and religious behavior of the synagogue rulers, and secondly with reference to their overt persecution of members of the community of Jesus; (4) finally, the reader's ties with Judaism/Israel are severed.[12]

In the final analysis of this development, the separation between the Jews and the Matthean community occurred because the Christians were rejected by the synagogue leaders.

STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE *DIDACHE*

In a little over a century of research upon the text of the *Didache*, a variety of opinions have been raised with respect to the formation and editing of the text. These views vary widely, and reflect a growing understanding of the

[10] Brooks, *Matthew's Community*, 120–3, 188–91.
[11] Ibid. 115–19. [12] Ibid. 117.

nature of the work and its function within the apostolic and post-apostolic church. In certain respects, particularly with reference to the suggestions and influence of Jean-Paul Audet,[13] the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of a belief that the *Didache* itself represents the product of various stages of compilation. The secondary literature of the period reflects the academic efforts that have been undertaken to identify these stages and the sources of their formative materials. And while there has certainly been some disagreement in this process, one might safely offer a general understanding of the divisions of the text according to such a process.[14]

In general, those students of the text who have argued for literary divisions have accepted that the so-called evangelical materials of 1. 3b–2. 1 are not original to the text. Numerous arguments have been set forth that the unique quality of these sayings within the materials of the *Didache*, together with their more obvious dependence upon sayings that are known in similar form from Matthew and Luke, suggest their presence within the text as an addition.[15]

Similar arguments have been offered with respect to the concluding collection of apocalyptic materials in the final chapter of the *Didache*, though the situation is somewhat more complicated there. On the one hand, the sayings of chapter 16 seem to reflect some awareness of the synoptic tradition, as with 1. 3b–2. 1 above. Yet, as Paul Drews suggested a century ago,[16] there may be some reason to speculate that these apocalyptic materials originally formed the conclusion of an even longer series of collected sayings, a collection that can now be identified within the rough parameters of *Did.* 1–5 (6). Indeed, the original framework of the traditions that composed the sayings trajectory underlying the *Didache* could easily have included chapters 1–6 and 16 together without any essential change in the nature of the materials that appear there.

[13] J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres,* ÉBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958).

[14] I hasten to add here that a focus upon the literary construction of the text according to historical stages has not been unanimously supported. Indeed, the work of Kurt Niederwimmer suggests instead that the *Didache* is the product of separate source traditions, though not the evolution of historical editing; see, e.g., his *Die Didache*, 2nd edn. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993; ET Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), and his subsequent article, 'Der Didachist und seine Quellen', in C. N. Jefford (ed.), *The* Didache *in Context*, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 15–36. One must also take into account the question of the oral nature of the text, arguments for which have been undertaken in recent years through the work of I. H. Henderson; see, e.g., his '*Didache* and Orality in Synoptic Comparison', *JBL* 111 (1992), 283–306, and 'Style-Switching in the *Didache*: Fingerprint or Argument?', in Jefford (ed.), Didache *in Context*, 177–209.

[15] The best-known argument based upon this view was offered by B. Layton, 'The Sources, Date, and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.1', *HTR* 61 (1968), 343–83.

[16] P. Drews, 'Untersuchungen zur Didache', *ZNW* 5 (1904), 53–79. See also the later discussion of E. Bammel, 'Schema und Vorlage von *Didache* 16', in F. L. Cross (ed.), *StPatr* 4, TU 79 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 253–62.

This brings us, then, to the question of the sayings that lie within *Did.* 1–5. These materials are clearly different from what appears in chapters 7–15, which have been identified as either liturgical or ecclesiastical in form. Parallels to the sayings of chapters 1–5 are found in *Barn.* 18–20 and in the Latin *Doctrina Apostolorum*, which may suggest that these materials evolved from a teaching tradition that circulated separately from the remaining chapters at some early stage in the development of the *Didache.*[17] Various arguments have been offered during the last century to explain how these texts have intertwined in the literary history of the tradition, but most scholars now agree that they represent a diverse source (either oral, written, or mixed) that was used by multiple church communities in one context or another.

Apart from this collection of teachings in chapters 1–5, the liturgical and ecclesiastical traditions of chapters 7–15 seem to form a separate unit, at least by genre. Contained within these chapters is a collection of diverse traditions associated with various liturgical matters: namely, baptism, prayer, ritual food events, and public worship. Also found here are ecclesiastical instructions that offer directions on how to receive travelling apostles, how to evaluate the quality of a teacher's spirit, how to appoint worthy community leaders, and how to engage prophets of the Lord.

Between the materials of chapters 1–5 and 7–15 falls a brief segment that serves to conclude the opening materials and provide a bridge to the latter section. This is a particularly interesting chapter, which clearly reflects the issues addressed in the famous 'apostolic decree' from the Jerusalem council that is portrayed in Acts 15. The primary concern here is the question of foods that are acceptable for responsible Christians to eat. And the answer is the same as in Acts: that the true believer should refrain from eating food that has been offered to false gods as actions of piety.[18]

In summary, then, we might say that students of the *Didache* have often identified a variety of possible layers behind the text that may suggest differing historical milieus or developments within a single community. These include the materials of 1. 1–3a with 2. 2–5. 1 (and perhaps some or all of 6. 1–3), the passages in 6. 1–3, 7. 1–15. 4, 16. 1–8 (perhaps combined with 1. 1–5. 1), and the addition of 1. 3b–2. 1. While scholars have often agreed upon some of

[17] Certainly this is suggested by their usage in the later *Rule of Benedict* and book 7 of the *Apostolic Constitutions.*

[18] See D. Flusser, 'Paul's Jewish-Christian Opponents in the *Didache*', in S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions, Dedicated to R. J. Zwi Werblowsky*, Studies in the History of Religions, supplements to Numen, 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 71–90; J. A. Draper, 'Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the *Didache* Community', *NovT* 33 (1991), 347–72; Slee, *Church in Antioch*, 83–90.

these divisions, more often there is considerable debate about the limits that should be assigned to individual sections and whether the identification of divisions suggests literary evolution.

DEVELOPING THE BROOKS HYPOTHESIS BESIDE THE VIEW OF AN EVOLVING *DIDACHE*

It must be observed from the outset that the historical strata that Brooks reconstructs for the community of Matthew based on the M source find little parallel with corresponding materials in the *Didache*. Indeed, his M materials from groups 2 and 4 ('sayings representative of a tradition coming from a Christian Jewish group') find a parallel only in *Did.* 8. 2a (Matt. 6. 1–6) and 15. 4 (Matt. 6. 16–18). His M materials from groups 3 and 5 ('sayings from an interim period') find a parallel only in *Did.* 2. 2–3 (Matt. 5. 23–4), 9. 5 (Matt. 7. 6), and perhaps 15. 4 again (Matt. 6. 7–8). His M materials from group 1 ('sayings representative of a tradition coming from a Jewish Christian community') find a parallel only in *Did.* 2. 2–3 (Matt. 5. 27–8). Furthermore, the few materials that may be included here are primarily traditional in scope and include passing references to the Decalogue, the nature of prayer, and the need to keep holy items from dogs. As a surface comparison of sources, this is hardly impressive.

A more pronounced development of the Brooks hypothesis leads us in a somewhat more positive direction, however. In a paper delivered at Tilburg University in 2003, Wim Weren combined the efforts of Brooks with the work of Antony Saldarini and David Sim to advance a similar reconstruction of the Matthean situation.[19] Like Brooks, Weren distinguished three stages in the evolution of the Matthean community, but with more of a focus upon the details of the tradition. Weren's first stage includes sayings of Jesus that circulated prior to the year 70, that were profoundly Jewish in character, and that find no parallel in either Mark or Q. His second stage is best represented by the editorial work of the Matthean redactor who, working in the 80s, incorporated the influence of Mark and Q upon the unique tradition of the Matthean community's materials. Finally, his third stage reveals the last redactional level of Matthew at the end of the 80s, a time when the community had separated from its original Jewish context to form a separate, unique

[19] This paper has now been published: W. Weren, 'The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community', in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *The Didache and Matthew: Two Documents from the Same Jewish Christian Milieu?* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), 31–62.

identity. A consideration of Weren's extension of the Brooks hypothesis reveals a ready foundation for similar materials in the *Didache*. And it is here that we encounter materials that, while not included by Brooks as strata of the M source, are clearly unique to Matthew's cache of resources.[20]

The Matthean materials that find close parallels in the *Didache* may be grouped into a variety of forms. In the first instance there are materials that could easily have circulated freely in the early Christian tradition as isolated sayings.[21] While they have been attributed to the historical Jesus in most cases, they could have been associated with any Jewish sage or prophet. For the purposes of reconstruction, we should focus upon those materials that find obvious parallels only in Matthew among the New Testament gospels. Most noticeable here are sayings such as 'be meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth' (3. 7), and 'do not give anything holy to dogs' (9. 5). Of second consideration are liturgical elements that find specific parallels in Matthew. These include materials such as the instruction to 'baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (7. 1, 3) and the so-called Lord's Prayer in its Matthean form (8. 2). Finally, there are general instructions in the *Didache* whose application finds parallels in Matthew. Specifically, here we discover instructions about community correction in 15. 3 that are clearly reflected in Matt. 18. 15–35. There is also a general call to conduct prayers and give alms in 15. 4 that may be joined with a critique of the fasting of the hypocrites in 8. 1, texts that are likewise clearly reflected in content, if not in context, in Matt. 6. 1–18.

What is particularly distressing about this consideration of the Brooks hypothesis is the suggestion that there are in reality only a limited number of true, specific parallels between actual sayings that appear both in Matthew and in the *Didache*. Yet, as any good student of early Christian literature knows, there is more to textual comparison than simple quotations that exist in common between documents. Indeed, it is within the background of the remaining material that the glue between the *Didache* and Matthew becomes most readily apparent.[22]

[20] Though further developed in later studies, a clear list of parallels in addition to those suggested by Brooks may be found in J. M. Court, 'The Didache and St. Matthew's Gospel', *SJT* 34 (1981), 109–20. Also now, see Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence*, 243.

[21] So the premiss of H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 159–241.

[22] It is specifically in this respect that the present essay seeks to address the weaknesses of the basic text-critical approach to the relationship of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers that the current volume seeks to celebrate: i.e., A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

The clearest indication of additional texts that must be considered occurs with respect to the question of sayings. Thus, to the specific parallels that have been cited above, we must certainly add the opening lines of the *Didache*: namely, 'there are two ways, one of life and one of death' (1. 1), 'love the God who made you' (1. 2a), 'love your neighbor as yourself' (1. 2b), and 'whatever you would not have done to you, do not do to another' (1. 2c). These sayings are widespread throughout the common traditions of Judaism, with prominent parallels to be found in Deut. 30. 19; 6. 5, Lev. 19. 18; and Tobit 4. 15, respectively. There are, of course, parallels to these sayings in Matthew, specifically at 7. 13–14, 22. 37 and 39, and 7. 12. But attempts to assign a connection between the *Didache* and Matthew here tend to fall prey to two objections: first, that the first and last materials are from the Q source (see Luke 13. 23–4 and 6. 31); second, that the middle materials are from the Marcan source (see Mark 12. 29, 31; Luke 10. 27). For those who desire to maintain a strict dependence upon literary traditions, this does indeed seem to present a major problem. But here we should recall that sayings circulated in antiquity in numerous forms and were collected in different locales in various contexts. Indeed, I have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere that the so-called 'two ways' saying of *Did.* 1. 1 is actually found only in Matthew within the New Testament literature, since the Lucan parallel is not concerned with the same concept: that is, two distinct choices in life. So too, and in the same place, I have argued that the author of Matthew was aware of the sayings of love of God and neighbour from a source other than that which is represented in Mark. Furthermore, the Matthean conclusion to each saying ('for this is the law and the prophets') suggests that the author of the gospel text may have recognized that these three sayings together represented the complete teaching of a specific tradition, at least for the Matthean community.[23]

From the beginning of the *Didache* we may easily move to the conclusion of the work. Further sayings are evident in the final chapter of the writing, materials that find a clear parallel in the apocalyptic section of Matthew. It is certainly true that the author of Matthew appears to be heavily dependent upon the Gospel of Mark for his basic framework, and this would seem to hold true as well of Matthew's dependence upon Mark 13 for the structure of materials in Matthew 23–5. But, as John Kloppenborg convincingly argued some twenty-five years ago,[24] the apocalyptic material that appears in the *Didache* 'shows no dependence upon either Mark (or his source) or Matthew,

[23] For the extended discussion, see Jefford, *Sayings of Jesus*, 22–9, 146–59.

[24] J. S. Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16: 6–8 and Special Matthean Tradition', *ZNW* 70 (1979), 54–67. See, however, Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition', and V. Balabanski, *Eschatology in the Making: Mark, Matthew and the Didache*, SNTSMS 97 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 210.

but rather seems to represent a tradition upon which Matthew drew'.[25] Indeed, it would thus seem that the evidence of materials within the *Didache* itself suggests the presence of both sapiential and apocalyptic sayings that find clear and true parallels within the M materials of Matthew.

From the beginning to the end of the *Didache*, therefore, we discover a tendency to incorporate specific sayings that are in some sense unique to, or typical of, the Matthean M tradition. That is to say, there are certain materials that are common to both writings, and these materials reflect tendencies that are unique among the New Testament gospels. The question that follows, then, is whether we might attribute these materials to a common source that was shared by both authors. If this is in fact true, we must question the nature of that source.

Typical of the materials that appear in *Did.* 1. 1–2 and 16. 3–8 is a heavy dependence upon Old Testament texts and Jewish traditions. This holds true not only for the opening lines and concluding chapter of the text, materials that may originally have derived from the same early layer of the *Didache* construction, but for sayings that stem from other divisions of the work as well. For example, in 1. 3b we find the saying on love of enemies that is attributed to the Q source (Matt. 7. 12 // Luke 6. 31), but that may find its ultimate roots in Tobit 12. 8. And in 1. 6 we find a saying on alms that is clearly dependent upon Sir. 12. 1. These materials come from what is widely recognized as the latest addition to the text of the *Didache*, that is, 1. 3b–2. 1, which would mark a general tendency throughout the text to draw from Old Testament-based materials, a propensity that thus spans the earliest layer of the writing to its most recent addition.

Similar tendencies occur throughout the remaining materials of the *Didache*: namely, the dependence upon the Decalogue of Exod. 20. 13–16 (in *Did.* 2. 2–3; 3. 2–6; and 5. 1), a command not to hate based upon Lev. 19. 17–18 (in 2. 7), the blessing of the meek from Ps. 37. 11 (in 3. 7), and some instruction for those who come in the name of the Lord from Ps. 118. 26 (in 12. 1). Such sayings, dependent upon Old Testament traditions, span both the so-called catechetical materials of *Did.* 1–5 and the ecclesiastical materials of *Did.* 11–15. Their presence argues that use of such traditions within the *Didache* extends not only from the earliest to the latest layers of the text, but across the boundaries of the different genres of literature that appear throughout.

Into this mix one may add a variety of traditions that reflect specific Jewish traditions that seem to have been in evidence within the early church. Scholars have traditionally focused much of their research energy in

[25] Kloppenborg, 'Didache 16', 66.

these areas.[26] Most apparent among these traditions are materials that include comments upon the nature of baptism in *Did.* 7,[27] considerations of the role of fasting and prayer within the community as found in *Did.* 8,[28] and especially use of early Jewish meal-prayers and food rituals in *Did.* 9–10.[29] One may easily find countless examples of research into the Jewish nature of materials in the *Didache*, studies that focus upon specific relationships of the text with the Gospel of Matthew, contemporary Jewish sects, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Ultimately, it appears that evidence of Jewish links between the situation and concerns of the Didachist and those of the author of Matthew are irrefutable. And the basis of those links is the concern with Jewish sources and traditions that appear in both works, somewhat uniquely among the documents of early Christian literature.

What is suggested here is that, if one can actually identify evolving stages of Matthew based upon the community's relationship to Judaism, and, if one can accept developmental stages of the *Didache* based upon editorial adaptation, then there must be some commonality of elements that can be seen to unite the works, provided that they stem from the same community situation. The clearest associations are indicated through the dependence upon Old Testament sources in uniquely shared materials, on the one hand, and the preponderance of concern for Jewish traditions of training, liturgy, and community structure, on the other. What is perhaps most remarkable about these links, at least with respect to the *Didache*, is that they are apparent throughout the entire work, regardless of whether the materials appear in those chapters that are sometimes associated with the earlier stages of the writing or with the later stages. So too, they are found throughout the writing, regardless of the genre of materials that is employed, whether sapiential, liturgical, ecclesiastical, or apocalyptic. If we are to accept the development of the Brooks hypothesis, particularly as illustrated by the argument of Weren, and to apply it to some proposal for the developmental stages of the *Didache*,

[26] For a brief, general review, see Draper, 'Didache in Modern Research', 24–31.

[27] See W. Rordorf, 'Le Baptême selon la *Didachè*', in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R. P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1972), 499–509; ET 'Baptism according to the Didache', in Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, 212–22.

[28] See J. A. Draper, 'Christian Self-Definition against the "Hypocrites" in *Didache* 8', in E. H. Lovering (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 362–77.

[29] See J. M. Robinson, 'Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Früchristentums', in *Apophoreta, Festschrift für E. Haenchen*, BZNW 30 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), 194–235; J. Betz, 'Die Eucharistie in der Didache', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 11 (1969), 10–39; ET 'The Eucharist in the *Didache*', in Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, 244–75; and E. Mazza, 'Didaché IX–X: Elementi per una interpretazione Eucaristica', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 92 (1979), 393–419; ET 'Didache 9–10: Elements of a Eucharistic Interpretation', in Draper (ed.), *The* Didache *in Modern Research*, 276–99.

then we must somehow explain the consistency of these materials throughout the text of the *Didache*.

It is proposed here that the most favourable solution to these circumstances can be found in recognizing that the segment of the community that produced the *Didache* remained consistent in its ancient understanding of Christianity alongside the evolving perspective of the author of Matthew, who represented a progressive movement within the same community. In other words, while the author of Matthew produced a gospel of ideological progression, the Didachist produced a reactionary text of ideological regression. It is to that divide that we now turn.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF JEWISH–CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN FIRST-CENTURY ANTIOCH

In his recent book on the rise of Christianity in first-century Antioch, Magnus Zetterholm has offered some intriguing socio-political insights into the situation of that ancient city, whose setting could have offered the occasion for significant links between Matthew and the *Didache*.[30] These insights are related to the role of Judaism within the city during the rise of our texts, evidence for interaction between Jews and Christians there, and the politics of persecution that drove that interaction.

Zetterholm notes what others have observed before him as the foundation for his analysis of the Antiochean situation: that is, that there was a strong Jewish community within the city, perhaps from its foundation, and that the influence of the synagogue remained prevalent at least until the end of the first century.[31] The city was certainly capable of supporting a number of synagogues,[32] much like the numerous parallel situations in other large cities throughout the Diaspora. These synagogues would have served as the centres of Jewish life and culture, having as their primary purpose the support of 'prayers, study and the teaching of scripture on the Sabbath'.[33] At the same time, of course, there would have been a thriving non-religious dimension to life within the synagogue, whose function as an organization was to support

[30] See M. Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

[31] Ibid. 31–42.

[32] So M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* (London: SCM Press, 1997), 186.

[33] Zetterholm, *Formation*, 38. Zetterholm offers this perspective based upon the work of D. D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogue in the Second Temple Period* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 449.

community activities, including the collection of funds for charity, opportunities for shared meals, and the settlement of legal disputes. The presence of synagogues would have served both a religious and a civic function for local Jews.

Zetterholm presses forward in his reconstruction of the Antiochean situation through an adaptation of M. M. Gordon's analysis of cultural assimilation in modern American culture.[34] While he admits that there are few sources for knowledge of the Jewish cultural situation in Antioch, he suggests three general patterns that were probably at work within the community: religion became optional to a limited degree; some individuals intensified their religious identity, while others chose to assimilate into the majority society; and religious institutions assumed new formations.[35] The primary factor for those who assimilated to the broader society around them was the availability of structural compatibility: that is, the convenient opportunity to intermesh familiar structures with models that were more broadly recognized within the wider community. At the same time, there would have been many Jews who would have reacted negatively to such 'opportunities', choosing instead to reform the boundaries of their traditional faith and culture into a more Torah-obedient perspective. Zetterholm observes that such opposing tendencies within the wider Jewish community were more likely to have been divided and scattered among different synagogues, with the result that a single ideology tended to dominate individual locations.

What becomes a paramount issue, then, is the likely interaction between the Jews of Antioch and the broader non-Jewish society. Zetterholm offers an intriguing investigation into the various aspects of cultural, religious, and political struggle that ensued, and observes that a key element in the early churches that arose within such a setting was the need to address the question of self-identification, either pro-Jewish or anti-Jewish.[36] In the midst of this interaction and struggle, he argues that the Gospel of Matthew reflects the movements of this very location and its times.[37] Matthew stands between the original setting of Jewish Christianity in Antioch and the social movement that Bishop Ignatius led in an effort to separate the church from its Jewish roots. As Zetterholm states:

> It would not be too bold a hypothesis to assume that the presence of the Jewish Gospel of Matthew in the hands of the Gentile non-Jewish and even anti-Jewish community of Ignatius in some way represents a culmination of the process of transition from a Jewish to a Gentile setting.[38]

[34] Zetterholm, *Formation*, 67–100. See M. M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973 [1964]).

[35] Zetterholm, *Formation*, 97.

[36] Ibid. 112–224. See also Slee, *Church in Antioch*, 12–35.

[37] Zetterholm, *Formation*, 211–16.

[38] Ibid. 212.

On the one hand, the Gospel of Matthew reflects the early Antiochean church's conflict with formative Judaism. At the same time, the text was employed by Ignatius as the launching point from which to break from the very Matthean community that produced it. Thus the gospel became an 'ideological resource' for the Matthean community, which believed heavily in the teachings of Jesus. But the gospel's inherent conflict with Pharisaic Judaism and its successors became the basis for the Ignatian rejection of any Judaic influence within the developing church.

In the summary and implications of his findings, Zetterholm brings a number of interesting conclusions to his analysis of the first-century situation of the church in Antioch.[39] He finds in Antioch that there was principally a division between 'Jesus-believing Jews' and 'Jesus-believing Gentiles'. The position of Paul regarding this division—that is, that non-Jews should be included within the covenant of Judaism—would have been seen as 'an attractive solution' to the latter group, but 'a serious threat' to the former. The 'Jesus-believing Gentiles' who associated with their Jewish counterparts, in an effort to avoid their legal obligations to the cultic religion of the state, most likely pretended to be Jews. The struggles that resulted within the Antiochean church, then, became a complicated effort to define the role of this group of believers and to develop an understanding of the relationships that could make them an acceptable part of the local Christian setting. Ultimately, as he concludes,

> In this study we have found evidence of Jews who wanted to become Gentiles, and of Gentiles who wanted to become Jews. We have found evidence of other Jews who, by becoming Jesus-believers, found a way *to cease being Jewish.* While some Gentiles originally joined the Jesus movement because of a profound interest in Judaism, other Gentiles within the same movement later *wanted to separate from Judaism and establish a non-Jewish religion.*[40]

THE *DIDACHE* AND MATTHEW AT WORK IN THE SAME COMMUNITY

The analysis that Zetterholm offers to our study is most interesting in that it provides a contextual framework for the evolution of first-century Christianity at Antioch that permits a sociological explanation for the role of the

[39] Zetterholm, *Formation*, 231–5.

[40] Ibid. 234 (emphasis original). The gravity of 'faith switching' is particularly acute with the recognition that Rome's persecution of illegal religions in the late first century often revolved around the issue of paying specific religious taxes; see M. Sordi, *The Christians and the Roman Empire* (ET London and Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 38–54, esp. 48–9.

Didache within the city. Strictly speaking, Zetterholm himself does not entertain this idea, yet he provides the method that I wish to utilize here.

If it is indeed true that the religious situation in Antioch was one in which Christianity evolved from strict Jewish roots through the influence of Pauline theology and the addition of non-Jewish believers who were attracted in various ways to messianic Judaism, then the response to that non-Jewish attraction would have been most significant. Zetterholm argues that the Jewish response would have varied throughout the city according to individual synagogues, each of which would have been motivated by a general ideology that would have either accepted the presence of non-Jews ('God-fearers') or rejected them.[41] So too, one might expect to see a similar process at work among the evolving house churches of the city, religious centres of Jesus-believing Jews whose response to the presence of non-Jews would have varied from one location to another. As Zetterholm reconstructs the resulting situation, he notes that the portion of the Antiochean church that produced the Gospel of Matthew found itself at the centre of two points of tension: first, in forming an identity in conflict with formative Judaism; secondly, as a tool for those who wished to free Christianity from its Jewish roots altogether.

What is not discerned in this reconstruction is any recognition that those Jews who were attracted to Christianity, yet who wished to maintain their Jewish identity, may have compiled their own collection of Antiochean traditions, including the sayings of Jesus and the unique liturgical and ecclesiastical practices of local Christianity. One might expect these materials to be composed of ancient traditions that were somewhat unique, either in form or in substance, to the Christian situation in Antioch, of course.[42] And if we can already place Matthew within the Antiochean setting, then we might assume that the majority of those local traditions would be reflected in the so-called M source materials of that gospel text. There need not be any assumption that the other sources for the Gospel of Matthew would be present within that collection of materials, sources such as Mark and Q, though their presence might indeed be noticed, depending upon the date of the collection and editing of the text itself. Nor should we assume that the Antiochean materials that appear in this collection would necessarily be used in the same manner or context as Matthew might have used them. In fact, because the interpretation of such materials was in dispute, one would expect them to

[41] Indeed, the popularity of Judaism among 'proselytes' in the city was likely a strong motivation for the anti-Semitism that arose there in the late first century; so E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, SJLA 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 360–2.

[42] Hence the conclusions of Slee, *Church in Antioch*, 158 ('whenever the Didachist utilizes the same tradition as the Evangelist he preserves it in its more primitive form').

appear in somewhat different contexts, used for divergent purposes.[43] Finally, while it would be nice to be able to point to a primary list of sayings and traditions that appear both in this hypothetical source and in Matthew's own M materials, there need not be too much of an explicit, extensive connection to suggest an association between the writings. The overt connections may justifiably be minimal. For while the author of Matthew incorporated local materials and traditions into a gospel structure, modelled upon the Gospel of Mark and supplemented by the Q source for the specific purpose of identifying Christianity apart from Judaism (but within the light of Judaism), the Didachist marshalled those same materials and traditions as a conservative backlash against the rising trend of Matthew's progressive understanding of the faith.

The socio-political situation that Zetterholm describes and the appearance and relationship of materials common to Matthew that would be suggested for our source, seems to apply precisely to the situation that occurs with respect to the *Didache*. While Zetterholm does not address the question of a second literary development of source materials that may have existed within the Antiochean church, apart from those that are now preserved in Matthew, his community reconstruction certainly leaves room for such a text. Indeed, the parameters of such materials might easily fit those that are now identified in the *Didache*, if that writing may be attributed to some specific segment of the church community that wanted to preserve specific local Jesus-oriented traditions within their Jewish context. It is certainly conceivable that many local Christian Jews would have seen the imposition of outside sources and traditions as a disruption of the original practices of the religious community, and their efforts to resist that influence would have been a natural response.

The situation that I propose for the placement of the *Didache* with relation to the Gospel of Matthew and within the Antiochean setting seems to fit the following scenario, at least as it might be presented in the light of the speculation of Brooks, Weren, and Zetterholm specifically. If we can accept the premiss of Brooks that the evolution of the Matthean community may be understood through the author/editor's use of materials that were specific to the community (the so-called M source), then we have a framework by which to understand that the community grew into its ultimate Matthean form as it struggled to identify itself apart from the synagogue. The use of specific M materials provides some sort of framework for understanding the stages by which this occurred. As this applies to the *Didache*, and the hypothesis that it too is the product of an evolutionary process, there is little specific content

[43] *Contra* the conclusions of A. Milavec, 'Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache* Revisited', *JECS* 11 (2003), 478–80.

that is shared between what Brooks identifies as M materials in Matthew and what is preserved throughout the layers of the Didachist's own text. Admittedly, Brooks is somewhat restrictive in his identification of M materials, preferring to focus upon sets of materials rather than upon isolated aphorisms.

With these limitations in mind, we may turn to the adaptations that Weren makes to the Brooks hypothesis. A primary contribution is the recognition that the M materials are heavily Jewish in form and orientation. In other words, it is not sufficient simply to identify the M materials as the delimiters of the stages that the Matthean community underwent in its separation from Judaism. Instead, it is necessary to recognize that those materials were most at home within the context of their Jewish setting. As Weren offers in his conclusions, 'Matthew tried to stimulate the social cohesion in his community by uniting the various subgroups around the interpretation of the Torah offered by Jesus and further cultivated by the community's local leaders.'[44] Such an attempt to rally around the Torah could not have been seen as a feasible project except to the extent that the author of Matthew recognized that the Torah remained a legitimate authority for the gospel's hearers. The development of the Matthean community, therefore, is not to be viewed strictly as an evolution away from Judaism itself, though it was interpreted as such by Ignatius and his followers. Instead, the Gospel of Matthew offers a transition moment away from what its author viewed to be the 'false' leadership of Judaism and the religious perspectives that such leadership endorsed, perspectives that did not condone the recognition of Jesus of Nazareth as the promised messiah of Israel.

Finally, we turn to the work of Zetterholm and its implications for the role of the *Didache*. Here we find that the Antiochean situation was one in which Jews who believed in Jesus came into contact with non-Jews with the same basic beliefs. These believing Jews found themselves in the midst of an anxious situation, with a choice to become 'less Jewish' in their orientation toward their gathering Christian convictions. So too, the believing non-Jews were in a similar struggle, with a choice to become 'more Jewish' in their own orientation. For various social and political reasons, the members of both groups made decisions in either direction. The Gospel of Matthew represents the literary understanding of one segment of that Christian community that stood somewhere in the middle of the debate. Ignatius offers slightly later materials that indicate the direction that he intended to pull the church in his effort to break with Judaism altogether, indicating the path that Christianity was ultimately destined to take.

[44] Weren, 'History and Social Setting', 62.

At the same time, if there were Jews in Antioch who constructed ideological defences against the rising tide of messianic fervour that swept the city in the first century, then it is also very likely that there were Jewish Christians who took a similar stance against the influence of non-Jewish Christians. These more conservative churches would have held fast to a principle that was represented by the Jewish teachings and traditions that characterized Christianity, at least as they had always known it. Their Jesus was thoroughly Jewish, defined in a low christological sense by the teachings of the Torah that appeared in the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Proverbs. Traditional forms of prayer, concerns for fasting and proselyte baptism, questions regarding the giving of the first-fruits of their labours to the righteous prophets and leaders of God characterized their rituals. They would have maintained a sense of Jewish identity that would have exceeded that which is represented by the Gospel of Matthew. At the same time, however, they may have purposefully chosen to break with many traditional trappings of the synagogue in an effort to give concrete definition to their messianic consciousness. This would undoubtedly have represented more of an institutional transition than an ideological one, and would surely have characterized the very type of perspective against which Paul objected in Galatians.

The *Didache* offers a number of suggestive elements to this type of historical reconstruction. In the first instance, we see that the elements of the source tradition that the Didachist has utilized extend beyond the minimal definition of M source materials that appear in Matthew. The M source materials are highly Jewish in character, are easily identified with the ministry of any rabbinic teacher, are represented in both the sapiential and apocalyptic genres of the text, and are scattered broadly among the liturgical and ecclesiastical segments of the work.

Secondly, we find that, even if the text of the *Didache* may be broken up into historical layers that found their way into the original *Vorlage* of the work, these layers need not have extended over a particularly long period of time. Indeed, if the Gospel of Matthew represents a transition within the Antiochean church from pre-70s traditions to a final phase between the years 80 and 90, as Weren and others suggest, then the evolution of the *Didache* itself could have easily fallen within that same period. Most noticeably in this regard, while the *Didache* seems to pay little attention to the materials of Mark or Q that were used by the author of Matthew to shape both the framework (= Mark) and the teachings (= Mark/Q/M) that now characterize the Matthean gospel, this does not mean that the Didachist was unaware of those separate sources. On the contrary, the Didachist undoubtedly represented a segment of the Antiochean church that knew, yet rejected, such 'outside sources' of inspiration, while Matthew actually preferred them to the local M materials in most cases. At the same time, it was ultimately possible for the Didachist's community to acknowledge the validity of a source tradition like Q, as appears to be evident from the editorial addition at *Did.* 1. 3b–2. 1.

Finally, many of the traditional issues that have scandalized those who have sought to link the *Didache* and Matthew are no longer valid. For example, the acknowledged fact that the author of Matthew and the Didachist employed the same materials in different contexts now seems reasonable on the assumption that both authors cherished the materials, but in different ways. It is true that their views of the materials were radically different. But this divergent use of familiar traditions is what one might expect from competing factions within the same community. Further, it also makes sense that the liturgical rituals that appear in the *Didache* for observing the Eucharist are not those that appear in Matthew. Matthew represents the tradition of Mark in an almost wooden sense, whereas the *Didache* may have preserved the ritual as originally observed among the first Jewish congregations of the city. It is certainly possible that the prayers of the *Didache* and the words of institution of the Markan/Matthean tradition were used together within the community at some point. Indeed, as has been demonstrated by Paul in 1 Cor. 11, there were early Christian communities who came to know more than one form of the Eucharist ritual. Finally, the occasional references to 'the Gospel' that appear throughout the *Didache* (see 8. 2; 11. 3; 15. 3–4) need not be seen as an indication of the late nature of the work as a whole, but may be a reflection of the fact that the Didachist knew of the composition and use of Matthew within the Antiochean church, and constructed his own text in the light of that rising literary reality.

Despite the differences between Matthew and the *Didache*, the similarities that have traditionally been recognized between the two works indicate a core perspective that bound the writings together within a single metropolitan situation. These include the familiar words of the Lord's Prayer, the presentation of Jesus as a teacher of wisdom and Torah from the perspective of Moses at Mt Sinai, and the concern for correct ritual behaviour. In addition, both texts reflect a concern about pseudo-prophets and false teachers and for the structuring of community life and ethics, tendencies that are typical of Christian literature from the latter part of the first century.

Both Matthew and the *Didache* bear the definite marks of Christian theology as viewed from a Christian perspective, though the directions in which their authors lean are opposed: progressive versus conservative. Ultimately, it is certainly possible, if not probable, that these two writings could have evolved and served useful purposes for different Christian congregations within the same broad church milieu, especially in a city with such a diverse and changing population as Antioch. Indeed, it seems more useful to consider these writings and their authors in the same historical situation than to imagine their creation in separate circumstances.

Part VI

Ignatius

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Ignatius, 'the Gospel', and the Gospels

Charles E. Hill

INTRODUCTION

The conclusions drawn by Inge for the Oxford Committee a century ago with regard to the question of Ignatius' use of the canonical gospels were very measured, though generally positive. While careful not to claim certainty, Inge wrote that the parallels supported the probability of Ignatius' knowledge of Matthew, Luke, and John.[1] His assessment was more optimistic than many later ones would be, particularly after the publication in 1957 of Helmut Köster's landmark book, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*,[2] which argued that Ignatius' synoptic parallels do not signify his knowledge of any of our written gospels, but only his use of (usually older) 'free tradition'. Not only did this book establish a method for approaching synoptic parallels in the Apostolic Fathers, it also gave an authoritative interpretation of Ignatius' use of the term 'gospel', which Koester has maintained ever since, now with many others. When Ignatius uses the term 'gospel', Koester concludes, it 'certainly does not refer to any written text enumerating the basic topics of Jesus' appearance. It is rather the message of salvation in general of which the center is Christ's death and resurrection.'[3]

[1] W. R. Inge, 'Ignatius', in A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 63–83. 'Ignatius was certainly acquainted either with our Matthew, or with the source of our Matthew, or with a Gospel very closely akin to it . . . the indications on the whole favour the hypothesis that he used our Greek Matthew in something like its present shape' (p. 79); 'The balance of probability seems to be slightly in favour of a knowledge of the Third Gospel' (p. 80); 'Ignatius's use of the Fourth Gospel is highly probable, but falls some way short of certainty' (p. 83). Inge found no strong Marcan parallels. For a more recent assessment, see P. Foster, 'Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament', Ch. 7 in the companion volume.

[2] H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957).

[3] H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International; London: SCM Press, 1990), 8; 'Ignatius never implies that he is speaking of a written text when he uses this term' (p. 7); 'Ignatius employs the term exclusively . . . as a designation of the proclamation

As we approach the question of Ignatius' use of the term gospel, several preliminary matters seem to call for attention.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

First, it is virtually certain that by the time Ignatius wrote (AD 107 or 108, possibly as late as 118), all four of the ecclesiastical gospels (leaving aside for the moment the question of other gospels) were in existence, perhaps for decades, and known to at least some part of the Christian reading public. The circulation of these gospels would not, of course, have rendered all surviving oral tradition about Jesus superfluous; we cannot assume that it would have immediately displaced other written accounts which might have been in circulation. We can say, however, that Ignatius, being both a literate person and a Christian bishop, who held to the pre-eminence of 'the coming of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, his passion, and the resurrection' (*Phld.* 9. 2), is just the kind of person we would expect to have been interested in any written accounts of the life, death, and resurrection of the Saviour. Judging from his view of the apostolate, transparent throughout his letters,[4] his interest in such written accounts would have been particularly acute in the case of any which he might have believed were associated with the witness of any of the apostles of Jesus.

Second, at this time there was apparently no standard way of referring to writings now customarily designated 'gospels'. For instance, besides 'gospels', Justin used the phrase 'memoirs of the apostles' (twelve times in *Dial.* 98–107), and this had precedents in Papias's elder, who characterized Mark as the reminiscences of Peter (Euseb. *HE* 2. 15. 1; 3. 24. 5;[5] 3. 39. 15; cf. *Apoc. Jas.* 2. 7–16). Papias's elder also referred to the gospels as containing 'the Lord's sayings' (*HE* 3. 39. 15, 16), 'the acts of Jesus' (*HE* 3. 24. 10, 11), or 'the things said or done by the Lord' (*HE* 3. 39. 15). None of these modes of referring to

of Christ's death and resurrection' (p. 15); cf. *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 8. W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 73–7, believes that the word designates the content of the message, Jesus Christ, the question of oral or written being inappropriate. He concludes from the parallels that Ignatius did know the Gospel according to Matthew.

[4] See C. E. Hill, 'Ignatius and the Apostolate: The Witness of Ignatius to the Emergence of Christian Scripture', in M. F. Wiles and E. J. Yarnold (eds.), *StPatr* 36 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 226–48.

[5] For the relationship of the traditions in *HE* 3. 24. 3–15 to Papias's elder, see C. E. Hill 'What Papias Said about John (and Luke): A "New" Papian Fragment', *JTS* 49 (1998), 582–629, on pp. 614–16.

the gospels—including the word 'gospel'—is in the first instance the title of a book. Each is based on the content or the character of the writings. By themselves, none of them necessarily indicates anything written, though each might. Thus, it would also be quite possible for the word 'gospel' to function at an early stage not exactly as a title, but as a reference to the content[6] of a written work or works.[7] Moreover, with forms of reference such as those mentioned demonstrably in use, it is possible that Ignatius might refer to written gospels or their contents with some other locution besides the word 'gospel'.

Third, as invaluable as Ignatius' letters are for testing such a priori considerations, we must not forget that at best they are capable of furnishing only very partial answers. It was not on Ignatius' agenda to list all his textual authorities for his readers. As a prisoner in transition, he probably did not have any, let alone all, of these with him as he wrote,[8] and thus had to rely upon memory, as seems evident even from his Old Testament parallels and citations.[9] And, in all probability, when it came to literary borrowings, the ideals of exact verbal duplication and contextual fidelity were not his own ideals, or not his only ideals.[10]

Fourth, perhaps the chief reason why some have concluded that Ignatius did use the word 'gospel' to designate one or more written gospels[11] is that he uses it in conjunction with other apparent designations of scriptural books. We may observe that his eight uses of the term *εὐαγγέλιον* appear in the following striking combinations:

Phld. 5. 1–2: gospel . . . apostles . . . prophets . . . gospel . . . gospel
Phld. 8. 2: archives . . . gospel
Phld. 9. 1–2: prophets . . . apostles . . . gospel . . . gospel
Smyrn. 5. 1: the prophecies . . . the Law of Moses . . . the gospel
Smyrn. 7. 2: prophets . . . gospel

6 Cf. the use of the term 'law' in John 1. 17; Acts 7. 53; Rom. 6. 14, 15; 10. 4; Gal. 3. 17; Eph. 2. 15; Heb. 9. 19.

7 The singular 'gospel' was often used to denote plural written works throughout the second century (*Ep. Apost.* 1; Justin, *Dial.* 10. 2; 100. 1; *2 Clem.* 8. 5; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 3. 12; Irenaeus, e.g., *Adv. Haer.* 1. 7. 4; 3. 5. 1; 4. 34. 1).

8 C. C. Richardson, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (New York: AMS Press, 1935), 66.

9 Inge (*NTAF*, 64), observed that 'Ignatius always quotes from memory', whether from the Old or the New Testament, and that 'he is inexact even as compared with his contemporaries'.

10 See J. Whittaker, 'The Value of Indirect Tradition in the Establishment of Greek Philosophical Texts or the Art of Misquotation', in John N. Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts: Papers given at the Twenty-Third Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 6–7 November 1987* (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 63–95.

11 E.g., R. Joly, *Le Dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1979), 66; J. P. Meier, 'Matthew and Ignatius: A Response to William R. Schoedel', in D. L. Balch (ed.), *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (Minneapolis:

Thus we see that four of the five passages lay the gospel alongside either the prophets or the prophecies; the remaining instance has 'archives' instead. One, *Smyrn.* 5. 1, has alongside the prophecies, the law of Moses. Two of the five passages contain also a mention of 'apostles'. A total of five apparent categories are used: the law of Moses, the prophets or prophecies, the archives, the gospel, and the apostles. In each passage at least one designation is used which represents the Old Testament scriptures, and at least one is used which pertains to the new revelation in Christ (always 'the gospel', sometimes 'the apostles' as well), designations which correspond to those used by other second-century authors to denote portions of the New Testament. (See Appendix.)

These certainly have the appearance of 'canonical categories', but are they? The 'archives' mentioned alongside the gospel in *Phld.* 8. 2 is acknowledged to be a reference to the OT[12] (or possibly to the place where the OT books are kept in the church's library),[13] but what about the others? Ignatius mentions 'the prophets', to be sure, in *Phld.* 5. 1; 9. 1; *Smyrn.* 7. 2, but according to Köster he means the prophets 'as persons and not as texts'.[14] What about *Smyrn.* 5. 1, where Ignatius mentions 'the prophecies', and 'the law of Moses'? These certainly represent written texts, but Köster finds in this passage a closer co-ordination of 'gospel' with Ignatius' own human sufferings, also mentioned. Therefore, 'the gospel' is not a text here either.[15] In examining Ignatius' letters, then, attention must be given to both the 'textual' and the 'non-textual' terms with which the word 'gospel' is associated.

One final question which has not received adequate attention is this: why is it that all the texts in which Ignatius uses the term εὐαγγέλιον, and all the texts in which he uses two or more of the quasi-canonical terms, occur in the letters to the Philadelphians and the Smyrnaeans, two of his last three letters, written from Troas? Remarkably, Ignatius wrote to the Magnesians, the Romans, the Trallians, and the Ephesians (and his last, personal letter to Polycarp) without ever using the term εὐαγγέλιον. The answer surely is connected to the unpleasant interchange about 'the gospel' and 'the archives' that occurred

Fortress, 1991), 178–86, on p. 186 n. 20; M. D. Goulder, 'Ignatius' "Docetists" ', *VC* 53 (1999), 16–30, on p. 17 n. 4; M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels* (London: SCM; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 64, 134, 248 n. 247. Hengel thinks that Ignatius knew the Gospels of Matthew and John.

[12] See W. R. Schoedel, 'Ignatius and the Archives', *HTR* 71 (1978), 97–106; *idem, Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 207.

[13] M. Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark* (London: SCM Press, 1985), 77–8.

[14] 'als Personen, nicht um Prophetenschriften' (Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, 7).

[15] Schoedel agrees (*Ignatius*, 208 n. 6).

during his journey through Philadelphia,[16] when he was visited by a number of Christians, evidently of varying persuasions. It is this incident that was evidently the catalyst for his use of *εὐαγγέλιον* and the other quasi-canonical terms in *Philadelphians* and *Smyrnaeans*. This does not mean of course that Ignatius did not already know the term or did not approve of it (he at least would have known it from reading Paul). But Ignatius has not used it himself, in *any* sense, in his previous letters; it is as foreign to them as is the term 'archives'. It makes sense, then, to begin with a consideration of this incident before examining each of the other references individually.

THE IGNATIAN PASSAGES

1. The Incident at Philadelphia, Phld. 8. 2

At Philadelphia Ignatius had encountered a problem with a Christian Judaizing faction. During a visit with assorted Christians there, some persons objected to something Ignatius was saying by pointing to 'the archives'. I give here Schoedel's translation.[17]

> I exhort you to do nothing from partisanship but in accordance with Christ's teaching. For I heard some say, 'If I do not find (it) in the archives, I do not believe (it to be) in the gospel'. And when I said, 'It is written', they answered me, 'That is just the question'. But for me the archives are Jesus Christ, the inviolable archives are his cross and death and his resurrection and faith through him—in which, through your prayers, I want to be justified.

This could mean that the Philadelphian detractors accept the gospel, as much as Ignatius does, but do not accept something he had asserted regarding the gospel because they could not find this in the Old Testament.[18] We might then understand Ignatius' reply, 'it is written', as his appeal to some Old Testament text to support his particular understanding of the Christian gospel message. The response of his opponents, 'That is just the question', then, means that they challenge Ignatius' interpretation of the archives. Ignatius, who Schoedel thinks 'was having difficulty in establishing his point' from the archives,[19] can

[16] So also A. and C. Faivre, 'Genèse d'un texte et recourse aux Écritures: Ignace, *aux Ephésiens* 14,1 – 16,2', *RSR* 65 (1991), 173–96, on p. 178.

[17] Other translations from Ignatius' letters are my own.

[18] See C. M. Trevett, *A Study of Ignatius of Antioch in Syria and Asia*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity, 29 (Lewiston, Me., Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 174.

[19] Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 209.

appeal only to the 'higher authority' of Christ himself, his cross, death, and resurrection and faith in him, as the ultimate 'archives'. In Schoedel's view, then, the opponents 'were relatively harmless theologically. They probably represented a threat to the authorities simply because they surpassed them in exegetical expertise.'[20]

This interpretation, though widely accepted, is not without difficulties. First, Schoedel's supplying of an unexpressed 'to be' as part of the object of *πιστεύω*, 'If I do not find (it) in the archives, I do not believe (it to be) in the gospel', has recently been called 'implausible' by Michael Goulder.[21] The opposition of archives to gospel, clear even in Schoedel's translation, is enhanced in the simpler translation: 'unless in the archives I find (it), in the gospel I do not believe (it)'. This translation also preserves the balanced parallel structure of the statement in Greek (*ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὕρω ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω*). This probably means that his opponents were not objecting to something they thought Ignatius had added to the preached gospel message, but that the element(s) in question, though it be contained 'in the gospel', was not accepted by them because they did not find it in the OT. Accordingly, throughout *Philadelphians* (5. 1; 8. 2; 9. 2) Ignatius asserts the pre-eminence of simply 'the gospel', specifying only the essential points, 'the coming of the Saviour... his passion, and the resurrection' (cf. preface; 8. 2).

Though we cannot be certain, what might have been involved is the interpretation of Christ's death and resurrection as putting an end to the old dispensation and certain practices of the law,[22] like sabbatizing, which, though not mentioned in *Philadelphians*, might have been understood.[23] In any case, the structure of the statement, the polemic of the epistle,[24] and the repeated emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ suggest that it was not merely Ignatius' inability to find scriptural support for a peculiar twist on the oral gospel message otherwise held in common,[25] but a more fundamental question of the subordination of 'the gospel' to 'the archives'. In

[20] Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 209; Trevett, *Study of Ignatius*, 175, accepts this view.

[21] Goulder, 'Ignatius' "Docetists" ', 17 n. 4.

[22] Cf. Trevett, *Ignatius*, 176.

[23] Note that he counters the practice in *Magnesians* by an allusion to Christ's death and resurrection: 'no longer sabbatizing, but living according to the Lord's day, on which also our life rose up through him and his death, which some deny!' (*Magn.* 9. 1).

[24] Particularly evident in 6. 1: 'if anyone interpret Judaism to you do not listen to him'; 9. 1: 'The priests likewise are noble, but the High Priest [i.e., Jesus Christ] . . . is greater' (note also the *τινων* in 7. 2 and 8. 2).

[25] Taking Schoedel's view would make it hard to understand why Ignatius would want to draw any more attention to an incident in which he had been bested by his opponents in scriptural exegesis, more especially with a comeback which essentially avoided the question.

Ignatius' view, it involved a failure to accord to an objective 'gospel' the 'preeminence' it deserved, as containing that to which the prophets themselves had pointed.

Because 'the archives' are written documents of religious authority, the Old Testament, it is possible to read 'the gospel' as a reference to a written authority: as Goulder writes, 'a written εὐαγγέλιον to balance the written ἀρχεία'.[26] If so, when Ignatius begins his proof with 'it is written', he could be referring not to the archives but to this written gospel. The problem with these Philadelphians, in Goulder's words, is that 'they refused to regard the Gospel as scripture (γέγραπται), and gave authority only to the ἀρχεία, that is the Old Testament'.[27] Such a use of γέγραπται to introduce material from a New Testament writing cannot be paralleled elsewhere in Ignatius' writings (he uses it only to introduce material from Proverbs, *Eph.* 5. 3; *Magn.* 12)—though it would reflect a conception which is not without parallel in Christian writings to about this time (cf. 2 Pet. 3. 16 on Paul's letters; 1 Tim. 5. 18 on Luke 10. 7; Pol. *Phil.* 12. 1 on Eph. 4. 26; *Barn.* 4. 14 on Matt. 20. 16 or 22. 14). Nevertheless, the case for 'the gospel' denoting a written 'gospel' or its content is not dependent upon the question of whether Ignatius' appeal 'it is written' is an appeal to a written gospel.

When Ignatius goes on to say that the true archives are 'Jesus Christ . . . his cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is through him', the unexpressed completion of the sentence could be, 'which are just what are contained in the gospel'. Though he is not citing a text *per se*, these subjects might well be seen as the major, or most salient, subjects of any of the written gospels that Ignatius might have known.[28]

Phld. 8. 2 gives us the fundamental occasion for Ignatius' use of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. It is important to note that it appears opposite a reference to the Old Testament scriptures and that the debate concerns a comparison of religious authorities. By itself, this passage seems to favour viewing 'the gospel' either as the name of a written authority or as a summation of the contents of a written authority. On the other hand, many scholars insist that Ignatius' own use, apart from his recollection of the incident in Philadelphia,

[26] Goulder, 'Ignatius' "Docetists" ', 17 n. 4; also Joly, *Le Dossier d'Ignace*, 66; Meier, 'Matthew and Ignatius', 186 n. 20.

[27] Goulder, 'Ignatius' "Docetists" ', 16–17. In 1954 Richard Heard saw it as 'a point of special interest' that certain Judaizing Christians did not respect the written Gospel ('Papias' Quotations from the New Testament', *NTS* 1 (1954), 130–4, at p. 133); the 'point of special interest' for us fifty years later would be that Ignatius did!

[28] *Pace* Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 208 n. 6. A work such as the *Gospel of Thomas* (if it existed) would not have been signified, as it contains none of the elements specified by Ignatius (so B. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 49).

is perceptibly different. We must now briefly examine these other passages, beginning with chapter 5 of *Philadelphians*.

2. *Phld.* 5. 1–2

. . . that I may attain the lot in which I was shown mercy, having fled to the gospel as to the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles as to the presbytery of the church.[2] And we also love the prophets, because they also made proclamation pointing to the gospel and set their hope on him and waited for him in whom having believed they were also saved, being in the unity of Jesus Christ, saints worthy of love and worthy of admiration, attested by Jesus Christ and numbered together in the gospel of the common hope.

'Having fled to the gospel' could be understood of an unwritten message. But that the listing of 'gospel' and 'apostles' should have reflexively brought the prophets to mind suggests that his conception of 'the gospel' included writings wherein that 'good news' was set forth authoritatively—particularly since we know that such writings were in circulation by this time. It is conceivable that Ignatius might have appealed to 'the apostles' only as personal authorities, if he had known any of them. But to sustain such an appeal as valid for himself and for the Philadelphians makes more sense if we understand the apostles' teaching to be represented at least in great part by written works which now preserve their teaching and which are the common possession of churches in Syria and Asia Minor—as we know was the case with at least a Pauline corpus.[29] As to 'the prophets', the Köster/Schoedel view would argue, as Charles Thomas Brown has recently written, that 'The OT Prophets function in the Ignatian corpus as authoritative figures and not as texts . . . figures which announce the gospel in advance'.[30] But this is curious. How did the prophets announce the gospel in advance to Ignatius and the

[29] See Hill, 'Ignatius and the Apostolate'; J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Revised Texts with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations*, 2nd edn., 2 parts in 5 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981, repr. of 1889–90 edn.), 2. 2. 260. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, LCL (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977, repr. of 1912 edn.), i. 243, thinks Ignatius is referring to Christian prophets like the Didachist and Hermas. But this is ruled out by the references to their announcement of the gospel and their waiting for Jesus, and by the pattern of setting the gospel alongside some OT source.

[30] C. T. Brown, *The Gospel and Ignatius of Antioch*, Studies in Biblical Literature, 12 (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 118; R. Gundry, '*ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*: How Soon a Book?', *JBL* 115 (1996), 321–5, on p. 324: 'both *Phld.* 5.2 and 9.2 portray the OT prophets again not as writers of books but . . . as preachers . . . In view is not the written record of their preaching, but their preaching itself'; Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 201: 'even when sacred books were known, Ignatius thinks of their authors primarily as people proclaiming a message. The linking of apostles and prophets . . . need not imply a comparison between classes of documents.'

Asian churches, and where was their preaching encountered, except in their writings? New Testament references to the 'persons' of the prophets, or to their speaking or prophesying, such as Acts 3. 24 or 1 Pet. 1. 10, presuppose the existence of their messages in authoritative scriptural texts. This is surely the case with Ignatius as well.

More tellingly, we must now not fail to consider the context. Ignatius is introducing the word 'gospel' here to the Philadelphians on the heels of the controversy that arose when he was with them. The writings of the prophets certainly belong to the 'archives' which some at Philadelphia had attempted to set against 'the gospel'.[31] Against these erring Philadelphians, Ignatius wants to establish already in chapter 5 that the prophets not only should not be set against the gospel, but that they in fact looked forward to the gospel and are one with us in salvation in Christ. His strong statement of unity between the old and the new is surely aimed at the debate which he is about to recall to their attention in 8. 2. Representing the old are the prophets; representing the new are the gospel and the apostles. In his quest for perfection, Ignatius will take refuge 'in the gospel' and in 'the apostles', while also loving the prophets. Thus a catalogue of 'theological authorities'[32] is certainly supposed. In much the same way as 'the apostles' and 'the prophets' are known through their writings, the good news about Jesus too may be understood as preserved in writings.

Though I think this is reasonably clear, Ignatius goes on to mention 'the gospel' twice more in 5. 2, where the word seems more straightforwardly understood as simply the message of the good news, or the content of that message. For the prophets to have 'made proclamation pointing to the gospel (*εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι*)' does not immediately suggest a book or set of books. Does this, then, nullify the impression that when listing 'the gospel' along with the apostles and prophets in 5. 1, and in opposition to the archives in 8. 2, Ignatius has in mind written authorities behind the gospel? Not at all. The original Christian meaning of 'the gospel' as the good news about Jesus Christ was current both before and after Ignatius, and continues so to the present moment. But at some point the textual meaning arose. Both meanings occur side by side in several second-century authors,[33] and have done so ever since. At whatever point the textual meaning came into play, presumably its patrons still used the term in its original sense as well. There is thus no

[31] 'The prophets' is often a way of designating the OT as a whole: Justin, *1 Apol.* 67; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 2. 27. 2; *Muratorian Fragment*, line 79.

[32] Schoedel's term, *Ignatius*, 201.

[33] Irenaeus, in the very same sentence in *Adv. Haer.* 3. 11. 1—albeit an extremely long sentence—uses the term in both senses. Cf. 3. *praef.*; 3. 1. 1; 3. 11. 7.

difficulty in seeing the three instances in *Phld.* 5. 1–2 as an early illustration of the acquired polyvalence of the term.[34]

3. *Phld.* 9. 1–2

Immediately after reporting the 'archives/gospel' incident in *Phld.* 8, Ignatius goes on in 9. 1–2, with probable Johannine allusions, to proclaim Christ as the High Priest entrusted with the Holy of Holies, and as the door of the Father (cf. John 10. 7, 9; 14. 6),

> through which enter Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the prophets and the apostles and the Church . . . but the gospel has something exceptional, the coming of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, his passion and resurrection. For the beloved prophets made proclamation pointing to him, but the gospel is the perfection of incorruption.

Clearly Ignatius starts out with the persons of the prophets and apostles in view here, along with three named patriarchs and all members of the church. Thus it might be tempting to dismiss entirely any idea of textuality from the word 'gospel' in this passage, as some have done. But, again, we must ask why the patriarchs and prophets, the apostles, and the church, have all come into view. They have come into view because of an alleged superiority of the old over the new, in a carry-over from chapter 8. 'All these things are joined in the unity of God', is Ignatius' rejoinder. The patriarchs, the prophets, just as well as the apostles and all the church, enter through Jesus, the door to the Father. And so the gospel has something distinctive and is in fact superior, for it reveals the coming of the Christ, his passion and resurrection. This is seen from the prophets themselves, 'For the beloved prophets had a message pointing to him (κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτόν)'; cf. 5. 2. Here Ignatius has pointedly the *message* of the prophets, not their persons, in mind. Gundry objects that it is still 'not the written record of their preaching, but their preaching itself'[35] which is in view. But, on the contrary, it is not the mere fact that the prophets were preachers which is important, it is the content of their preaching (namely, Christ), and that content is now known only through their writings. 'But the Gospel', asserts Ignatius, 'is the perfection of incorruption.' Earlier in the letter (5. 1–2) Ignatius testified that he was seeking 'perfection' by taking refuge in the gospel and the apostles, while loving also the prophets. The passages belong together. Along with the incident recalled in 8. 2, they suggest

[34] Meier, 'Matthew and Ignatius', 186 n. 20: 'In my view, it may be a mistake to claim that εὐαγγέλιον must *always* mean one thing', admitting 'that there are passages in Ignatius that could argue for "oral kerygma" or "Christ, the content of the kerygma" ', but maintaining that *Phld.* 8. 2 represented the meaning of 'written gospel'.

[35] Gundry, '*ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*', 324.

that a sustained comparison is being made between existing religious authorities, the Old Testament (where the stories of the patriarchs are found, but more especially where prophets' *message* about the Christ is found), and the gospel, to which Ignatius even adds 'the apostles'.

In a section in which the authority of 'the gospel' is in view, as compared with the Old Testament, the apparent Johannine allusions to Jesus being the door (θύρα, John 10. 7, 9),[36] the only way to the Father (cf. John 14. 6),[37] possibly to Abraham and the patriarchs (John 8. 56, 58),[38] and to the prophets as 'making proclamation unto him' (John 5. 46; 12. 41), are highly significant. They suggest that in Ignatius' mind, either the Gospel of John furnished evidence for the exceptional nature of 'the gospel', or was itself part of what was at issue in his assertion of the gospel's greater ultimacy.[39]

4. *Smyrn.* 5. 1

In Troas Ignatius wrote also to his former hosts in Smyrna, where the threat from Judaizers, so much on his mind when he wrote to the Philadelphians, is all but absent. The immediate threat in Smyrna is from advocates of a docetic view of Jesus Christ. What should convince these people that they are wrong? In *Smyrn.* 5. 1 he laments that 'neither the prophecies nor the law of Moses persuaded them, nor even the gospel until now, nor our own human sufferings'.

Though the presenting problem is different, here, just as in the letter to the Philadelphians, 'the gospel' appears in a list alongside definitely literary, even explicitly scriptural, categories: 'the prophecies', not the prophets as persons or preachers, and Moses, not the man but his law, i.e., the Pentateuch. It is often objected, however, that because Ignatius also appeals here to his own human sufferings, his appeal to 'the gospel' should not be understood as an appeal to a documentary authority. Gundry argues that the strong adversative, ἀλλά, just before 'the gospel' distances it from the law and the prophecies and aligns it with 'our human sufferings'. But any distinction intended with

[36] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 2. 275, 'doubtless an allusion to John x. 9'. Inge, *NTAF*, 83, observed a further correspondence between John's εἰσέλθῃ and σωθήσεται and Ignatius' εἰσέρχονται and σωτῆρος. See C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 438–9.

[37] W. von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1932), 35.

[38] Inge, *NTAF*, 83.

[39] Note also that what is usually regarded as the strongest possibility of Johannine borrowing in Ignatius' letters (*Phld.* 7. 1; John 3. 8; 8. 14) occurs in this context, as Ignatius recalls his encounter at Philadelphia with presumably the same opponents.

the adversative is surely temporal (note μέχρι νῦν). It is also clear that in substance the last element is the odd one out, as is proved by its absence from the other four places where 'gospel' appears opposite an Old Testament authority or authorities.[40] It is included here only because of its particular relevance to the specific subject at hand, the Docetist denial of Christ's true, human sufferings. The law of Moses, in which these sufferings are foreshadowed, the prophecies, in which they are foretold, and the gospel, in which they are recorded and proclaimed (*Phld.* 9. 2; *Smyrn.* 7. 2), show an obvious continuity and belong to a promise-fulfilment continuum. Ignatius thinks that his own sufferings also have a place confirming the reality of the sufferings of Christ, but they do not belong to the same continuum. Both the prophecies and the law of Moses are portions of the written 'archives' of *Phld.* 8. 2. In such a context it would be natural for a Christian author to include a reference to Christian writings alongside these portions of the Hebrew Scriptures.

This correlation of the gospel with the prophecies and the law is illuminated when we consider the flow of the epistle to this point. Earlier chapters of *Smyrnaeans* contain some of Ignatius' strongest gospel parallels. In chapter 1, in a semi-credal christological section which looks like an expansion on the 'elements' of the gospel mentioned in *Phld.* 9. 2 and *Smyrn.* 7. 2, Ignatius had used a phrase which must come ultimately from Matthew:[41] 'baptized by John that "all righteousness might be fulfilled by him" ' (1. 1; cf. Matt. 3. 15); he had referred to Herod the Tetrarch's role in the crucifixion, something mentioned only by Luke among the canonical gospels (1. 2; cf. Luke 23. 6–16); and had referred to the crucifixion nails, something mentioned only by John (1. 1, 2; cf. John 20. 25).[42] Then in 3. 2 he seems to have paraphrased the post-resurrection appearance reported in Luke 24. 39.[43] These references to specific

[40] He does appeal to his own captivity in *Trall.* 10. 1, where he does not appeal to the textual authorities.

[41] Because it occurs in a distinctively Matthean redaction, this is the one text which even Schoedel (*Ignatius*, 222) and Köster (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, 57–9) admit comes ultimately from Matthew itself—though still claiming that it does not reflect Ignatius' own use of Matthew, only that he got the language through a 'kerygmatic formula' which was dependent upon Matthew. In the view of J. Smit Sibinga., 'Ignatius and Matthew', *NovT* 8 (1966), 263–83, Ignatius knew only pre-Matthean 'M-material'. Both of these possibilities seem unnecessarily complicated. That an educated Christian bishop in early second-century Antioch would not have known Matthew's Gospel is extremely unlikely. Cf. Köhler, *Rezeption*, 77–9; Meier, 'Matthew and Ignatius', 180–2.

[42] See Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 440–1.

[43] Jerome (*de vir. ill.* 16) thought that Ignatius must have known the account in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. The saying 'I am not a bodiless demon' was also, according to Origen (*de Princ.* 1, *prooem.* 8), contained in the *Doctrina Petri* (but see R. M. Grant, 'Scripture and Tradition in St. Ignatius of Antioch', *CBQ* 25 (1963), 322–35, on p. 327). All three works (also cf. *Ep. Apost.* 11) apparently report the same incident, regardless of the question of dependency. The phrase

events in the life of Jesus, his baptism, crucifixion, and appearance in the flesh after the resurrection, seem to show that Ignatius is expanding his elemental definition of 'the gospel' by referring to details contained in 'the gospels'.[44] If this represents a use not of gospels but of unwritten 'Jesus tradition', it at least paves the way for what Christian writers will soon be doing with the written gospels. But because it is unlikely that Ignatius would have had copies of the gospels to hand, there is no convincing reason why he could not be referring here—and indeed elsewhere in his letters—to material in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, possibly John, from memory.

5. *Smyrn.* 7. 2

It is fitting to avoid such people and not to speak about them in private or in public, but to give heed to the prophets, and especially to the gospel, in which the passion is made clear to us and the resurrection is accomplished.

Once again, the gospel is laid alongside 'the prophets'. That Ignatius refers to the prophets and not to their prophecies, as he had in 5. 1, does not diminish the textual implication, as it was quite impossible for the Smrynaeans to 'give heed to' these long-dead sages in person. The subject again is the suffering and resurrection of Jesus, to which the prophets bore witness beforehand (cf. 1 Pet. 1. 11), and which the gospel records. But the Smrynaeans are to give heed to the gospel 'especially' (ἐξαιρέτως). This again echoes Ignatius' words in *Phld.* 9. 2, where the same two authorities, 'prophets' and 'gospel', are mentioned, with the latter being claimed by Ignatius to be 'exceptional' (ἐξαίρετον). The two texts share something else which they do not share with Pauline usage. In each, Ignatius names explicitly some things contained 'in' that gospel:[45] Christ's passion and resurrection (also his 'coming' in *Phld.* 9. 2). This continues the concern raised in *Phld.* 8. 2, where his opponents

quoted by Ignatius, 'I am not a bodiless demon', corresponds exactly to the reports of Jerome and Origen, but only paraphrases Luke (at least its known manuscript form). Ignatius' reference to Jesus eating and drinking with the disciples after the resurrection, however, corresponds, as far as we know, only to Luke's account. The same applies to his earlier reference to Herod at the time of the crucifixion. Compare, however, the recent treatment in A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003), 69–74.

[44] See Hill, 'Ignatius and the Apostolate', 244.

[45] That is, though Paul obviously associates the death and resurrection of Jesus with the preached message of 'the gospel', he never speaks of these or any other topics as being 'in' the gospel. Also, unlike Paul, Ignatius never speaks of anyone hearing or preaching 'the gospel', nor does he use the verb εὐαγγελίζω.

refused to believe something 'in the gospel', where Ignatius writes, 'But to me the archives are Jesus Christ, the inviolable archives are his cross, and his death and resurrection, and the faith which is through him'. The very things which constitute the inviolable archives and which define the gospel are now in *Smyrn.* 7. 2 said to be contained 'in' the gospel. This again sounds like it is referring to a written document or corpus and its major, or most salient, contents.[46]

6. 'The Gospel' as Canonical Category

As we have now seen, the incident in Philadelphia, in which some attempted to pit 'the gospel' against 'the archives', had a formative effect on at least four more passages in Ignatius' letters to the Philadelphians and to the Smyrnaeans. In these passages 'the prophets', or 'the prophecies' and 'the law of Moses', stand in the place of 'the archives' as representing the Old Testament scriptures and appear alongside 'the gospel', or 'the gospel' and 'the apostles'. Here 'the prophets' cannot simply signify the persons of the prophets apart from their textual, scriptural legacy. 'The gospel' is being regarded as a religious authority commensurate with the Old Testament scriptures, but surpassing them in its ultimate significance.[47]

In Appendix I have catalogued expressions used by other second-century authors who, having a textual conception of the gospel, linked it (or 'the Lord') with the law, the prophets, and/or the apostles. The comparison shows an intriguing and suggestive continuity between Ignatius' use and theirs. It now seems more likely that Ignatius is not merely a precursor of this practice, but a contributor to it.

7. Elements 'in the Gospel' as Elements in the Written Gospels

Besides his practice of naming 'the gospel' alongside textual authorities of the Old Testament, another thing which links Ignatius to later writers who give a textual meaning to 'the gospel' is his tendency to specify certain elements of the life of Christ as being 'in' the gospel or as characterizing the gospel

[46] Given the word uttered by Jesus from the cross, τετέλεσται, in John 19. 30, it may be significant that Ignatius uses the word τετελείωται to represent the resurrection's accomplishment, just after mentioning the revelation of the passion, both as 'in' the gospel.

[47] This alone discredits Schoedel's claim (*Ignatius*, 208) that 'there is no convincing evidence that he puts any other source on the same level with' the OT. Quite clearly he does, and those sources are 'the gospel' and 'the apostles' (*Phld.* 5. 1–2).

(*Smyrn.* 7. 2; *Phld.* 8. 2; 9. 2). For instance, in a manner much like Ignatius, the author of the *Muratorian Fragment* will say of the 'gospel books' that 'everything is declared in all: concerning the birth, concerning the passion, concerning the resurrection, concerning the intercourse with his disciples and concerning his two comings' (lines 20–3).[48]

A parallel with Justin is particularly enlightening. Like Ignatius, Justin holds that in the books of the prophets many things about Jesus Christ are foretold (*1 Apol.* 31). But, unlike Ignatius, Justin has both the leisure and the resources on hand to attempt a demonstration of these things from the prophetic writings. Intermittently he refers to more recent written records from which he alleges the emperor can ascertain that these things indeed happened. Citing words about the miraculous birth of Jesus taken from Matthew and Luke, Justin attributes these words to those 'who have recorded (*ἀπομνημονεύσαντες*) all that concerns our Saviour Jesus Christ' (33. 5)—an obvious reference to plural apostolic 'memoirs', or gospel accounts. For the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, he actually refers the emperor to 'the registers of the taxing made under Cyrenius, your first procurator in Judea' (34. 2). And for Jesus' being hidden from men until he grew to an adult, and for various details about the crucifixion found in the synoptic gospels and John, Justin encourages the emperor to read these things in 'the acts which took place under Pontius Pilate' (*ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων*) (35. 9). He refers again later to certain events in the life of Christ, saying, 'And that He did those things you can learn from the acts which took place under Pontius Pilate (*ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων*)' (48. 3). The details attributed to these 'acts'[49] make it impossible to conceive of them as any official Roman document chronicling the events of the procuratorship of Pilate (nor can they be plausibly related to later 'Pilate' literature). In fact, parallels with the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, John, and possibly Mark make plain, I believe, that by 'the acts which took place under Pontius Pilate' Justin is referring to these gospels.[50]

Justin's view of the written gospels as records of 'the acts' of Jesus which took place under Pontius Pilate seems but an amplified echo of Ignatius, who exhorted the Magnesians 'to be convinced of the birth and passion and resurrection which took place at the time of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate; for these things were truly and certainly done (*πραχθέντα*) by Jesus

[48] Translation from W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, rev. edn., trans. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), i. 35.

[49] Justin uses an official-sounding Latin loan-word, probably reflecting Greek *τὰ πράξεις*, *πραγμάτα*, or *πραχθέντα*.

[50] For a much fuller demonstration of this see Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 330–5.

Christ, our hope' (*Magn.* 11. 1). Justin only makes clear that these acts are recorded in written sources.

Somewhere around the time Ignatius wrote, Papias was collecting the sayings of an elder who taught that Mark had written down accurately 'the things either said or done (τὰ ... ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα) by the Lord' (*HE* 3. 39. 15). In another portion of this elder's teaching, summarized and paraphrased by Eusebius, the aorist or perfect passive participle of πράσσω (τὰ πραχθέντα or τὰ πεπραγμένα) occurs four times, and the noun πράξεις three times, to refer to the acts of Jesus as defining elements of the gospels (*HE* 3. 24. 5–13).[51] This terminology, derived perhaps from Luke 1. 1–2, Acts 1. 1–2, and related to the eventual title for Luke's second volume, confirm that in Ignatius' time, in Asia Minor, the written gospels were regarded as records of 'the acts of Jesus'.

These ways of speaking about the written gospels by Papias's elder, Justin, and the *Muratorian Fragment* show a striking commonality with Ignatius and support the conclusion that he too understood 'the gospel' to be represented in authoritative written form.

8. 'The Gospel' and the 'Decrees of the Lord'

Another relevant aspect of his use of the term is Ignatius' appeal to 'the gospel' as confirming faith. He seeks to 'make the gospel my refuge' (*Phld.* 5. 1), along with the apostles and the prophets. He owns that the gospel, along with the prophecies and the law of Moses ought to convince (ἔπεισαν, *Smyrn.* 5. 1). He tells the Smyrnaeans they ought to pay heed (προσέχειν) to the gospel, also to the prophets (7. 1). These in turn must be compared to two parallel exhortations in which Ignatius does not use the term 'gospel'. In *Magn.* 11. 1, as we have just seen, he exhorts his readers to 'be fully persuaded' (πεπληροφορῆσαι; cf. *Smyrn.* 1. 1) of things he elsewhere identifies with the gospel: the birth, passion, and resurrection under Pontius Pilate, truly and certainly done. Here Ignatius does not subsume these subjects under the word 'gospel', though, as we have seen, he refers to them as the acts or deeds of Jesus. Instead, he goes on in *Magn.* 13. 1, to tell his readers to 'be confirmed (βεβαιωθῆναι) in the decrees of the Lord and of the apostles (ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων)'.[52] Here, being 'confirmed in the decrees of the

[51] See Hill, 'What Papias Said about John', 595–6.

[52] The construction would allow for a single set of decrees 'of the Lord and of the apostles'. This could refer to 'the gospel' as being also the work of apostles, but more likely 'the Lord' alludes to gospels, and 'the apostles' to other apostolic writings. For 'the Lord' see Euseb. *HE* 4. 22. 9; 4. 23; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1. 8. 1; 3. 17. 4; Hippolytus, *CD* 4. 49.

Lord and the apostles' (*Magn.* 13. 1) sounds very much like 'taking refuge in' the gospel and the apostles in *Phld.* 5. 1, particularly as it has just followed a reference to 'the birth and passion and resurrection which took place . . . [under] Pontius Pilate—things truly and certainly done by Jesus Christ' (11. 1). It sounds a good deal like 'giving heed' especially to the gospel in *Smyrn.* 7. 2, 'in which the passion has been made clear to us and the resurrection accomplished' (my trans.); and is not unlike being 'persuaded' by the gospel in *Smyrn.* 5. 1. The same underlying structure in fact seems to reveal 'decrees of the Lord and the apostles' in *Magn.* 13. 1[53] to be a fair equivalent of 'the gospel and the apostles' in *Phld.* 5. 1.[54] We are reminded again that at about this time the written Gospels are being spoken of elsewhere as containing 'the Lord's sayings', 'the acts of Jesus', 'things said or done by the Lord'. It is likely, then, that 'decrees of the Lord', since it parallels 'the gospel', and since it assumes content available to Ignatius and to the Asian churches alike, should signify the existence of these 'decrees' in a written gospel or gospels possessed in common.

CONCLUSION

The debate at Philadelphia which threatened to set 'the gospel' against the archives of the Old Testament, forms the critical background for four other listings of 'the gospel' alongside the prophets or the prophecies and the law of Moses (and 'the apostles') as religious authorities in Ignatius' letters. These juxtapositions point both to a textual significance for his use of the term 'gospel' and to his use of these terms as categories of scriptural writings. These conclusions are further supported by Ignatius' parallel reference to 'decrees of the Lord and of the apostles', by Papias's elder's references to the gospels as containing 'the acts', 'the logia', or 'the things said and done by the Lord', by Justin's references to 'the acts which took place under Pontius Pilate', and by the *Muratorian Fragment*'s description of the contents of the 'gospel books'. That 'the gospel' and 'the apostles' should represent scriptural categories of writings in Ignatius receives further corroboration in the way other

[53] Note *Did.* 11. 3–4, which apparently refers to Jesus' instructions in Matt. 10. 40–1 as 'decrees of the gospel' (τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου). See now J. A. Kelhoffer, ' "How Soon a Book" Revisited: *ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* as a Reference to "Gospel" Materials in the First Half of the Second Century', *ZNW* 95 (2004), 1–34.

[54] Cf. 'the ordinances of the apostles' (*Trall.* 7. 1), which must at least include the ordinances preserved in their writings, generally known to Christians of Asia Minor and Syria alike. See Hill, 'Ignatius and the Apostolate', 236–40.

second-century authors use these and similar terms (see Appendix). This means that alongside its original meaning of the good news of salvation in Christ (*Phld.* 5. 2), the word 'gospel' is already being used as a convenient form of reference to the content of an authoritative Christian writing or set of writings containing that good news, the coming, birth, baptism, death, and resurrection of the Lord and faith through him. The familiarity of both Ignatius and the Asian churches with such a use should indicate that it was not coined on the spot by either of them.

Finally, if any of the parallels with Matthew, Luke, and John are judged to represent Ignatius' familiarity with these then-existing gospels in something like their final forms,[55] it then becomes clear that these gospels are being used both in a way similar to the way in which the Philadelphians were using the 'archives' of the Old Testament, and also simply as forming some of Ignatius' thoughts and expressions, much as Pauline and Old Testament materials were functioning for both Ignatius and his contemporaries.

APPENDIX: EARLY EXAMPLES OF 'SCRIPTURAL CATEGORIES'

Ignatius	*Phld.* 5. 1–2	gospel . . . apostles . . . prophets
	Phld. 8. 2	archives . . . gospel
	Phld. 9. 1–2	prophets . . . apostles . . . gospel
	Smyrn. 5. 1	the prophecies . . . the law of Moses . . . the gospel
	Smyrn. 7. 2	prophets . . . gospel
Polycarp	*Phil.* 6. 3	he himself . . . the apostles . . . and the prophets
Marcion		gospel and apostle
Ad Diogn.	11. 6	law . . . prophets . . . gospels . . . apostles
Justin	*1 Apol.* 67. 3	the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets
	Dial. 119. 6	the voice of God . . . through the apostles of Christ and through the prophets
2 Clement	14. 2	the books (τὰ βιβλία) and the apostles

[55] For John, see Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 421–43.

Dionysius of Corinth	Euseb. *HE* 4. 23	the scriptures of the Lord[56]
Hegesippus	Euseb. *HE* 4. 22. 9	the law and the prophets and the Lord
Theophilus of Antioch	*Ad Autol.* 3. 12	The law . . . the prophets . . . the gospels
Irenaeus	*Adv. Haer.* 1. 3. 6	writings of the evangelists and the apostles . . . the law and the prophets
	Adv. Haer. 1. 8. 1	the prophets . . . the Lord . . . the apostles
	Adv. Haer. 2. 27. 2	the entire scriptures, the prophets and the gospels
	Adv. Haer. 3. 17. 4	the Lord himself, the apostles, and the prophets
Muratorian Fragment	lines 79–80	the prophets . . . or the apostles
Hippolytus	*CD* 4. 49	the prophets, the Lord, and the apostles
Clement of Alexandria	*Strom.* 7. 16	the prophets, the gospel, and the blessed apostles

[56] On 'the Lord' as a category in Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, see also *Apocalypse of Peter* 16, where, 'the book of my Lord Jesus Christ', according to R. J. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, NovTSup 93 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998), 173, is a reference to the Gospel of Matthew.

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Following in Paul's Footsteps: *Mimēsis* and Power in Ignatius of Antioch

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οὐ γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει.

1 Cor. 4. 20

Although it is now a commonplace to acknowledge Ignatius' debt to Pauline thought, scholars continue to debate the precise nature of this relationship. The paucity of direct quotations from the apostle might suggest that Ignatius was not familiar with a collection of letters, and at most had access to one or two. Yet the existence of quotations is not the *sine qua non* for establishing a relationship between authors, and many studies have recognized that the allusions and 'echoes' to Paul demonstrate that Ignatius made use of Pauline ideas at the conceptual level.[1] This realization has unfortunately led to a certain methodological untidiness, as scholars search for a vocabulary for assessing Ignatius' 'Paulinisms'.[2] Recent studies on the art of *mimēsis*, however, have provided a tool that is particularly well suited for evaluating the complex relationship between Ignatius and Paul. Rather than focusing on the existence of direct quotations to establish links between authors, they have instead emphasized the method advised by the ancient rhetoricians.

[1] É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, ed. A. J. Bellinzoni, i (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990), 108: 'the bishop of Antioch knows the apostle's letters so well that he juggles, if I may say so, various Pauline texts to express his own thought'. For summaries of opinions on Ignatius' use of Paul, see W. R. Schoedel, 'Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch', *ANRW* 2.27.1 (1993), 272–358, at pp. 307–9; C. Munier, 'Où en est la question d'Ignace d'Antioche?: Bilan d'un siècle de recherches 1870–1988', *ANRW* 2. 27. 1 (1993), 359–484, at pp. 391–3. For a list of parallels and allusions to New Testament authors in Ignatius, see Foster, ch. 7 in companion volume.

[2] Even 1 Corinthians, the one Pauline letter that most commentators feel Ignatius knew, is treated in varying ways by Ignatius. As R. M. Grant (*The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, i: *An Introduction* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), 59) concludes, the bishop 'used the letter in several different ways . . . sometimes he quoted, sometimes he alluded, sometimes he allusively quoted, and sometimes he quotingly alluded. Any idea of exactness in analysing his usage must be read in by the analyst. It does not exist in Ignatius' own writings'.

Specifically, these teachers instructed their students to refrain from simply 'rewriting' earlier texts, but rather, through a creative process of 'internalization' and 're-articulation', to transform them so that they speak to a new situation.[3] By revisiting the Paul–Ignatius question through the lens of *mimēsis*, I will argue that the Ignatian correspondence can be viewed as mimetic productions, and that these letters, like those of Paul, have as their focus a construction of the self that is embedded in ancient notions of power. For Ignatius, this method of self-presentation then becomes the fulcrum for generating a vision of the church based upon hierarchy and unity.

PAUL, *MIMĒSIS*, AND POWER

In *Imitating Paul: A Discourse of Power*, Elizabeth Castelli explores antiquity's understanding of *mimēsis* in order to uncover the rhetorical strategies behind Paul's exhortation to imitation.[4] Through a survey of *mimēsis* language in Greco-Roman literature, Castelli concludes that (1) the model is considered superior to the copy, reflecting a perfection and wholeness for which the latter

Another example of this 'inexactness' is found in Ignatius' understanding of the Jewish scriptures (*Phld.* 8. 2). According to A. Lindemann ('Der Apostel Paulus im 2. Jahrhundert', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 47): 'Solche Argumentation ist näturlich von keinem bestimmten paulinischen Text abhängig. Und doch ist die zugrundeliegende Denkstruktur ohne Paulus kaum vorstellbar.'

[3] See, e.g., Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 19; Dion. Hal. *Dinarchus* 7; Seneca, *Ep.* 84. 3–9; [Longinus], *Subl.* 13. 2–3. For modern studies on *mimēsis*, see S. Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); D. R. MacDonald (ed.), *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001); T. L. Brodie, 'Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke's Use of Sources', in C. H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 17–46; T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 54–80; E. Fantham, 'Imitation and Decline: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in the First Century after Christ', *Classical Philology*, 73 (1978), 102–16; *idem*, 'Imitation and Evolution: The Discussion of Rhetorical Imitation in Cicero *De oratore* 2. 87–97 and Some Related Problems of Ciceronian Theory', *Classical Philology*, 73 (1978), 1–16.

[4] E. A. Castelli, *Imitating Paul: A Discourse of Power* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991). Other studies on imitation in Paul include J. A. Brant, 'The Place of *Mimēsis* in Paul's Thought', *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, 22 (1993), 285–300; A. Reinhartz, 'On the Meaning of the Pauline Exhortation: "*mimētai mou ginesthe*—become imitators of me" ', *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, 16 (1987), 393–403; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, 'A Girardian Interpretation of Paul: Rivalry, Mimesis and Victimage in the Corinthian Correspondence', *Semeia*, 33 (1985), 65–81; D. M. Stanley, 'Imitation in Paul's Letters: Its Significance for his Relationship to Jesus and his Own Christian Foundations', in P. Richardson and J. C. Hurd (eds.), *From Jesus to Paul* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), 127–42; *idem*, ' "Become Imitators of Me": The Pauline Conception of Apostolic Tradition', *Bib* 40 (1959), 859–77; B. Sanders, 'Imitating Paul: 1 Cor 4:16', *HTR* 74 (1981), 353–63.

strives; (2) the copy is ultimately unable to attain a 'sameness' with the model, thus leading to the formation of a hierarchy—the model's superiority produces an authority to which the copy submits; (3) a tension develops between model and copy in which (a) any movement toward sameness is linked with unity, harmony, and order, while (b) any movement away from sameness is equated with disunity, discord, and disorder; and (4) reflections of 'sameness' and 'difference' are accorded a soteriological status: the model places those who reflect the values of sameness within the community of believers, while those who do not are marginalized and demonized.[5]

For Castelli, discourse is the field where the expression of these power relations is articulated and contested. Rhetoric thus becomes the primary vehicle for shaping the contours of the social body. Through its expression of power, then, discourse contributes to social formation by constructing what is normative and true, on the one hand, and deviant and false, on the other.[6] Seen through this lens, Paul's use of *mimēsis* terminology[7] seeks to accomplish three interrelated related goals. First, his calls to imitate himself establish his superiority as a model, to which his communities must conform. As the mediator between God/Christ and other Christians, he establishes a hierarchy in which his authority cannot be equalled by other humans. Second, Paul's language of imitation reflects his attempt to create 'sameness', a normative form of social formation based on unity and the eradication of difference. Finally, the normative behaviour that Paul advocates possesses a soteriological function: because salvation is contingent on conforming to his version of Christianity, the apostle makes it clear that dissenting voices will meet an opposite fate.[8]

From the context of the letters in which the calls to imitation are found, it becomes apparent that Paul's understanding of *mimēsis* is connected with the concepts of suffering and unity. Indeed, Paul commends the Thessalonians in his first letter for receiving the word of God 'in much affliction' (ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ, 1. 6), and praises them because they 'suffered' (ἐπάθετε, 2. 14) for the sake of the gospel. In both of these passages, Paul asserts that the Thessalonians' behaviour brings them into the Christian fold: 'their suffering . . . ties their experience to that of everyone else in the mimetic system: Paul, the Lord, and the other persecuted communities'.[9] Proper imitation thus rests on receiving the gospel (i.e., Paul's gospel) and suffering on its behalf.

The call to imitation in Phil. 3. 17 is set within the apostle's larger interest in establishing unity within his community. Interpreting this passage as a discourse on power, however, enables Castelli to show that embedded within this

[5] Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 59–87. [6] Ibid. 42–56.
[7] 1 Thess. 1. 6–7; Phil. 3. 17; 1 Cor. 4. 16; 11. 1. [8] Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 89–117.
[9] Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 94.

exhortation to unity is an expression of Paul's authority and desire for 'sameness' (one either imitates him or is an enemy of the cross of Christ), a corresponding articulation of hierarchy (with Paul acting as the mediator between Christ and the Philippians), and the contention that unity is contingent upon showing an affinity with the life of Christ (who displayed humility and obedience and gave himself up to death on the cross).[10] The *mimēsis* language in 1 Cor. 4. 16 and 11. 1 represents a further amplification of the interplay between authority, unity, and suffering. In his call to imitation, Paul casts himself as the father of the Corinthians, who asserts authority through his privileged status as the sole mediator between Christ and the community. Adherence to Paul's gospel of the cross thus becomes the litmus test for distinguishing 'insiders' from 'outsiders'. At the same time, he places a burden on the Corinthians to strive for a level of Christian *praxis* that they can never fully attain. This rhetorical ploy has the effect of reinscribing the apostle's authority, while putting the Corinthians in a state of 'perpetual unease' as they attempt to accomplish an impossible task. The result of this rhetoric of coercion is that social harmony can be achieved only through the Corinthians' acceptance of Paul's claims to power and a concomitant obedience to his message.[11]

Castelli's study locates Paul's rhetoric of *mimēsis* within a larger matrix of discourse, power, and social formation. In the contested space of discourse, Paul articulates his claims to authority and a vision of communities united in obedience and harmony to the 'truth' of his message. Furthermore, the rhetorical force of the message apparently hinges on Paul's understanding of his own life, which he has modelled on the life of Christ (1 Cor. 11. 1). If Paul sees himself as a model for other Christians to imitate, what was it about his life that led him to this conclusion and to see in his activities an affinity with Christ?

The autobiographical reminiscences in Galatians suggest that the foundation for Paul's claim to speak authoritatively rests upon the circumstances in which he came to know Christ. Indeed, he is quick to point out to the Galatians that human authorities did not confer upon him the status of apostle, but rather that he received it directly through Jesus and God (Gal. 1. 1). If the conferral of his apostleship bypasses the human sphere, so too does his gospel message: 'For I want you to know... that the gospel that was proclaimed by me was not of human origin (*κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*); for I did not receive it from a human source (*παρὰ ἀνθρώπου*), nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation (*ἀποκαλύψεως*) of Jesus Christ' (Gal.

[10] Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 95–7. [11] Ibid. 97–115.

1. 11–12). Not only did Paul receive the knowledge of the gospel directly from God, but he even claims that this event was pre-ordained as part of God's plan (Gal. 1. 15–16; cf. Rom. 1. 1). Such assertions, which circumvent and undercut the more traditional forms of transmitting knowledge (from teacher to student), serve to elevate Paul's status while simultaneously establishing a uniformity of thought within his churches. With this scheme in place, it is natural to see how Paul could imagine that his gospel was the only true gospel (Gal. 1. 6–9; cf. 2 Cor. 11. 4–5). In essence, because Paul did not learn the gospel from the other apostles (those who knew the human Jesus), but 'received' (*παρέλαβον*) it in an unmediated fashion from the divine teacher, Christ, his message bears an authenticity that his rival missionaries, who are derivative and irrelevant,[12] cannot offer.

This close connection with Christ manifests itself through the reception of divine secrets and the exercise of special gifts. In his 'tearful letter' to Corinth, Paul professes not to boast according to human standards, yet he subsequently recounts the time when he was taken up into the third heaven and received information 'that no mortal is permitted to repeat' (2 Cor. 12. 4). It is this sort of experience that undergirds his claim to speak as one imbued with power. For instance, in 1 Corinthians, Paul recounts how he had come to the Corinthians 'not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power', which was in turn based on the 'power of God'.[13] Later in this same letter, a case of improper conduct leads the apostle to assert that his spirit is present with the community, and that he has already rendered judgement upon the accused person (1 Cor. 5. 3–4). Likewise, after learning that some within the community are boasting about their abilities to speak in tongues, the apostle reminds them that he surpasses them all in this spiritual gift (1 Cor. 14. 18).

Even though he could match the boastings of others by putting his power on display, Paul states that he has subordinated it for the greater good of concord within the community (e.g., 1 Cor. 9. 19–23; 10. 32; 14. 18–19). He thus sees his missionary journeys as 'labours' and 'work' directed toward that end (1 Thess. 3. 5; 1 Cor. 3. 8; 2 Cor. 10. 15–16; 11. 23; cf. 2 Thess. 3. 7–9). Moreover, the fact that these labours entail suffering testifies to their truth, for it shows that his life is in accord with the sufferings and death of Christ. As he explains to the Philippians, 'I want to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the sharing of his sufferings by becoming like him in his

[12] Or satanic, according to 2 Cor. 11. 13–15. On Paul's disdain for human authority, see also Gal. 2. 6.

[13] 1 Cor. 2. 4: *οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ[ς] σοφίας [λόγοις] ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως . . . ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ*. See also 2 Cor. 12. 12.

death'.[14] Because 'power is made perfect in weakness',[15] to become 'afflicted', 'perplexed', 'persecuted', and 'struck down' are all tangible proofs that Paul carries 'the death (*νέκρωσιν*) of Jesus' in his body.[16] Paradoxically, then, the marks of death inscribed on his body are the very signs that he (and those who imitate him) embodies the life of Christ: 'For while we live, we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be made visible in our mortal flesh' (2 Cor. 4. 11).[17] Paul can thus tell the Romans that 'suffering produces endurance' (*ἡ θλῖψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται*) and a future 'hope' (*ἐλπίς*) that he will share in God's glory (5. 2–5).[18]

The endurance practised by Paul allows him to claim a spiritual equanimity in the face of the trials of the world (see, e.g., Phil. 4. 11–13). Not surprisingly, then, those who bear the qualities he emphasizes receive commendation for their ability to imitate him. In particular, the apostle singles out the Thessalonians, thanking them for their 'work of faith and labor of love and steadfastness of hope'.[19] Similarly, Paul reassures the Corinthians that they experience comfort when they 'patiently endure the same sufferings that we are also suffering'.[20] The connection that Paul makes between his afflictions and those of his community likewise appears in the letter to the Philippians, as the apostle approvingly remarks that God has given them 'the privilege not only of believing in Christ, but of suffering for him (*τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν*) as well—since you are having the same struggle (*ἀγῶνα*) that you saw I had and

[14] Phil 3. 10: *τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὴν] κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ.* See also 2 Cor. 1. 5, where Paul states that he and Timothy 'share abundantly in Christ's sufferings' (*περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*).

[15] 2 Cor. 12. 9: *ἡ γὰρ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται.*

[16] 2 Cor. 4. 8–10; see also 2 Cor. 8. 9; 13. 4–5. For more detailed catalogues of Paul's suffering, see 2 Cor. 6. 3–10; 11. 21–9. Placing these *peristaseis* in a Hellenistic context, Hamerton-Kelly ('Girardian Interpretation', 75) notes that in Stoic and Cynic literature, such lists are designed to 'demonstrate the divine power at work in the missionary by which he is preserved amidst the *peristaseis*'. Likewise, P. B. Duff ('Apostolic Suffering and the Language of Processions in 2 Corinthians 4:7–10', *BTB* 21 (1991), 158–65, on p. 163) concludes that Paul's 'afflictions are a vehicle for God's epiphany in the salvation event. His metaphor suggests that his own suffering can be seen as the very suffering of the Christ... Paul's body has come to function as a visual counterpart to the oral proclamation of the gospel.'

[17] Commenting on Gal. 4. 12–15, Hamerton-Kelly ('Girardian Interpretation', 73–4) shows that the Galatians received Paul as Christ 'not in spite of his affliction, but because of it'.

[18] For a more detailed treatment of *ὑπομονή* in antiquity, see B. D. Shaw, 'Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs', *JECS* 4 (1996), 269–312. D. R. Denton, 'Hope and Perseverance', *SJT* 34 (1981), 313–20, focuses specifically on Paul.

[19] 1 Thess. 1. 3: *τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* This point has been noticed by Brant, 'Place of *Mimēsis*', 292.

[20] 2 Cor. 1. 6: *ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν.* Continuing this thought, Paul states that 'Our hope for you is unshaken; for we know that as you share in our sufferings (*τῶν παθημάτων*), so also you share in our comfort' (2 Cor. 1. 7).

now hear that I still have' (Phil. 1. 29–30). In spite of their troubles, the Philippians are nevertheless encouraged to 'Keep on doing the things that you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, and the God of peace will be with you' (Phil. 4. 9). According to the apostle, following this path is proof that the group lives 'with one mind' (Phil. 1. 27; 3. 15; cf. Rom. 12. 16; 15. 5).

While Paul's rhetoric of self-presentation and his prescriptions for his communities are often treated as benign or 'natural', Castelli argues that they are ultimately anchored in a claim for power. Paul's discourse is thus coercive in the sense that it creates an authoritative model for imitation and establishes the conditions for normative belief and practice. In this carefully constructed experiment in social formation, there is no room for dissent; it is, in fact, predicated on the abolition of difference. At the same time, however, Paul's decision to place himself in the position of model and to depict his community as its copy is a shrewd move that secures and reifies his hegemony and a hierarchy of power.

IGNATIUS IMITATING PAUL IMITATING CHRIST

If Pauline thought exercises a strong hold over Ignatius, as most scholars believe, then the question that naturally arises is whether Ignatius' letters display the same tendencies toward establishing power relations. In other words, does the bishop's rhetoric seek to establish authority by emphasizing suffering and unity? And are dissenting voices quashed and placed outside the bounds of the ecclesiastical body? If so, can he then be said to be 'imitating Paul'? Exploring this issue through the lens of ethical and literary *mimēsis* will help make sense of two seemingly irreconcilable tendencies in the letters: on the one hand, Ignatius' extreme humility and deference to Paul and the apostolic age, and on the other hand, his brash claims for authority and the promotion of a 'true' form of Christianity.

Ethical *mimēsis*, well known in Greek philosophical circles, refers to the imitation of a revered figure's dress, mannerisms, and practices by followers who seek to be like their teacher.[21] Less than a century after Paul's death, there is evidence to suggest that he had begun to represent, for some Christians at least, an example worthy of emulation. In *1 Clement*, Paul was 'the greatest

[21] Objects of emulation include figures such as Socrates (Ar. *Aves* 1280–3; Pl. *Apol.* 23C; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 2–3); Heracles (Lucian, *De mort. Peregr.* 21, 24, 36; *Demon.* 1; Ps.-Diog. *Ep.* 10. 1; Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 78–85, 90; Suet. *Ner.* 53; Plut. *De Alex. mag. for.* 1. 10. 332A); and Epicurus (Lucr. *De rer. nat.* 3. 1–13).

example of endurance' for the sufferings he experienced on his journeys.[22] Likewise, Polycarp singles out Paul among the apostles as one whose life of righteousness and endurance is an example for the Philippians.[23] The letters of Ignatius display a similar reverence for the apostle.[24] The most transparent example of Ignatius' recognition of his mimetic relationship to Paul can be found in *Ephesians*. In this letter, the bishop commends the church for being 'a highway for those killed for God's sake' and 'fellow initiates (συμμύσται) of Paul, who was sanctified, approved, worthy of blessing—may I be found in his footsteps when I reach God! (ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι, ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω)—who in every letter remembers you' (*Eph.* 12. 2). In this passage the Ephesians are commended for their fidelity to Paul, who himself is identified as an example of proper Christian conduct. Moreover, the close juxtaposition between the Ephesians' role in martyrdom and the apostle signals that Ignatius must have been aware of some martyrological traditions surrounding Paul.[25] It is within this context that Ignatius' personal reflection becomes sensible: just as Paul was sent to Rome to die as a martyr for the faith, so too does the bishop hope to imitate his death.

While Ignatius may see close parallels between his fate and that of Paul, he is clearly uneasy about elevating himself as an equal to the apostle. His letter to the Romans, for example, insists that his authority cannot match that of Peter and Paul: 'they were apostles, I am a convict; they were free, I am even now a slave' (*Rom.* 4. 3). Likewise, when addressing some apparent shortcomings among the Trallians, Ignatius tempers his message in deference to the apostles: 'although I could write more sharply... I did not think myself qualified for this, that I, a convict, should give you orders as though I were an apostle' (ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι, *Trall.* 3. 3). This sentiment is echoed elsewhere in the letters: while the apostles 'give orders' (δόγματα, διατάγματα, *Magn.* 13. 1) and 'command' (διατάσσειν, *Trall.* 7. 1), Ignatius

22 *1 Clem.* 5. 7: 'ὑπομονῆς ... μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός'.

23 Pol. *Phil.* 8–10. The issue of Polycarp's imitation of Paul is addressed in K. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul: An Analysis of their Literary and Theological Relationship in Light of Polycarp's Use of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature*, VCSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 126–41.

24 I have consulted two translations of Ignatius' letters: M. W. Holmes (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 2nd edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1999); W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

25 For the evidence that early Christian authors knew of oral traditions regarding Paul's death, see D. R. MacDonald, 'Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives about Paul', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 55–70, at pp. 62–3. R. J. Stoops, Jun., 'If I Suffer... Epistolary Authority in Ignatius of Antioch', *HTR* 80 (1987), 161–178, on p. 166, contends that *Eph.* 12. 2 implies a knowledge of the *totality* of Paul's career, not just his death.

claims only 'to exhort' (παρακαλεῖν, *Rom.* 4. 3).[26] It would appear that the primary characteristic distinguishing the apostles from Ignatius centres on the completion of the Christian life through death. While Peter and Paul have achieved this *telos* and are now 'free' (ἐλεύθεροι), Ignatius remains a 'convict' (κατάκριτος) and a 'slave' (δοῦλος) until his death, at which time he will finally be able to consider himself a 'disciple' (μαθητής).[27] As he categorically states in *Romans* (4. 2), 'I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when the world will no longer see my body.'

The parallel circumstances surrounding the lives of Ignatius and Paul seem to have left a deep impression on the bishop: both were church leaders working in the same community; both composed letters to churches within Asia Minor that emphasized similar theological themes; both were condemned for their work and sentenced to death; and both journeyed to Rome to experience this martyrdom. In a broad sense, then, it may be said that Ignatius 'imitated' Paul through the fulfilment of this journey.[28] In a narrower sense, however, Paul's calls to imitate himself appear to have affected the bishop in precisely the manner that Castelli discovered in her analysis of 1 Corinthians. Specifically, by elevating Paul as a model for emulation, Ignatius seems to have placed himself in the position of a 'copy' of the apostolic 'model'. This phenomenon, as Castelli has shown, not only

The existence of oral traditions surrounding Paul should be added to the material of the historical Paul, the epistolary Paul, and the legendary Paul as evidence that contributes to the complete picture of Paul ('the *Paulusbild*') as available to first- and second-century Christians. For a discussion of this issue, see A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1979), 36–113; *idem*, 'Paul in the Writings of the Apostolic Fathers', in Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, 25–45. See also the response to Lindemann's paper by M. C. de Boer, 'Comment: Which Paul?', in Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, 45–54.

[26] The distinction between the verbs becomes less absolute, however, when it is recognized that in epistolary literature, the verb παρακαλεῖν has the force of a request made by the writer to initiate a plan of action that has yet to be taken; in other words, it is used 'where compliance with the request was obligatory' (Stoops, 'If I Suffer', 169). See also *Trall.* 12. 2, noted below.

[27] Regarding the deaths of Peter and Paul, H. Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe*, TU 99 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), 20, contends that *Rom.* 4. 3 demonstrates that 'Ignatius denkt wahrscheinlich daran, daß beide bereits den Märtyrertod erlitten haben'. See also Stoops, 'If I Suffer', 172: 'Ignatius could be certain of his spiritual freedom only on the other side of death . . . Although Ignatius could never become an apostle, he could become similar to Peter and Paul, if he suffered.'

[28] Stoops ('If I Suffer', 167) states that 'The acceptance of suffering and death were seen by Ignatius as part of a larger path leading to God. Paul was viewed as a predecessor, who completed the path. Paul was shown faithful to the end and was therefore approved or attested and worthy of being imitated.' See also Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 98, who concludes that Ignatius 'überhaupt in seiner ganzen Haltung Paulus als Vorbild ansah'.

establishes a definitive hierarchy, but it continually forces the imitator into a position of self-examination, in which he constantly seeks but fails to attain a status equal to the model. It is through this technique that the hierarchy is perpetuated and the idea of 'sameness' reified. By constantly drawing attention to his subordinate status and his self-doubts about his Christian status, Ignatius exemplifies the coercive effect of Paul's rhetoric that Castelli has identified.[29]

From the perspective of ethical *mimēsis*, Ignatius appears to cast himself as an imitator of the apostles, a copy that repeatedly tries, but ultimately fails, to attain the level of its model. From the perspective of literary *mimēsis*, however, the bishop's close connection to Pauline vocabulary, ideas, and argumentation have the effect of inviting his readers to identify him with Paul, with all of the associations that such a connection could allow.[30] Ignatius' prologues provide clear evidence of this tendency. For example, the prologue to *Ephesians* is filled with verbal parallels to the opening chapter in the apostle's letter of the same name.[31] Moreover, in *Trallians*, Ignatius begins his salutation by greeting the community 'in apostolic manner' (*ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι*), a rather overt case of Ignatius' conscious identification with Paul (*Trall.* prol.). While less explicit, the greeting found in *Magnesians* captures the sense of a typically Pauline salutation without quoting any one of his letters verbatim.[32] These testimonies, both of which occur at the beginnings of letters (which are themselves likely among the first he wrote),[33] act to frame the rest of the correspondence in an apostolic guise: they are 'signs' that Ignatius places himself squarely within the age of the apostles and encourages his readers to

[29] Ignatius' letter to the Romans provides the clearest and most sustained example of his fears and doubts about his worthiness to be a Christian. See n. 47 below.

[30] This assertion is based on the theory of intertextuality, which asserts that the current of influence between two texts is not linear but multidirectional. Thus, echoes of Paul in the Ignatian correspondence not only transport the apostle into the second century, so to speak; they also take the bishop back to the apostolic age and allow him to speak with that level of authority. For a discussion of this literary-critical approach and a select bibliography, see my article, 'The Areopagus as Echo Chamber: *Mimēsis* and Intertextuality in Acts 17', *Journal of Higher Criticism*, 9 (2002), 259–77. For an extensive list of words found in Ignatius that are either unique to or prevalent in the Pauline corpus, see Massaux, *Influence*, 114–16.

[31] This is not to say, of course, that the historical Paul wrote Ephesians; rather, I am only asserting that at this stage in the development of Christianity, Ignatius would not have known of such a thing as a deutero-Pauline corpus. For a list of the parallels, see Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 37; Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 45–6.

[32] Compare the salutation in *Magnesians* ('*καὶ εὔχομαι ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν*') with those of Rom. 1. 7; 1 Cor. 1. 3; 2 Cor. 1. 2; Gal. 1. 3; Eph. 1. 2; Phil. 1. 2; Col. 1. 2; 1 Thess. 1. 1; 2 Thess. 1. 2.

[33] Stoops ('If I Suffer', 168) argues that Ignatius was 'experimenting' in the prologue of the *Trallians*, and that while 'Ignatius continued to imitate Paul's greetings particularly closely, he never again drew attention to this point' (i.e., the apostolic manner of his letter writing).

think of him as a Paul *redivivus*.[34] With this rhetorical move, Ignatius brings into the foreground the entire body of traditions surrounding the figure of Paul,[35] while elevating his own status as one who speaks with the force of apostolic authority.[36]

The identification of Ignatius with Paul is also strengthened by means of the close connection between the two authors' assertions of authority. Like the apostle, Ignatius is the 'least' of the Syrian Christians and one 'untimely born';[37] yet he claims for himself a spiritual insight that is superior to other Christians. For instance, in *Ephesians* he prepares the community for another letter written under the guidance of divine revelation, and in *Romans* he asserts that he writes not 'according to human standards' (κατὰ σάρκα) but 'according to the purpose of God'.[38] Similarly, the bishop reminds the Philadelphians how he spoke to them 'in a loud voice—the voice of God' and instructed them by means of the Spirit.[39] It is his knowledge of 'heavenly things' (τὰ ἐπουράνια), as well as an insight into 'things invisible and visible' (ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, *Trall.* 5. 3; cf. 2 Cor. 12. 4), that allows Ignatius to refer to the Trallians as 'infants' (νηπίοις) who are as yet unable to receive insights into the divine realities that he possesses.[40] By placing himself at the top of the spiritual hierarchy, Ignatius can admonish them to follow his instructions so that his letter will not become a witness against them (*Trall.* 12. 3; see also

[34] This hypothesis softens the boundary between Ignatius and the apostle that Stoops ('If I Suffer', 167–9) has constructed.

[35] Lindemann (*Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 87) concludes that Ignatius' ' "Paulusbild" enthält jedoch kaum individuelle Züge; das ihm in Ign Eph 12,2 erteilte Lob ist überwältigend, geht aber auf die Person des Apostels selbst praktisch nicht ein'. For this paper, however, the precise nature of Ignatius' knowledge of Paul is less important than is the effect that citing Paul or alluding to Pauline traditions could have had on his readers. This reading, therefore, minimizes the importance of authorial intention, choosing instead to place its emphasis on the rhetorical nature of the letters. For further remarks on this issue, see Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 120–1.

[36] Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 42: 'Ignatius muß wohl selbst empfunden haben, daß die Form und der Ton seiner Briefe den Eindruck erwecken konnten, als ob er sich Rechte und Authorität eines Apostels anmaße.'

[37] Echoing 1 Cor. 15. 8–9, Ignatius writes: 'Remember in your prayers the church in Syria, of which I am not worthy to be considered a member, being as I am the very least of them' (ὢν ἔσχατος ἐκείνων, *Trall.* 13. 1) (see also *Eph.* 21. 2; *Magn.* 14. 1; *Smyrn.* 11. 1); and 'for I am not worthy, since I am the very last of them and one untimely born' (ὢν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα, *Rom.* 9. 2).

[38] *Eph.* 20. 2; *Rom.* 8. 3: κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ. Paul uses similar terminology, albeit in different contexts, to distinguish between human and divine standards (Rom. 8. 4–5, 12–13; 2 Cor. 10. 2–5; Gal. 4. 29).

[39] *Phld.* 7. 1–2; see also *Phld.* 5. 1, where Jesus Christ acts through Ignatius on behalf of the Philadelphians. For Pauline parallels, see 1 Cor. 7. 40; 15. 10; Gal. 2. 20.

[40] *Trall.* 5. 1: 'Surely I am not unable to write to write to you about heavenly things? No, but I fear inflicting harm on you who are mere infants. Bear with me, then, lest you be choked by what you are unable to swallow'. Cf. 1 Cor. 3. 1–2.

Phld. 6. 3). Even the bishop Polycarp, who is praised for his 'godly mind', is not immune from Ignatius' criticism, as evidenced by the latter's reprimand that the bishop of Smyrna become 'more diligent' (πλέον σπουδαῖος) in his duties (*Pol.* 3. 2). Finally, Ignatius also employs the Pauline technique of using rhetoric that simultaneously expresses both humility and power. In *Trallians*, for instance, Ignatius' instruction on ecclesiastical authority both subordinates and elevates his personal authority: 'Because I love you I refrain (φείδομαι), though I could write more sharply about this. But I did not think myself qualified for this, that I, a convict (κατάκριτος), should give you orders as though I was an apostle (ἀπόστολος). I have much knowledge in God (Πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν θεῷ), but I measure myself lest I perish by boasting' (*Trall.* 3. 3–4; cf. *Eph.* 3. 1).[41]

The Pauline echoes found in this passage are particularly revealing in that they demonstrate that Ignatius claimed to subordinate his authority for the benefit of other Christians. In much the same way as Paul, Ignatius thought that his life acquired meaning by following the model of suffering and endurance established by Jesus.[42] Consequently, just as Jesus 'suffered' (παθητόν) and 'endured (ὑπομείναντα) in every way' for the sake of others, (*Smyrn.* 2. 1; *Pol.* 3. 2; cf. *Rom.* 10. 3), so too must Ignatius adhere to the same tenets. In its most general sense, this occurs naturally for all Christians because the world is hostile to them.[43] The only option, then, is to 'endure patiently' (ὑπομένοντες, *Magn.* 1. 2) the abuses that stem from the world, for 'if you endure everything (πάντα ὑπομένοντες) for his sake [i.e. Jesus], you will reach him' (*Smyrn.* 9. 2).[44] Furthermore, like an athlete who is 'bruised, yet still conquers', Christians must 'patiently put up (ὑπομένειν) with all things so that he [i.e. God] may also put up (ὑπομείνῃ) with us' (*Pol.* 3. 1).[45] Those who possess this endurance will, Ignatius proclaims, be recognized as disciples of Jesus, for, like him, these 'imitators of the Lord' strive 'to see who can be the more wronged, who the more cheated, who the more rejected, in order that . . . with complete purity and self-control [they] may abide in Jesus Christ spiritually and physically' (*Eph.* 10. 3).

Understood more specifically, however, endurance and suffering are closely connected with martyrdom, for according to Ignatius the Christian life is

41 For similar statements by Paul, see 1 Cor. 2. 6–7; 13. 2; 2 Cor. 12. 6.

42 W. Rebell, 'Das Leidenverständnis bei Paulus und Ignatius von Antiochien', *NTS* 32 (1986), 457–65.

43 *Rom.* 3. 3: 'Christianity is greatest when it is hated by the world.' See also *Eph.* 13. 1; *Trall.* 4. 2; 8. 1; *Rom.* 7. 1.

44 See also *Pol.* 3. 1. In *Eph.* 14. 2, Ignatius likens Christianity to work whose central preoccupation is with 'persevering to the end in the power of faith'. In *Magn.* 9. 1, those who endure will be revealed as disciples of Christ.

45 Additional passages comparing life to an *agōn* include *Eph.* 3. 2; 4. 1; *Magn.* 7. 2; *Pol.* 6. 1–2.

sealed when the faithful 'voluntarily choose to die into his [Jesus'] suffering' (*Magn.* 5. 2).[46] While he certainly does not suggest that all Christians must choose this path, for him, at least, the journey to Rome represents the fulfilment of his Christian life (*Rom.* 5. 1). Thus he can speak of the Roman guards as leopards whose mistreatment of him makes him more of a disciple, and states that true life will come to him only through suffering: 'if I suffer (παθῶ), I will be a freedman in Jesus Christ, and will rise up free in him' (*Rom.* 4. 3).[47] Although Ignatius may view himself as a 'convict' (κατάκριτος) and his death as a 'humble sacrifice' (περίψημα), such terms conjure up images of both inferiority and lowliness *and* authority and power.[48] Thus, while he contrasts his status as a slave to the freedom of his readers, he can also rather confidently proclaim that his 'spirit and bonds (δεσμά) are [an] expiation' for the community of Smyrna (10. 2) and praise those who have not viewed his imprisonment as a sign of weakness (*Pol.* 2. 3).[49] Some Christians along his route, however, appear to have seen Ignatius' discussion of his imprisonment as self-aggrandizing (*Phld.* 6. 3),[50] forcing him to deny that he was attempting to profit from his status: 'I am not commanding you as though I were somebody important. For even though I am in chains for the sake of the Name, I have not yet been perfected in Jesus Christ' (*Eph.* 3. 1); 'even though I am in chains, I cannot be compared to one of you who are at liberty' (*Magn.* 12. 1); and again, 'Not because I am in bonds (δέδεμαι) and am able to know heavenly things ... am I already a disciple' (*Trall.* 5. 2).[51]

Yet it might be argued that in his denial of power Ignatius is actually reinforcing it.[52] In any event, he is not always so self-deprecating, and regularly allows himself to appropriate the link between his imprisonment and an authority that ultimately stems from Jesus. For example, Ignatius reminds the Ephesians that he carries around his chains 'in Jesus' (*Eph.* 11. 2), a position restated to the Philadelphians when he defends himself against those who question his honesty (*Phld.* 7.2). In a style of argumentation reminiscent of Paul's defence of the resurrection, Ignatius contends that the death of Jesus justifies the martyrdom of his followers, and that martyrdoms in turn 'prove' (*Smyrn.* 4. 2) that the death of Jesus was a reality: 'For if those things were done by our Lord in appearance only, I too am in bonds in

[46] In contrast to Rom. 6. 1–4, this passage makes no reference to baptism.

[47] See also *Eph.* 21. 2; *Trall.* 4. 2; *Rom.* 5. 3; 7. 2; 8. 3.

[48] Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 64, 72.

[49] On Ignatius' use of sacrificial imagery, see *Eph.* 8. 1; 18. 1; *Trall.* 13. 3; *Pol.* 6. 1.

[50] See the commentary on this passage by Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 204. Schoedel (*Ignatius of Antioch*, 11–12) has also explored the theatrical nature of Ignatius' journey to Rome.

[51] On this point, see ibid. 49, 129.

[52] Compare, e.g., a similar rhetorical strategy in Philem. 8–9.

appearance only' (*Trall.* 10. 1).[53] In an even more striking statement, the bishop claims that it is precisely through his identification with Jesus that he receives his power: 'in the name of Jesus Christ, that I may suffer together (συμπαθεῖν) with him! I endure (ὑπομένω) everything because he himself, who is the perfect human being, empowers (ἐνδυναμοῦντος) me' (*Smyrn.* 4. 2).[54] Embodying divine power enables Ignatius to instruct with authority. This can be detected both in *Magnesians*, when he calls for unity 'in the bonds which I bear', and, more explicitly, in *Trallians*: 'My chains (τὰ δεσμά μου), which I carry around for the sake of Jesus Christ while praying that I might reach God, exhort you (παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς): persevere in your unanimity and in prayer with one another' (*Trall.* 12. 2).

IGNATIUS AND THE RHETORIC OF POWER

It is at this point that the purpose behind Ignatius' emulation and literary imitation of Paul and his traditions becomes apparent: they are part of a larger strategy of establishing both a clearly defined hierarchy of power and a vision of ecclesiastical 'sameness'. For Ignatius, it is the recognition of, and submission to, an authoritative hierarchy that naturally leads to unity. Two immediate obstacles threatened to jeopardize this vision: as the bishop of Antioch, he had no direct claim to authority among the churches of Asia Minor, and because his own church was experiencing turmoil, his decision to equate 'godliness' with community concord was a potential stumbling-block. He thus could not simply say, as Paul had done, 'imitate me', for how could he maintain that he was a model for imitation if his leadership over Antioch had not produced *koinōnia*? In this situation, casting himself as a new Paul and evoking the traditions surrounding the apostle was a way to circumvent the immediacy of both of these problems, for not only was he on Paul's (and Jesus') physical journey to die as a martyr, but as one who embodied power through suffering and enduring, he was on their spiritual journey as well.

By identifying himself with the figures of Jesus and Paul, Ignatius stakes a claim for a personal authority that manifests itself in his vision of proper ecclesiastical organization. This topic, which Paul had only touched upon (1 Cor. 12. 28; cf. Eph. 4. 11–12), is treated thoroughly and unequivocally by

[53] Cf. 1 Cor. 15. 12–14. It should be no surprise, then, that the deaths of the martyrs are not enough to convince those who deny Christ's passion (*Smyrn.* 5. 1).

[54] See also *Rom.* 6. 3: 'Allow me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God.' On this aspect of imitation in Ignatius, see W. M. Swartley, 'The *Imitatio Christi* in the Ignatian Letters', *VC* 27 (1973), 81–103, on p. 92.

Ignatius. Indeed, in every letter his understanding of church leadership is either outlined explicitly or assumed. At the head of the church is the bishop, followed by the presbyters and deacons. For Ignatius, each of these three positions has a divine or apostolic analogue. 'Presiding in the place of God' (*Magn.* 6. 1), the bishop is 'a model (τυπόν) of the Father' (*Trall.* 3. 1) whose 'mind' or 'purpose' (γνώμη) closely corresponds with that of his divine exemplar (*Eph.* 3. 2; 4. 1; *Pol.* 8. 1).[55] Representing a lower rung on the hierarchy, the presbyters act 'in the place of the council of the apostles' (*Magn.* 6. 1; see also *Trall.* 3. 1) and 'yield to' the bishop as 'one who is wise in God' (*Magn.* 3. 1). Finally, the deacons occupy a third position: they are 'entrusted with the service of Jesus Christ' and must be 'subject to the bishop as to the grace of God and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ' (*Magn.* 2).[56] All three offices, then, are invested with a quasi-divine status: they are all 'with' Jesus and 'have been appointed by his purpose' (γνώμη) and 'established by his Holy Spirit' (*Phld.* prol.).

It would appear that the strategy behind such assertions is to elevate the authority of a group of officials who may not always have commanded the respect and obedience that Ignatius felt was appropriate. This is especially true of the bishop, who appears to have been embattled in a few of the Asian communities.[57] To confront this challenge, Ignatius amplifies his rhetoric on behalf of episcopal authority: the bishop's presence is comparable to the presence of Jesus (*Smyrn.* 8. 2); he possesses the 'purpose of God' (*Pol.* 8. 1); and he should be regarded 'as the Lord himself' (*Eph.* 6. 1). The elders display an appropriate attitude toward episcopal leadership when they 'yield to' (συγχωροῦντας) him as if he were God, the divine bishop (*Magn.* 3. 1). As they are superior to ordinary Christians, the implication is that the congregations have an even greater responsibility to submit to the bishop's authority.[58] Furthermore, for those who might not be impressed with Ignatius' pleas 'to do nothing without the bishop' and 'to be subject to the bishop',[59] he recounts how this command, on one occasion at least, did not derive from him, but from a higher power: 'I called out (ἐκραύγασα) when I was with you,

[55] According to Schoedel (*Ignatius of Antioch*, 50), γνώμη is a term 'with widely diffused notions of social and political discipline'.

[56] But see *Trall.* 3. 1, where Ignatius states that the deacons should be given respect 'as (ὡς) Jesus Christ'.

[57] Ignatius is forced on a few occasions to defend the silence of the bishop as a virtue, an indication that some of these leaders suffered from rhetorical deficiencies when confronted with opposing teachings (*Eph.* 6. 1; 15; *Phld.* 1). It appears that some members of the Magnesian community 'took advantage' (συγχρᾶσθαι) of the bishop (*Magn.* 3. 1), forcing Ignatius to reprimand those who 'call a man "bishop" but do everything without regard for him' (*Magn.* 4).

[58] See, e.g., *Pol.* 6. 1: the Smyrneans should 'pay attention to' (προσέχετε) the bishop 'in order that God may pay attention' to them.

[59] *Magn.* 7. 1; 13. 2; *Trall.* 2. 1–2; 7. 1; 13. 2.

I was speaking with a loud voice, God's voice: "Pay attention (*προσέχετε*) to the bishop and to the presbytery and deacons"... the Spirit itself was preaching (*ἐκήρυσσεν*), saying these words: "Do nothing without the bishop... Love unity (*ἕνωσιν*). Flee from divisions. Become imitators of Jesus Christ, just as he is of the Father" ' (*Phld.* 7. 1–2).

This exhortation from *Philadelphians* is notable for two reasons. First, Ignatius states that unity is contingent upon following the dictates of the episcopacy. The bishop must be imitated: just as he displays an 'inexpressible love', so too must the community repay him with love 'in accordance with the standard set by Jesus Christ [so that] all of you will be like him' (*πάντας ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι*) (*Eph.* 1. 3).[60] Likewise, the Magnesians are instructed that they 'should be united with the bishop and those who lead [because they are] an example (*τύπον*) and a lesson of incorruptibility' (*ἀφθαρσίας*) (*Magn.* 6. 2). Second, it appears that Ignatius thinks that this 'oneness' within the earthly community mirrors the unity found in the relationship between Jesus and God. These two features of Ignatius' thought resonate throughout his writings. To the Magnesians he instructs that 'as the Lord did nothing without the Father, either by himself or through the apostles—for he was united with him (*ἡνωμένος ὤν*)—so you must not do anything without the bishop and the presbyters' (*Magn.* 7. 1; see also *Magn.* 13. 2). Similarly, Ignatius congratulates the Ephesians for being 'united' (*ἐνκεκραμένους*) with their bishop 'as the church is with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things might be harmonious in unity (*ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἑνότητι σύμφωνα ᾖ*)' (*Eph.* 5. 1). And the Smyrneans, who learn that community division is associated with evil, are all instructed to 'follow (*ἀκολουθεῖτε*) the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father' (*Smyrn.* 8. 1). To fall dutifully under the aegis of the bishop and his subordinates is thus the primary indication for Ignatius that a church exists in unity and concord; in other words, the 'true' Christian life. Indeed, without these ecclesiastical officials, 'no group can be called a church' (*χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται*, *Trall.* 3. 1).

To imitate God or Jesus, as Ignatius counsels, is nothing less than a call to imitate the bishop because of his divine-like status.[61] This perspective allows Ignatius to say 'run together in harmony with the purpose of God' and then two sentences later, "run together with the purpose of the bishop'.[62] When

[60] See also *Smyrn.* 12. 1, where Ignatius commends the Ephesian deacon Burrhus and then offers the wish that 'all were imitators of him (*πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο*), for he is a model (*ἐξεμπλάριον*) of service to God'.

[61] As Swartley ('Imitatio Christi', 92) has shown, the connection between *imitatio* and martyrdom is balanced by the more prevalent tendency for Ignatius to link *mimēsis* to ethical clusters of thought.

[62] *Eph.* 3. 2 (*συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ*); 4. 1 (*συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ*).

community harmony is at issue, it appears that there is very little distinction between the two, a point underscored by the admonition that the Ephesians should 'be careful not to oppose the bishop, in order that we may be obedient to God' (*Eph.* 5. 3; see also *Smyrn.* 9. 1). By anchoring this argument of episcopal dominance to a divine sanction, Ignatius' formulation represents a strengthening of the hierarchy established by Paul, who saw himself only as an intermediary between God/Christ and the church. In Ignatius' view, the bishop represents a divine model that the community, as a copy of the model, should strive to imitate. Yet, as Castelli has shown, *mimēsis* of this sort does not allow for the possibility of equality. Instead, the message of this authoritative voice compels his imitators to engage in constant self-reflection and self-criticism as they pursue their unachievable task. This process ultimately leads to a theological 'sameness', which reveals itself, according to Ignatius, in the unity of the church.

The unity that Ignatius espouses is based upon submission to the episcopate, which in turn is a reflection of God's unity.[63] The opposite is equally true: division appears when the bishop's authority is rejected, a situation that signals a movement away from God. For Ignatius, then, the only two options that life offers are to be with or against God. As he explains, one is either within or outside of the sanctuary; there is no middle ground.[64] Consequently, Ignatius' commands to 'flee from division' (*Phld.* 2. 1; *Smyrn.* 8. 1) and embrace unity are more than simply theoretical commentaries on an ideal social order. Rather, such formulations assume a soteriological quality, for the existence of concord is the primary characteristic of true Christians who have a share in God. As he explains to the Ephesians, 'when no dissention (*ἔρις*) capable of tormenting you is established among you, then you indeed live according to God's way' (*Eph.* 8. 1). He thus exhorts them to join the bishop and elders, in praising Jesus 'so that by being harmonious in unanimity (*σύμφωνοι . . . ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ*) and taking your pitch from God you may sing in unison with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father, in order that he may both hear you and . . . acknowledge that you are members of his Son. It is, therefore, advantageous for you to be in perfect unity (*ἑνότητι*), in order that you may always have a share in God' (*Eph.* 3. 1–2).[65]

Conversely, divisions within the community reflect a rejection of the Christian 'truth': they are, quite simply, the 'beginning of evils' (*ἀρχὴν κακῶν*, *Smyrn.* 8. 1). For Ignatius, the divided community does not share

[63] On the unity of God, see *Trall.* 11. 2.

[64] *Eph.* 5. 2; *Trall.* 7. 2; see also *Magn.* 5. 1–2; 10. 1.

[65] See also *Magn.* 7. 1: 'Do not attempt to convince yourselves that anything done apart from the others is right.'

in God,[66] and those who refuse to participate in community life have God for an enemy.[67] Although it appears that Ignatius did not confront widespread factionalism, he does, however, target those who hold 'false' views of Jesus as the source of dissension.[68] These people, whom Ignatius refers to as 'tombstones and graves of the dead' (*Phld.* 6. 1; see also *Smyrn.* 5. 2) disseminate 'an evil teaching' (*Eph.* 9. 1) and 'worthless opinions' (*Magn.* 11) that are 'contrary to the purpose (*γνώμῃ*) of God' (*Smyrn.* 6. 2; see also *Magn.* 8. 1). Elsewhere they are described as 'wicked offshoots that bear deadly fruit' (*Phld.* 3. 1), so that 'if anyone even tastes it, he dies on the spot' (*Trall.* 6. 1–2; 11. 1).[69] As a result, it is not surprising that Ignatius thinks that in the battle between truth and falsity, the stakes are nothing less than salvation. As he warns the Ephesians, if those who incite divisiveness in earthly matters are cut off from a future with God, it is reasonable to expect that the punishment for those who promote false teachings about Jesus, an even greater sin, is even more assured: 'Do not be misled, my brothers: those who adulterously corrupt households "will not inherit the kingdom of God". Now if those who do such things in the realm of the flesh are put to death, how much more if by evil teaching someone corrupts faith in God, for which Jesus Christ was crucified. Such a person, having polluted himself, will go to the unquenchable fire, as will also the one who listens to him' (*Eph.* 16. 1–2; see also *Eph.* 13. 1; *Smyrn.* 7. 1). This admonition is reinforced in *Philadelphians*: 'if anyone follows a schismatic (*σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ*), he will not inherit the kingdom of God' (3. 3).

These two passages, the only instances in which Ignatius discusses the kingdom of God, are revealing in their immediate context. Instead of choosing to speak of the kingdom in a positive sense, to elucidate a future existence of peace and righteousness, Ignatius elects to refer to it as a means to condemn and exclude those whom he feels are destined for damnation. Castelli's contention that this type of polemic marginalizes 'otherness' and demonizes 'difference' is clearly apparent, for Ignatius' discourse of power leaves no room for dissension. Moreover, the bishop amplifies his polemic against his opponents by arguing that it is not they who have denied God, but

[66] *Phld.* 8. 1: 'God does not dwell where there is division (*μερισμός*) and anger.'

[67] *Eph.* 5. 3: 'whoever does not meet with the congregation . . . demonstrates his arrogance and has separated himself (*ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἑαυτὸν διέκρινεν*), for it is written, "God opposes the arrogant" '.

[68] To speak of Jesus Christ properly, Ignatius holds that the reality of his incarnation, suffering, death, and resurrection must be affirmed (*Eph.* 18. 2–19. 3; *Magn.* 11; *Trall.* 9. 1–2; *Smyrn.* 2). For a more detailed treatment of the factionalism in the letters, see V. Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 52–87.

[69] See also *Eph.* 7. 1, where false teachers are compared to 'mad dogs that bite by stealth', [whose] 'bite is hard to heal'.

God who has denied *them* (*Smyrn.* 5. 1). Ignatius thinks that they simply reveal God's decision through their teachings: 'their fate will be determined by what they think: they will become disembodied and demonic' (ἀσωμάτοις καὶ δαιμονικοῖς) (*Smyrn.* 2). The bishop therefore advises the communities to sever all contact with these false teachers, so that they may remain 'insiders' and members of God's temple (*Eph.* 9. 1; *Trall.* 6. 1–2; *Smyrn.* 4. 1; 7. 1).

CONCLUSION

In 1 Corinthians, Paul contrasts the wisdom that derives from rhetorical skill with the wisdom of God (1 Cor. 2. 4), and concludes that 'the kingdom of God depends not on talk but on power' (1 Cor. 4. 20). Ignatius concurs with this sentiment, calling Christianity 'the work' (τὸ ἔργον), a way of life that 'is not a matter of persuasive rhetoric' (πεισμονῆς) but of action on behalf of the truth (*Rom.* 3. 3; see also *Eph.* 14. 2). Yet this study would nuance such sentiments, arguing that for Paul and Ignatius, the kingdom does come through power, but that this power is grounded in and expressed through a rhetoric of coercion. The rhetorical strategies that Paul employs—from his claim to speak with authority to his self-effacement, connection with Christ, and calls for imitation—all have parallels in the Ignatian correspondence.

Exploring these letters through the lens of *mimēsis* reveals an 'imitation' that operates in a paradoxical fashion. From an ethical perspective, it reveals that Ignatius saw himself as a 'copy' of the 'model' of behaviour found in the lives and deaths of Paul and Jesus. Yet on the other hand, the literary imitation found in the letters have the effect of elevating Ignatius so that he becomes a 'new' Paul who speaks with a corresponding apostolic authority. The bishop then uses this authoritative voice to promote a vision of theological 'sameness' among the communities of Asia Minor, a vision that is anchored in submission and obedience to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In this scheme, the community becomes an imitator of the bishop, the divine-like model of Christian identity, and continually seeks to attain his level of perfection. Because this goal cannot be attained, the community must repeatedly re-evaluate its 'Christian-ness' based on its uniform behaviour and attitudes under the bishop's leadership. This becomes the criterion for determining whether a person or group is within the 'true' Christian fold or is a part of the demonic forces of the world. Ignatius' discourse of power thus reinforces and elevates Paul's view that unity comes through a recognition of hierarchy and, furthermore, that the acceptance of this position identifies one's spiritual status, in both this world and the next.

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15

The Politics and Rhetoric of Discord and Concord in Paul and Ignatius

Harry O. Maier

'Ignatius was a man of the Greek city and . . . seems to have been relatively at home there. . . . [T]he spirit of popular Hellenistic culture remains more alive in his letters than is generally recognized.'[1] One of the more ground-breaking aspects of William Schoedel's commentary on Ignatius' epistles is its attention to the ways in which the Ignatian corpus echoes the vocabulary and concepts characteristic of contemporary pagan political philosophy and civic culture. Schoedel has urged a reorientation toward politics and rhetoric as indispensable guides for situating Ignatius in his social and theological setting. He has thus sought to do for Ignatius what others have profitably done for *1 Clement* in assessing its indebtedness to political rhetoric, especially that connected with the *topos*, περὶ ὁμόνοιας.[2] With a few exceptions, however, scholars have not followed Schoedel down this path-breaking trail.[3] Almost twenty years after Schoedel's commentary, Ignatius' appropriation of themes common in Hellenistic political culture still awaits detailed exploration.

[1] W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 17.

[2] O. M. Bakke, *'Concord and Peace': A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition*, WUNT 2.143 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), with discussion of earlier treatments.

[3] A noteworthy exception is A. Brent, *The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order: Concepts and Images of Authority in Paganism and Early Christianity before the Age of Cyprian*, VCSup 45 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 210–50; also *idem*, 'Ignatius of Antioch and the Imperial Cult', *VC* 52 (1998), 30–58; see also *idem*, Ch. 16 below, which arrives at a complementary insistence on the importance of attention to concord themes and their ritual connections argued for here. For rhetorical political treatments, S. Carruth, 'Praise for the Churches: The Rhetorical Function of the Opening Sections of the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch', in E. Castelli and H. Taussig (eds.), *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1996), 295–310; D. L. Sullivan, 'Establishing Orthodoxy: The Letters of Ignatius of Antioch as Epideictic Rhetoric', *Journal of Communication and Religion*, 15 (1992), 71–86; Robert J. Stoops, 'If I Suffer . . . Epistolary Authority in Ignatius of Antioch', *HTR* 80 (1987), 161–78.

This essay seeks to identify the influence of ancient political culture on Ignatius by reading his letters in the light of pagan philosophical and rhetorical commonplaces centring on the motifs of discord and concord. It will be seen that Ignatius borrowed extensively from rhetorical commonplaces associated with these themes in his descriptions of the ideally functioning church in submission to its leaders, and in his vilification of opponents as those whose actions and character have led to division. His extensive use of typical vocabulary and imagery associated with these *topoi* reveals the importance of ancient political and rhetorical culture in the shaping of Ignatius' letters. As we shall see, it also reveals his debt to the apostle Paul and his adaptation of political commonplaces in the representation of conflicts challenging his churches, especially as found in 1 Corinthians.

If the influence of Hellenistic political culture on Ignatius has been largely ignored, in Pauline studies the topic has enjoyed extensive discussion. Especially relevant to this essay is the growing body of scholarship devoted to an investigation of Paul's use of political commonplaces in the Corinthian correspondence. These more politically and rhetorically directed readings of Paul are helpful in reorienting the focus of investigation of Ignatius' letters, since it can be seen that Ignatius takes up and develops motifs he knew from his reading of 1 Corinthians. His use of 1 Corinthians has been well documented. A century ago, the committee formed by the Oxford Society of Historical Theology to investigate the relationship of New Testament writings to the Apostolic Fathers concluded in the case of Ignatius that the language and thought of 1 Corinthians so pervade the Syrian's letters that he 'must have known the Epistle almost by heart'.[4] However, attention to the appearance of political commonplaces in Paul and Ignatius permits a slightly different assessment. While 1 Corinthians was probably known to Ignatius, shared aspects may be better accounted for as a shared adaptation of political commonplaces in their respective representation of discord and communal ideals. Steeped as Ignatius was in the Hellenistic political culture of his day, Paul's uses of political rhetoric would have been immediately recognized by him. Ignatius' creativity may be seen in the way he took these up and developed them in his own letters and thereby offered, as Paul had done before him, a unique theological appropriation of Hellenistic civic ideals.

In recent years several studies have appeared detailing the rhetorical dimensions of the Corinthian correspondence, and their echoing of Hellenistic pagan commonplaces on themes relating to discord and concord.[5] Attention

[4] *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 67; H. Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe*, TU 99 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), offers systematic support for knowledge of the Corinthian correspondence.

[5] P. Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians*, WUNT 2.23 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987); L. L. Welborn, 'On the Discord in Corinth:

to parallels with ancient rhetorical and political treatises on civic concord has shown that Paul was clearly drawing on pagan political ideals and vilification in the representation of communal harmony and discord.[6] The patient spadework of these scholars has demonstrated that whatever the theological issues occasioning Paul's rejoinders to the multiple problems dividing the Corinthian church, the apostle responded to them using *topoi*, imagery, and vocabulary drawn from ancient political culture.

The first four chapters of 1 Corinthians represent the most sustained and readily recognizable application of commonplace political themes and vocabulary to the Corinthian situation. In his response to the report from 'Chloe's people' (1 Cor. 1. 11) concerning divisions in Corinth, Paul adopts the vocabulary, metaphors, and *topoi* at home in Hellenistic political rhetoric to describe Corinthian conflicts and ideals. Those problems he casts as 'dissension' (σχίσματα, 1. 10; also 11. 18; 12. 25), factions or strife (ἔριδες, 1. 11; ἔρις, 3. 3), jealousy (ζῆλος, 3. 3), being divided (μερίζειν, 1. 13; also 7. 34; 12. 25 (μεριμνᾶν)), and, in some manuscripts, sedition (διχοστασίαι, 3. 3). Faction has arisen from competing Corinthian claims to apostolic foundation (1. 12, 15; 3. 4, 22). The Corinthian audience hearing Paul's letter would have recognized immediately that the apostle was choosing language typically associated with civic discord to portray a church in crisis. Each of these terms appears regularly in ancient treatises on political themes, and in pagan historical descriptions and representations of στάσις ('civil disorder').[7]

Further, though Paul nowhere uses the term ὕβρις, his audience would have recognized that the apostle was accusing those guilty of faction as suffering from this community-eroding vice and the related shortcoming of arrogance (ἀλαζονεία).[8] The vice of hubris and its associated evils of jealousy leading toward faction and schism were seen by ancients as arising from wealth and

1 Corinthians 1–4 and Ancient Politics', *JBL* 106 (1987), 85–111; *idem*, 'A Conciliatory Principle in 1 Cor. 4:6', *NovT* 29 (1987), 320–46; S. M. Pogoloff, *Logos and Sophia: The Rhetorical Situation of 1 Corinthians*, SBLDS 134 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); D. B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 38–68; M. M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1991).

[6] Thus, e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38–41; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23–4; Ps.-Sallust. *Ep.* 2; Thrasymachus, *Peri homonoias*; Antiphon, *Peri homonoias*; Isoc. *Or.* 4; *Ep.* 3, 8, 9; Herodes Atticus, *Peri politeias*, to name only a few examples.

[7] For vocabulary and themes see D. Loenen, *Stasis: Enige aspecten van de begrippen partij-en klassentrijd in oud-Griekenland* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maaschappij, 1953); H. –J. Gehrke, *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Vestigia, 35 (Munich: Beck, 1985).

[8] For vocabulary and themes, N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1992); J. J. Fraenkel, *Hybris* (Utrecht: P. den Boer, 1941).

over-abundance.[9] It is these themes Paul has in mind when he ironically chides the Corinthians as filled and rich (1 Cor. 4. 8). Accusing them of another vice typically associated with discord, he criticizes them as puffed up or self-inflated (φυσιοῦσθαι, 4. 6, 18, 19; also 4. 6; 8. 1; 13. 4). Similarly, they are guilty of that vice most destructive of the political order—boasting (καυχᾶσθαι, 3. 21; 4. 7; see 1. 31; also 13. 3; 5. 6; 9. 15, 16 (καύχημα)), by which is meant the praise of oneself, a vice universally pilloried in antiquity.[10] Thus, when he urges the Corinthians to remember their social origins—that not many of them 'were wise according to worldly standards, not many were powerful, not many were of noble birth' (1. 26), he does so as part of his rhetorical representation of boastful, arrogant, hubristic, factionalist, jealous, and seditious Corinthians. Instead of forming a mature body politic dedicated to the pursuit of a common good, Paul complains—again citing a political commonplace—that the Corinthians are squabbling, jealous children (3. 1–4). They should be adults, but Paul threatens them as though they were adolescents, promising to discipline them with a rod if they do not stop misbehaving (4. 21).[11]

In outlining Corinthian communal ideals, Paul similarly borrows from Graeco-Roman civic commonplaces. Though the term ὁμόνοια nowhere appears in 1 Corinthians, Paul repeatedly invokes terms and commonplaces associated with it.[12] Thus, the apostle periphrastically exhorts his audience to concord when he urges them 'to agree (τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε)' and 'to be rightly set in the same mind (κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοΐ) and the same judgement (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ)' (1. 10). Each of these motifs recurs regularly in ancient political discourse on themes relating to concord.[13] As an antidote to Corinthian invocations of competing apostolic allegiances, he describes his apostolic comrades as συνεργοί (3. 9) and stewards (οἰκονόμοι, 4. 1, 2; see also 9. 17), cooperating in the divinely appointed task of building God's temple on a

[9] See Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 183–218, for discussion of this connection in ancient sources.

[10] See, e.g., Plut. *De laude ipsius; De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando*; E. A. Judge, 'Paul's Boasting in Relation to Contemporary Professional Practice', *ABR* 16 (1968), 37–50; and C. Forbes, 'Comparison, Self-Praise and Irony: Paul's Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric', *NTS* 32 (1986), 1–30. What is implicit in 1 Corinthians is explicitly outlined in 2 Cor. 12. 20, where boasting is associated with the typical vices of στάσις : ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαί, and ἀκαταστασίαι (12. 20).

[11] For στάσις and acting like children, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 21; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6. 71. 3.

[12] For an overview of typical vocabulary, E. Skard, *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: Euergetes-Concordia* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1932); J. de Romilly, 'Vocabulaire et propagande ou les premiers emplois du mot *homonoia*', in F. Bader (ed.), *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologique Grecques offerts à Pierre Chantraine* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1972), 199–209; A. Moulakis, *Homonoia: Eintracht und die Entwicklung eines politischen Bewusstseins* (Munich: List, 1973); K. Thraede, 'Homonoia (Eintracht)', *RAC* 16 (1994), 176–80.

[13] For references, see Mitchell, *Paul*, 74–80.

solid foundation (θεμέλιον, 3. 9–14, 16–17).[14] Further, he studiously avoids taking up individual claims of differing groups, choosing instead to retain a collective focus by carefully addressing his audience 'the church of God which is at Corinth . . . called to be saints with all (σὺν πᾶσιν) those who in every place (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ) call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours (αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν)' (1. 2). If suffering schisms and divisions, they nevertheless remain 'brothers (ἀδελφοί)' (1.10, 26; 2.1; 3.1; 4.6), and while the Corinthians divide themselves along the lines of competing apostolic pedigrees, Paul retains a collective focus by referring to himself and his colleagues repeatedly in the first person plural (2. 6, 7, 13; 3. 9; 4. 1, 6, 8–13).

This collective focus on mutual co-operation is reinforced through the use of ὁμόνοια *topoi*. The sacral and household imagery Paul invokes, together with construction terminology (οἰκοδομή, 3. 9; see also οἰκοδομεῖν, 8. 1, 10; 10. 23; 14. 4, 17) are commonplaces in ancient treatments of concord and statecraft.[15] Ancient authors such as Aelius Aristides celebrated the sacral order of the Roman Empire by relating the *Pax romana* to the harmonious construction of local temples and the concord-preserving religious piety and moral order that they promoted.[16] Also recognizably political is Paul's treatment of the church as God's well-governed household or family.[17] Later in 1 Cor. 15. 58, where at the end of his letter Paul echoes the building and labour terms introduced at its start, the apostle exhorts his audience to 'be steadfast (ἑδραῖοι), immovable (ἀμετακίνητοι), always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in the Lord your labour (ὁ κόπος [see 3. 8]) is not in vain.' They are to put into practice the ethos outlined in the letter as a means toward overcoming factionalism and restoring the divinely appointed concord to which the community has been called. Similarly developing concord themes, Paul represents Stephanas and his household (16. 15–16) epideictically as exemplars of community-building ὁμόνοια. Invoking vocabulary associated with ideals of political concord, he describes them as ordering themselves (ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς) for service (διακονία), and urges the Corinthians, again using a politically charged term, to be subject (ὑποτάσσεσθαι)

14 See A. Fridrichsen, 'Themelios, 1 Kor. 3,11', *TZ* 2 (1946), 316–17; J. Shanor, 'Paul as Master Builder: Construction Terms in 1 Corinthians', *NTS* 34 (1988), 461–71, for ancient political associations.

15 E.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1. 1 1252a 1–1260b23; Xen. *Mem.* 4. 4. 16; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 24. 241; 38. 15; 48. 14; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 31, 62; 24. 8, 32–3; Philo, *Jos.* 38; *1 Clem.* 21. 7–8. For a systematic discussion, I. Kitzberger, *Bau der Gemeinde: das paulinische Wortfeld oikodome/(ep)oikodomein* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1984), 158–305.

16 Ael. Arist. *Or.* 27. 40–1.

17 See Dio. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7. 66. 5 for a description of Roman rule likened to a well-governed household with children subject to parents; see also 6. 71. 3; Augustus and his successors capitalized on this *topos*—see Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 398–405.

to such people.[18] These men—picking up the language of 3. 8, 9 used to describe the concord-producing work of Paul and his apostolic associates—are *συνεργοῦντες καὶ κοπιῶντες* (16. 16), the examples to follow to take the Corinthian church out of its faction and discord.

Indeed, such concord-promoting labour is the opposite of the Corinthian arrogance and boasting that leads to *σχίσματα* and *ἔριδες*. In a devastatingly ironical rejoinder to Corinthian boasting and competition over status, Paul represents himself and the apostolic co-founders of Corinth as self-effacing examples (4. 6, 9–13). In contrast to the Corinthians' wisdom, strength, and honour, they are 'fools' (*μωροί*), 'weak' (*ἀσθενεῖς*), and 'dishonoured' (*ἄτιμοι*, v. 11). As impoverished manual labourers (v. 12) they are at the extreme opposite of Corinthian hubristic claims to nobility and royalty; they are 'refuse' and 'off-scouring' (*περικαθάρματα*; *περίψημα*, v. 13). Again, these references have a politically charged application in chapters 1–4 and in the letter as a whole. It was, after all, those inhabiting the extreme opposite end of the social spectrum, the 'rulers of this age (*ἀρχόντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*)'—the honoured, strong, wise, powerful and nobly born (see 1. 26)—who crucified the Lord of Glory (2. 8). The imperial cult of concord as a celebration of a religiously preserved civil peace thus suffers a direct blow, and falls victim in Paul's burlesque to paradoxical reversals of honour and status considerations.[19]

Later in the letter, invoking the traditional political *topos* of the body, and echoing the paradoxes of 4. 10, traditional considerations of honour and status are again reversed when Paul draws attention to the weaker (*ἀσθενέστερα*, 12. 22), less honourable (*ἀτιμότερα*, 12. 23), inferior (*ὑστερουμένοι*) and unpresentable (v. 24) parts of the body as having greater honour. Paul urges such a reversal, centred in 'care for one another', that 'there may be no discord (*σχίσμα*) in the body' (v. 25). Elsewhere, he undermines appeals to status and honour, again echoing his earlier depictions of congregational faction, by urging stronger members not to be 'puffed up (*φυσιοῦν*)', but 'to build up (*οἰκοδομεῖν*)' (8. 1; see also 10. 23)—thus echoing the themes introduced in the first four chapters—and to care for weaker ones (8. 7–12). He epideictically presents himself (9. 1–27) as one who has given up the rights

[18] For *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* as a term associated with concord, see, e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32. 37; 36. 21; 40. 35; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 27. 35; Philo, *Jos.* 145. *1 Clement* repeatedly deploys *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* to develop ideals associated with *ὁμόνοια*: 1. 3; 2. 1; 20. 1; 34. 5; 37. 3; 38. 1; 57. 1; 57. 2; 61. 1; see Bakke, '*Concord*', 119–22. For *τάσσειν ἑαυτός* with political connotations, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34. 21; 36. 31; 40. 35; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 9; 26. 103; 37. 27, where the cognates *τάξις* and *τάγμα* recur; also *1 Clem.* 6. 2; 20. 2; 32. 2; 37. 2, 3; 40. 1; 41. 1; 42. 2. *τάξις* also appears in 1 Cor. 14. 40 to describe a good order enjoined along political lines (see Mitchell, *Paul,* 175).

[19] For imperial devotion to *concordia* and the emperor as embodying her rule, see J. R. Fears, 'The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology', *ANRW* 2. 17. 2 (1987), 828–948, on pp. 893–9.

that go along with his apostolic status, denying himself boasting privileges (9. 15–16) for the sake of the Corinthian community. While the Corinthians are boastful, Paul reminds them that he did not preach the gospel 'in lofty speech or in cleverness (ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας),' and that he initially preached 'in weakness (ἀσθενείᾳ)'; his 'speech (ὁ λόγος)' and . . . message were not 'in persuasive words of wisdom (ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις)' (2. 1, 3–4). Rhetorical deceit and cleverness were pilloried in antiquity as leading states to warfare and στάσις.[20] Paul thus invokes the 'speech of the cross (ὁ λόγος . . . ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ)' (1. 18), that overturns traditional status considerations based on wisdom, cleverness, and power (1. 19–24, 27–8, 30), a speech he emulates as expressing a concord-preserving ethos that he urges the Corinthians to follow. By the time Paul has concluded the paradoxical treatment of God's weakness and foolishness and status-oriented notions of power and wisdom, Paul the fool (4. 10) is Christ's wisdom; the 'wise' Corinthians are foolish.

A brief survey of the evidence thus shows Paul deploying an array of commonplaces and terms traditionally associated in ancient pagan literature with political themes of discord, and that these themes, while most prevalent in 1 Cor. 1–4, recur repeatedly throughout the letter and bind his exhortations into a rhetorical unity. When we turn to the letters of Ignatius, we discover a similar prevalence of political commonplaces and rhetorical unity. That he uses political terminology has been ably demonstrated by William Schoedel and confirmed by Allen Brent.[21] Ignatius describes the governing institutions of the local Asia Minor churches with the technical vocabulary of pagan civic government.[22] And he carefully produces political vocabulary to promote his hoped-for congratulatory 'embassy' to Antioch to celebrate their recovery of peace.[23] This, however, is only the tip of the iceberg, and hints at larger themes in the corpus as a whole.

[20] Thus, esp. Thuc. 3. 82. 3–7; Thrasymachus, *Peri politeias*, frag. 85 A 1; Arist., *Pol.* 5. 7. 2 1308^{a}1, with the commentary of Welborn, 'Discord', 102–3; further, Pogoloff, *Logos and Sophia*, 99–127.

[21] Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 213; Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 241–8.

[22] Thus, πρεσβυτέριον (*Eph.* 2. 2; 4. 1; 20. 2; *Magn.* 2. 1; 13. 1; *Trall.* 2. 2; 7. 2; 13. 2; *Phld.* 4. 1; 7. 1; 4. 1; 7. 1; *Smyrn.* 8. 1; 12. 2), probably modelled on the συνέδριον τῶν πρεσβυτερῶν (see *Magn.* 6. 1; *Trall.* 3. 1; *Phld.* 5. 1) known in several Asia Minor communities; A. Vilela, 'Le Presbytérion selon saint Ignace de'Antioche', *BLE* 74 (1973), 161–86, on pp. 174–5. Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 190, 202–5, argues that the language was drawn from the imperial cult, in which case one discovers religio-political analogy with Ignatius.

[23] See Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 213; thus, *Phld.* 10. 1, where diplomatic terms for appointing (χειροτονῆσαι) an ambassador (πρεσβεῦσαι . . . πρεσβείαν) are deployed; also, Ign. *Pol.* 7. 1–2; *Smyrn.* 11. 2–3. For the vocabulary of civic diplomacy in antiquity, see R. Ragnat, 'Legatio', in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1906), iii. 1025–38. Brent offers further evidence to confirm the importance of this political embassy language in understanding Ignatius as a whole in Ch. 16 below, sect. 4: 'Ambassadors, cult, and Homonoia treaties'.

Concord is a central theme of Ignatius' letters. The frequent appearance of the term ὁμόνοια (eight times: *Eph.* 4. 1, 2; 13. 1; *Magn.* 6. 1; 15. 1; *Trall.* 12. 2; *Phld.* inscr.; 11. 2) hints at the importance of this concept as an organizing principle of the correspondence as a whole. That hunch is confirmed once it is recognized that other terms associated with pagan treatments of concord appear regularly in the letters. Ignatius applies the word ὁμόνοια to celebrate and promote the ideals of a united church, centred around local leaders, especially the bishop (*Eph.* 4. 1; *Magn.* 6. 1), and to express communal ideals of integrity, togetherness, and mutual care (*Eph.* 13. 1; *Magn.* 15. 2; *Phld.* 11. 2; *Trall.* 12. 2). Most importantly for Ignatius, ecclesial harmony manifests, imitates, and arises from divine concord (*Phld.* inscr.; *Magn.* 6. 1; cf. 6. 2, ὁμοήθεια θεοῦ), and in this he echoes a pagan commonplace especially promoted in contemporary imperial propaganda and cultic devotion to *concordia*. Around the central ideals of concord, Ignatius arranges a host of associated concepts, terms, and phrases. In his invocations of ecclesial and theological harmony, he regularly deploys musical (*Eph.* 4. 1; *Rom.* 2. 2; *Phld.* 1. 2), nautical (*Smyrn.* 11. 3; *Pol.* 2. 3), medical (*Eph.* 7. 1–2; 20. 2; *Trall.* 6. 2; *Pol.* 1. 3; 2. 1), body (*Eph.* 4. 2; *Trall.* 11. 2; 4. 2; *Smyrn.* 1. 2), building/temple (*Eph.* 5. 2; 6. 1; 9. 1; 15. 3; 16. 1; *Magn.* 7. 2; *Trall.* 7. 2; *Phld.* 4. 1), athletic (*Pol.* 1. 3; 2. 3; 3. 1), and military imagery (*Pol.* 6. 3)—all of which are recurring *topoi* in ancient political discussions of ὁμόνοια and related ideals.[24] As in contemporary political treatments, such *topoi* are deployed to celebrate or promote the εὐταξία (*Eph.* 6. 2; also πολυεύτακτον—*Magn.* 1. 1) of a community dwelling in concord.[25] In the civic oral culture of Ignatius' audience, the sounding of these metaphors would have been immediately recognizable as echoing cherished political ideals of concord and freedom from faction. Similarly familiar would have been the ideals he urged the Asia Minor churches toward—ταπεινόφρων (*Eph.* 10. 2), ἑδράζειν (with cognates—*Phld.* inscr.; *Smyrn.* 1. 1; 13. 2; *Pol.* 1. 1; *Eph.* 10. 2; *Pol.* 3. 1), ἀσφαλής (*Smyrn.* 8. 2; *Phld.* 5. 1), βεβαιωσύνη (with cognates—*Phld.* inscr.; *Smyrn.* 8. 1, 2; *Magn.* 4. 1;

[24] For musical harmony ὁμόνοια—e.g., Ael. Arist. *Or.* 21. 5; 24. 52; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 48. 7; Them., *Or.* 4. 53b; Lib., *Or.* 59. 172; Plut., *Prae. ger. reip.* 809F; *De frat. amor.* 2. 479A; for political and economic applications, O. Betz, συμφωνέω κτλ., *TDNT* ix. 304–9, at pp. 306, 309; nautical—Plut., *Prae. ger. reip.* 798D, 812C, 815D; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 14; 39. 6; 40. 31; 48. 8; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 24. 54, 55–6; medical—Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 815B, 824A–B, 825D–E; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 7, 12; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 24. 16; body—E. Schweizer and F. Baumgärtel, σῶμα κτλ., *TDNT* vii. 1024–94, on pp. 1032–44; Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 3–37; Sen. *Clem.* 2. 2.1; building/ temple—Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 31; 24. 8, 32–3; 27. 40–1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 15; 40. 28–9; athletic—Dio Chrys. *Or.* 41. 28–9; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 79; military—Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 34; Epictetus, *Diss.* 3. 24. 31–5; *1 Clem.* 37.

[25] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 40. 35; 36. 31; 44. 10; see also *1 Clem.* 37. 2; 42. 2 (τάγμα, 37. 3; 41. 1; τάξις, 40. 1) and the commentary of Bakke, '*Concord*', 184–8.

11. 1; 13. 1), ἐπιεικεία (*Eph.* 10. 3; *Phld.* 1. 1, 2), ἀκαυχησία (*Pol.* 5. 2). Each belonged to the stock vocabulary of ancient depictions of civil harmony.[26]

The *ὁμόνοια topos* is further presented through circumlocution, where, for example, he congratulates the Ephesians for being 'ever of one mind with the apostles (τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῄνεσαν)' (*Eph.* 11. 2), and for obeying their leaders 'with an undisturbed mind' (ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ—*Eph.* 20. 2). Similar echoes are heard when he urges the Magnesians to share 'one mind' (εἷς νοῦς—*Magn.* 7. 1), and the Trallians to possess a blameless mind (ἄμωμον διάνοιαν—*Trall.* 1. 1), or when, playing on words, he thanks the Trallians for their κατὰ θεὸν εὔνοιαν via their bishop, Polybius (*Trall.* 1. 2). In a dense application of concord-associated vocabulary, he urges the Philadelphians to 'come all together with undivided heart' (πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ—*Phld.* 6. 2, trans. Lake). Here, alongside the periphrastic exhortation to ὁμόνοια, Ignatius cleverly deploys one of the commonplace antonyms to concord, μερισμός. He joins this with a phrase repeated often in the correspondence and appearing frequently in pagan discussions of concord and political harmony—ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι (*Eph.* 13. 1; *Magn.* 7. 2; *Phld.* 10. 1).[27]

A similarly often invoked concept at home in pagan treatments of ὁμόνοια is the celebration of a common or shared (κοίνος) good (*Eph.* 1. 2; 20. 2; 21. 2; *Phld.* 1. 1; 11. 2; cf. *Smyrn.* 7. 2; 12. 2).[28] The Philadelphian bishop, for example, has a ministry 'which makes for the common good (τὸ κοινόν)' (*Phld.* 1. 1, trans. Lake). Ignatius situates 'the common good' in 'our common hope (ἡ κοινὴ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν)', reinforcing the religious-communal through the pleonastic application of the first person possessive plural (*Eph.* 21. 2; *Phld.* 11. 2; cf. *Phld.* 5. 2 (συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος)). Again, as in the case of the direct invocations of ὁμόνοια ideals cited above, the social and the theological are inextricably intertwined, as indeed they are in pagan representations; there are no 'secular' politics in antiquity, and especially not in the imperial period of our author.[29]

[26] For ταπεινόφρων and ἀσφαλής and pagan parallels, see Bakke, '*Concord*', 115–19, 126–36. For ἑδράζειν and βεβαιοσύνη, see Mitchell, *Paul*, 106–9, with reference to 1 Cor. 1. 6, 8, and 15. 58; like Paul and ancient treatments, Ignatius deploys ἑδράζειν with ἀκινήτος to create a commonplace architectural association (*Pol.* 1. 1). For ἐπιεικεία see below; καύχησις n. 10 above.

[27] For verbs associated with τὸ αὐτό as belonging to ὁμόνοια discourse, see Mitchell, *Paul*, 68–70.

[28] For τὸ κοινόν as an expression of concord: e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 46; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 11, 48, 51, 65, 66–9; cf. 46; 24. 37, 42.

[29] For the worship of Concordia as a goddess, see Skard, *Begriffe*, 69, 102–5; Fears, 'Cult of Virtues', 893–9; Brent, Ch. 16 below, sect. 4, draws attention to numismatic evidence to show the interrelation of the political, the religious, and the liturgical in treaties celebrating achievement of ὁμόνοια between cities and offers independent support for the case presented here.

Further, Ignatius deploys a typical term associated with the ideal of concord when he describes his churches as 'coming together / assembling (συνερχέσθαι)' (*Eph.* 13. 1; 20. 2; synonymously also, συντρέχειν—*Eph.* 3. 2; 4. 1; *Magn.* 7. 2; *Pol.* 6. 1; συναθροίζειν—*Magn.* 4. 1).[30] Assembling frequently, Ignatius promises the Ephesians, brings Satan's mischief (i.e., the alleged faction and discord arising from illegitimate meetings orchestrated by docetic false teachers) to nothing 'by the concord (ὁμόνοια) of your faith' (*Eph.* 13. 1). Such coming together results in εἰρήνη and the end of πόλεμος (13. 2; see also *Trall.* inscr.); εἰρήνη regularly appears alongside ὁμόνοια in ancient treatments.[31] The political associations of peace and concord suggest that when Ignatius urges Asia Minor churches to send delegates to Antioch to congratulate them on their 'peace' (*Phld.* 10. 1; *Smyrn.* 11. 2; *Pol.* 7. 1), it is not an end to persecution he celebrates, but an end to faction.[32] Echoing pagan descriptions of concord, Ignatius celebrates and promotes the concord arising from correct assembly through a frequent and sometimes exotic display of nouns and verbs affixed with the prefix συν-.[33] 'Συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε, συμπάσχετε, συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε', Ignatius urges the Smyrnaeans (*Pol.* 6. 1), piling up concord verbs, and goes on to portray them using ὁμόνοια *topoi* such as οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ ὑπηρέται of God's household, and soldiers in his army (v. 2). He similarly invokes the ideals of concord through repetitious citations of the number one—a recurring characteristic in pagan treatments.[34] Ignatius deftly employs the ὁμόνοια motifs we have been discussing when he urges the Magnesians 'to do nothing "individually (ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν)'—always linked by Ignatius with the common (see *Smyrn.* 7. 2; 12. 2), that they may possess 'in common (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό) one

[30] For συνέρχεσθαι and similar terms as technical political vocabulary used to express concord, see Mitchell, *Paul,* 154–5.

[31] For εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια as hendiadys, see, e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 39. 2; 40. 26; 49. 6; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 27. 44; Plut. *De garr.* 17; *De Alex. fort.* 1. 9; also *1 Clem.* 20. 3, 10, 11; 60. 4; 61. 1; 63. 2; 65. 1. For faction as war, Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 54–7, 65.

[32] Thus also Schoedel, *Ignatius,* 213.

[33] Συνάγειν, *Magn.* 10. 3; συνεγείρειν, *Pol.* 6. 1; συναθροίζειν, *Magn.* 4. 1; συναινείν, *Eph.* 11. 2; συναριθμείν, *Phld.* 5. 2; συναρμόζειν, *Eph.* 4. 1; σύνδουλος, *Eph.* 2. 1; *Magn.* 2. 1; *Phld.* 4. 1; *Smyrn.* 12. 2; συνδιδασκαλίτης, *Eph.* 3. 1; συνδοξάζειν, *Smyrn.* 11. 3; συνεῖναι, *Eph.* 11. 2; συνεσθείν, *Smyrn.* 3. 3; συνευρυθμίζειν, *Phld.* 1. 2; συνήθεια, *Eph.* 5. 1; σύνοδοι, *Eph.* 9. 2; συγχαίρειν, *Eph.* 9. 1; *Trall.* 1. 1; *Phld.* 10. 1; *Smyrn.* 11. 2; συγκοπιείν, *Pol.* 6. 1; συμμύστης, *Eph.* 12. 2; συμπάρειναι, *Trall.* 12. 1; συμπάσχειν, *Smyrn.* 4. 2; *Pol.* 6. 1; σύμφωνος, *Eph.* 4. 1, 2; συμπίνειν, *Smyrn.* 3. 3; see also his repeated use of ἅμα—unique in early Christian literature—*Eph.* 2. 1; *Magn.* 15. 1; *Trall.* 12. 1; *Rom.* 10. 1; *Phld.* 4. 1; *Smyrn.* 12. 1. Ignatius is idiosyncratic, but emphasis on terms with συν- appears in pagan treatments: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 48. 1; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 27. 39.

[34] *Eph.* 2. 2; 4. 2; 7. 2; 11. 2; 15. 1; 20. 2; *Magn.* 7. 1; *Phld.* inscr.; 4. 1; *Smyrn.* 1. 2. See, e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 41. 10; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 62, 77; 24. 31, 37; Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 1. 8–9 330D–E; 1. 6 329B; Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.24. 10; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 14. 5 citing Numenius; also *1 Clem.* 34. 7; 46. 6. Paul offers similar adaptation: 1 Cor. 12. 12–13; Eph. 4. 34–6.

prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in love (*μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ*)', hastening 'all together (*πάντες ... συντρέχετε*) as to one temple of God, as to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from one Father, and is with one, and departed to one ([*ἕνα*] *ναόν ... θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα*' (*Magn.* 7. 1, 2). The oneness that Ignatius has in mind, of course, is unity around the bishop, which he represents, deploying the concord-related term, as subjection (*ὑποταγή*; *ὑποτάσσειν*).[35] In a densely formulated exhortation, he urges the Ephesians to glorify Jesus, so that they 'may be set in one subjection (*ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ κατηρτίσμενοι*), subject to the bishop and the presbytery (*ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ*), and may in all things be sanctified' (*Eph.* 2. 2). By contrast, Ignatius charges (*Eph.* 5. 2–3) that the one who fails to join with the bishop in the common eucharistic assembly (*ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*) is guilty of the faction-associated vice of haughtiness (*ὑπερηφανείν*).[36]

Ignatius further refines language associated with concord by an idiosyncratic application of the term *ἕνωσις* and the cognates *ἑνότης* and *ἑνόειν*.[37] While these terms have often been interpreted as evidence of Gnostic influence, they are best read against a backdrop of civic ideals.[38] It is not *gnosis*, but the ancient *polis* that furnishes us with the closest analogies to Ignatius' ideals centring on unity and concord—though, less frequently, ideals associated with *ἕνωσις* appear in ancient treatments of concord. Thus, for example, Iamblichus in his *Epistle concerning Concord*, directly links *ὁμόνοια* and *ἕνωσις* when he writes, 'Concord (*ὁμόνοια*), just as the name itself wishes to show, has brought together a gathering of the same mind and partnership and unity (*ἕνωσις*) in itself.'[39] Further, Ignatius' notion that ecclesial concord expresses divine unity and heavenly peace echoes political ideas celebrating

[35] For *ὑποτάσσειν*—*Eph.* 2. 2; 5. 3; *Magn.* 2. 1; 13. 2; *Trall.* 2. 1, 2; 13. 2; *Pol.* 2. 1; 6. 1; for parallels in pagan and early Christian literature see n. 18 above.

[36] For *ὑπερηφανία* as *ὕβρις* and indicative of *στάσις*, see my discussion of these themes in '*1 Clement* and the Rhetoric of *hybris*', *StPatr* 31 (1997), 136–42.

[37] Thus, *ἕνωσις*—*Magn.* 1. 2; 13. 2; *Trall.* 11. 2; *Phld.* 4. 1; 7. 2; 8. 1; *Pol.* 1. 2; 5. 2; *ἑνότης*—*Eph.* 4. 2; 5. 1; 14. 1; *Phld.* 2. 2; 3. 2; 5, 2; 8. 1; 9. 1; *Smyrn.* 12. 2; *Pol.* 8. 1; *ἑνόειν*—*Eph.* inscr.; *Magn.* 6. 2; 7. 1; 14. 1; *Smyrn.* 3. 3.

[38] Thus, H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929); H.-W. Bartsch, *Gnostisches Gut und Gemeindetradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1940); V. Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 154–88, 247–71.

[39] H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2nd edn. (Berlin: Weidman, 1974–5), ii. 356; similarly, Severianus (fifth century CE), *De pace* 1 (*PG* 52. 425): 'the best of painters, wishing to illustrate unity of spirit (*βουλομένοι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἕνωσιν δεῖξαι*), place behind kings or brothers who are magistrates Concord (*ὁμόνοια*), in the form of a woman, embracing with both her arms those who are united'; also Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 62; 24. 31.

Roman imperial rule. Just as the imperial *pax* manifests divine concord, so the union of Christians with their leaders, in common worship and devotion to the crucified Jesus, makes visible a transcendent unity.

Attention to this political dimension offers a corrective to interpretations that read Ignatius' treatments of earthly correspondences of ecclesial concord and unity with heavenly images in a too Platonic and mystical fashion, as though Ignatius anticipated the ecclesial hierarchies of Dionysius the Areopagite.[40] Ignatius does not make consistent enough links between earthly ecclesial institutions and heavenly hierarchies to warrant such a Platonizing reading. The application is not so much Platonic as political—earthly concord imitates divine concord.[41] '[I]f imitation of the gods is an act of men of good sense,' counsels Aelius Aristides, 'it would be the part of men of good sense to believe that they are all a unity' (*Or.* 23. 77). Ecclesial union and peace springing forth from legitimate gatherings around the bishop and his co-leaders, especially in united sacred eucharistic assembly (*Phld.* 4. 1; *Smyrn.* 8. 2; *Eph.* 5. 2; *Magn.* 7. 2; *Trall.* 7. 2; *Phld.* 4. 1), imitates heavenly union, and thereby reveals the legitimacy of meetings conducted by 'men of good sense'.[42] This is in sharp contrast to the factionalism and schism that are the by-product of foolish docetic teachers illegitimately meeting apart from the bishop (*Magn.* 4. 1; *Phld.* 7. 2; *Smyrn.* 8. 2; see *Eph.* 6. 2–7. 1; *Trall.* 8. 2). 'Be subject (ὑποταγήτε) to the bishop and to one another,' Ignatius urges, 'as Jesus Christ was subject to the Father, and the Apostles were subject to Christ and to the Father, in order that there may be a union of flesh and of spirit' (*Magn.* 13. 2). The desired goal of unity, springing forth as the fruit of religious devotion, reads like a page from one of Dio Chrysostom's speeches on Concord.[43]

Ignatius' sophistication in drawing together the theological with contemporary political themes associated with concord and union is especially evident in *Eph.* 4. 1–2, where he combines musical and body *topoi* with religious affirmation to exhort his listeners to ὁμόνοια. As Allen Brent has shown, this passage with its imagery of the χορός has direct connection with

[40] Thus, H. Chadwick, 'The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius', *HTR* 43 (1950), 169–72, on p. 170.

[41] Thus, e.g., *Magn.* 3. 1–2; 6. 1; *Eph.* 4. 2. This echoes pagan conceptions likening the ruler's relationship to the state to divine governance of the world—e.g. Ps.-Aristotle, *De mundo* 5.396^{a}32–6.401^{a}11; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 77; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 11; 40. 35; for discussion see G. F. Chesnut, 'The Ruler and the Logos in Neopythagorean, Middle Platonic, and Late Stoic Political Philosophy', *ANRW* 2. 16. 1 (1978), 1310–2.

[42] Ignatius pillories docetic schismatics as ἄφρονας (*Trall.* 8. 2), and those who follow them as 'perishing in folly (μωρός)' (*Eph.* 17. 2); those who submit to the bishop are φρονίμους (*Magn.* 3. 1); Polycarp is to be φρόνιμος (*Pol.* 2. 2).

[43] Thus, *Or.* 39. 8: Chrysostom prays that the gods will 'implant in this city [Nicaea] . . . a singleness of purpose (μίαν γνώμην), a unity of wish and thought (καὶ βουλέσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν)' (trans. Crosby, LCL); also *Magn.* 1. 2; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 24. 37.

imperial festivals and their associated sacred rites as the sign and preservation of a divinely appointed imperial Concord.[44] Harmony expressed in shared religious ritual is a common *topos* in pagan representations of civic peace.[45] Ignatius has redeployed this politico-religious imagery christologically and ecclesially to urge concord upon a community threatened by faction. Further evidence that Ignatius' deployment of union imagery is best interpreted against the backdrop of contemporary political ideas may be seen in his use of characteristic vocabulary to describe political faction (μερισμός and cognates) as representing the opposite of unity (*Phld.* 2. 2; 3. 2; 8. 1; *Magn.* 6. 2). 'Do nothing without the bishop ... love unity (τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε), flee divisions (μερισμούς), be imitators of Jesus Christ, as he was also of his Father,' Ignatius exhorts the Philadelphians (7. 2), combining the civic and the theological in a uniquely Christian appropriation of political themes. Ignatius' repeated exhortations to ἕνωσις/ἑνότης play a leading role in his rhetorical treatment of ὁμόνοια; the centrality he gives to these concepts represents his own theological development of the pagan political ideal.

'I did my best as a man who was set (κατηρτισμένος) on unity (ἕνωσιν). But where there is division (μερισμός) and anger (ὀργή), God does not dwell,' Ignatius informs the Philadelphians (8. 1), combining and contrasting terms found regularly in pagan political treatments of ὁμόνοια and στάσις.[46] Indeed, Ignatius throughout his letters is careful to portray his own character as well as that shared by the Asia Minor bishops as possessing qualities that pagan authors celebrated as nurturing concord. Ignatius himself is not boastful, and resists those who would inflate him (*Trall.* 4. 1, φυσιοῦν)—the chief vices leading to faction.[47] On the contrary, he is modest, desires more meekness, and is self-effacing (*Eph.* 3. 1; 12. 1; *Magn.* 12. 1; 14. 1; *Trall.* 3. 2, 3; 4. 2; 5. 2; *Rom.* 4. 3; 9. 2). He carefully portrays himself as a man of moderation who discourages envy—both associated in ancient treatments as essential to concord.[48] As a leader free of boasting, discouraging praise, Ignatius conforms to Plutarch's ideal of the good ruler who has eradicated from himself 'self-love and conceit'.[49] This of course allows him to command without commanding, and paradoxically to deploy self-effacement to advance his cause. Ignatius' representation of himself as enjoying freedom from boasting occasions

[44] Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 216.

[45] E.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38. 22, 46; 40. 28–9; 41. 10; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 23. 66.

[46] For καταρτίζειν (also *Eph.* 2. 2; *Smyrn.* 1. 1) as a technical political term often used to contrast στάσις and μερισμός, see Mitchell, *Paul*, 74–6; cf. 1 Cor. 1. 10 for similar application. Ὀργή is especially associated with στάσις in ancient treatments—e.g., Ael. Arist. *Or.* 24. 32, 37.

[47] See n. 10 above; also Plut. *De se citra invidiam laundando* 547B, where the good citizen resists those who would praise his merits.

[48] E.g., Ael. Arist. *Or.* 24. 39, 48, 59; Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 813D, 821A–F.

[49] Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 65F; similarly, *Prae. ger. reip.* 813E–F, 820A–821F.

shrewdly limited self-praise, as well as approval for those who listen to him (*Eph.* 3. 1; 12. 1–2). His exhortations to unity are motivated by love (ἀγάπη *Eph.* 3. 2; *Trall.* 6. 1; 3. 2), and belong to a larger theological framework in which love and ὁμόνοια form a whole (*Phld.* 11. 2). ᾿Αγάπη as a divine gift and as human expression is the hallmark of unity in Ignatius' letters, as indeed it is in pagan representations of the harmonious community.[50] Further, Ignatius' portrayal of his imprisonment and martyrdom as offering (περίψημα, *Eph.* 8. 1; 18. 1) and sacrifice (ἀντίψυχον—*Eph.* 21. 1; *Smyrn.* 10. 2; *Pol.* 2. 3; 6. 1; see also *Eph.* 1. 2; 11. 2; 12. 2; *Magn.* 1. 2; *Rom.* 2. 2; 4. 1) is at home in the civic ideals of the Hellenistic world, where 'the noble death' of a ruler for his subjects, or a philosopher for his teaching, or as a means of restoring harmony disrupted by faction, is a recurring motif.[51] Comparison with these ideals makes irrelevant the elaborate psychological explanations of Ignatian scholars to account for this language. Ignatius' use of sacrificial language with reference to himself does not reveal a man who has 'experienced a blow to his self-esteem . . . reflected in his dealings with the churches'.[52] Rather, it shows a bishop at home in pagan commonplaces, adept at refashioning them theologically to nurture communal unity and concord.

That adroitness is also revealed in his presentations of, and exhortations to, the leaders of the local churches. Ignatius' descriptions of, and advice to, Polycarp, for example, are at home in contemporary pagan descriptions of good statesmanship. Just as Plutarch urges aspiring rulers to be gentle in the exercise of authority, gently tuning those out of harmony, so Polycarp is to bring the troublesome to subjection through gentleness (πραοτης, *Pol.* 2. 1; see *Trall.* 3. 2).[53] Ignatius borrows from contemporary political discourse athletic

[50] For a thorough discussion of ἀγάπη and civic ideals see, Mitchell, *Paul*, 165–71; Bakke, '*Concord*', 191–6; *1 Clem.* 49–50 offers a similar concord-oriented application.

[51] Cf. *1 Clem.* 55. 1–6 for political self-sacrifice to bring an end to sedition. For the pagan connections with civic virtues, see D. Seeley, *The Noble Death: Graeco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Conception of Salvation*, JSNTSup 28 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 112–41; A. Yarbro Collins, 'From Noble Death to Crucified Messiah' *NTS* 40 (1994), 481–503; also K. Döring, *Exemplum Socratis: Studien zur Sokratesnachwirkung in der kynisch-stoischen Popularphilosophie der frühen Kaiserzeit und im frühen Christentum*, Hermes, 42 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1979), esp. 143–62. O. Perler, 'Das vierte Makkabäerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Martyrerberichte', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 25 (1949), 47–72, is too restrictive in his argument that Ignatius reveals literary dependence on *4 Macc.* and he does not take up the Hellenistic political dimension. *4 Macc.* itself represents a fascinating application of concord-related themes; see, e.g., 14. 6–8, where ὁμόνοια is joined with chorus imagery to celebrate the union of the seven brothers as a 'sevenfold assembly' mirroring heavenly realities.

[52] Thus Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 13; similarly, B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London: Macmillan, 1929), 168; J. Moffatt, 'Ignatius of Antioch: A Study in Personal Religion', *JR* 10 (1930), 169–86, on p. 166.

[53] Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 809E; also 800B; see also the closely associated civic ideals of ἐπιεικεία and freedom from wrath in praise of the bishop of Philadelphia (*Phld.* 1. 1, 2); also κολακεύειν (*Pol.* 2. 2); πραυπάθεια, *Trall.* 8. 1.

(*Pol.* 1. 3; 2. 3; 3. 1), medical (*Pol.* 1. 3; 2. 1), and nautical (*Pol.* 2. 3) imagery to illustrate the ideal oversight that Polycarp is to exercise.[54] Correctly applied leadership issues forth in that ancient icon of the harmonious state—the properly ordered household (*Pol.* 5. 1–2), in which there is absence of all boasting and haughtiness (ὑπερηφάνειν, 4. 3; 5. 2; *Smyrn.* 6. 1).[55] Like the virtuous statesman who uses his position to make the lowly born and the poor equal to the noble and the rich, so the ideal bishop is the guardian (φροντιστής) of widows, and is not haughty to slaves (*Pol.* 4. 1, 3).[56] Polycarp is to care for unity (τῆς ἑνώσεως φρόντιζε, 1. 2)—the chief obligation of the ruler committed to the ideals of concord. Elsewhere, Ignatius praises the silence of bishops (*Eph.* 6. 1; *Phld.* 1. 1; 6. 2), which I have argued elsewhere is best interpreted against the backdrop of ideals associated with the self-controlled speech of the ideal ruler.[57] It comes as no surprise that such men as these are praised by their pagan contemporaries (*Trall.* 3. 2)—they are the ideal citizens of a hoped-for community living ideals of concord and freedom from faction.

By contrast, Ignatius' docetic opponents are factionalists, and to them belong the vices associated in pagan political discourse with στάσις. Ignatius borrows from ancient political discourse the technical vocabulary associated with faction to describe ecclesial divisions and the people causing them—ἔρις (*Eph.* 8. 1); ἐριθεία (*Phld.* 8. 2); μερισμός (*Phld.* 2. 1; 3. 1; 7. 2; 8. 1; *Smyrn.* 7. 2); μερίζειν (*Magn.* 6. 2); αἵρεσις (*Eph.* 6. 2; *Trall.* 6. 1); σχίζειν (*Phld.* 3. 3).[58] Alongside this language are commonplace medical and horticultural depictions of his opponents as promoting sickness (*Trall.* 6. 2) and bad growth (*Trall.* 11. 1; *Phld.* 3. 1), reversals of ideal statecraft and the pastoral associations of the ancient utopian imagination.[59] To denounce his opponents, Ignatius makes stock charges borrowed from the Hellenistic moral repertoire of vilification of enemies, especially in political rhetoric dedicated to the themes of concord and faction. His opponents are proud (ὑπερηφάνειν;

[54] See n. 24 above for parallels.

[55] See n. 10 above for parallels and literature. Indeed, the bishop himself is the steward of God's household (*Eph.* 6. 1).

[56] Plut., *Prae. ger. reip.* 821C.

[57] H. O. Maier, 'The Politics of the Silent Bishop: Silence and Persuasion in Ignatius of Antioch', *JTS* 54 (2004), 503–19, for discussion of Plut. *De garr.* 506C, 514E–515A; *Lyc.* 19. 1, 3; additionally, see *Ad princ. inerud.* 780A; *Prae. ger. reip.* 800C, 801C–804B.

[58] For citations, Bakke, '*Concord*', 84–107; Mitchell, *Paul*, 159–57 discussing 1 Cor. 11. 19, cites pagan parallels for αἵρεσις as synonym for σχίσμα, and ibid. (86–9, 157–64), for Paul's treatment of μερίζειν/μεριμνᾶν in 1 Cor. 1. 13 / 12. 25; see also *1 Clem.* 14. 2, where αἵρεσις and στάσις appear together in some manuscripts.

[59] For pastoral utopianism, see A. Demandt, *Der Idealstaat: die politischen Theorien der Antike*, 3rd edn. (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 2000); Plut. *Num.* 16. 3–4; Philo, *Agr.* 1. 1– 6. 26; for husbandry and cultivation of civic virtues, 4. 38–9; also 1 Cor. 3. 6–9; 9. 7.

μεγαλορημοσύνη, *Eph.* 5. 3; 10. 2; see *Trall.* 4. 1), boastful (καύχησις, *Eph.* 18. 1; see *Phld.* 6. 3), foolish (ἄφρων, *Trall.* 8. 2); vainglorious (κενοδοξία, *Phld.* 1. 1), puffed up (φυσιοῦν, *Magn.* 12. 1; *Trall.* 4. 1; 7. 1); deceptive (*Eph.* 8. 1; *Magn.* 3. 2; 4. 1–2; *Phld.* 7. 1); and filled with anger (ὀργή, *Eph.* 10. 2). Corrupters of households (οἰκοφθόροι, *Eph.* 16. 1), they incite war through their mischievous practices and docetism (*Eph.* 13. 1–2). They thus undermine the ὁμόνοια of local churches by encouraging meetings apart from the Asia Minor bishops (*Magn.* 4. 1; *Phld.* 7. 2; *Smyrn.* 8. 2).

The profile that emerges from these descriptions borrows heavily from ancient political treatments of vices leading to στάσις. Ignatius reconfigures these by linking them with false confession. Thus, unlike the disciplined speech of the churches' self-controlled and rightly confessing bishops, his opponents' heterodox confessions reveal them to be vain babblers (μάταια λαλούντων, *Phld.* 1. 1) undermining the common good. Cleverly appropriating pagan criticism of faction arising from the rhetorical abilities of unethical men, he weds that commonplace with notions of social ill arising from false religious teaching, and so presents a fresh synthesis of ideas. The 'prattle' of Ignatius' opponents resides in their wrong christological confession and results in faction, in contrast to the moderated speech of the 'silent' bishops who confess rightly and preserve concord.[60] 'Where is the wise? Where the disputer (συζητητής)? Where is the boasting (καύχησις) of those called prudent (συνετῶν)?', Ignatius asks (*Eph.* 18. 2), echoing 1 Cor. 1. 20, but by the reference to boasting (absent in Paul), relating the questions more directly to the implied charge of στάσις. There is no reason to suppose from these charges that Ignatius was engaged in a struggle against pneumatics taken over by χαρίσμα or Gnostics championing esoteric wisdom.[61] Ignatius was deploying these references as part of a recognizably political profile of communities, with their protagonists and antagonists engaged in typical behaviours associated with concord and faction. In the course of doing so, he offered a series of rhetorically charged representations designed to persuade an audience thoroughly acquainted with the ideals of the Hellenistic city to rally behind a certain set of local leaders. Representing the local situations as concord and discord made his case for unity with the bishop, his associates, and their christological confessions self-evidently true—concord and the social benefits arising from it were amongst the most championed goals of the civic imperial culture of Ignatius' day.

[60] Ignatius directly links christological confession with good order at *Phld.* 4. 1; 8. 1–2; *Smyrn.* 7. 1; 8. 2.

[61] Thus, Corwin, *Ignatius*, 54–65; P. Meinhold, 'Schweigende Bischöfe: die Gegensätze in den kleinasiatischen Gemeinden nach den Ignatianen', in E. Iserloh and P. Manns (eds.), *Glaube und Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: Grimm, 1958), ii. 468–72; Schlier, *Untersuchungen*, 125–74; Bartsch, *Gnostisches Gut*, 11–17, 34–52.

In all this, Ignatius is careful to praise the Asia Minor churches for already possessing the concord, unity, and freedom from faction that he exhorts them to pursue. The inconsistency between Ignatius' high praise for unity with the bishop and descriptions of discord has been one of the more noticed rhetorical features of Ignatius' letters. Shawn Carruth has shown how Ignatius' praise for the Asia Minor churches parallels ancient encomium in which leading citizens are praised along with their cities.[62] Encomium was also a means to nurture concord. Aelius Aristides cites praise for differing cities and their citizens as a chief means of achieving and demonstrating the common bonds of friendship and ὁμόνοια (*Or.* 23. 5–7). Ignatius similarly seeks through encomium to nurture such common bonds of friendship, and is thus careful to include in his letters praise for the various Asia Minor churches, and to commend to one another their leaders and churches (*Magn.* 15. 1; *Trall.* 12. 1; 13. 1; *Rom.* 10. 1; *Phld.* 11. 2; *Smyrn.* 12. 1).

Like Paul, Ignatius borrowed from the political vocabulary and imagery of contemporary civic ideals to achieve a unique theological appropriation of Hellenistic commonplaces oriented around the themes of ὁμόνοια and στάσις. Both writers redeployed the vocabulary and imagery traditionally associated with these motifs to respond to their respective rhetorical situations. Paul responds to Corinthian στάσις and ἔρις by presenting ideals at home in pagan treatments of ὁμόνοια. But a theology of the cross that makes foolish the wisdom of the world, and destabilizes the traditional status considerations on which an imperial civil concord was based (1 Cor. 1. 18–31) refashions pagan ideals and urges them in a new direction. In Ignatius, there is a similar reversal, as the prisoner for Jesus Christ is marched overland to his death by the alleged protectors of civic concord. His anticipated martyrdom becomes the occasion to draw into a startling theological unity the physical incarnation and suffering of Jesus and civic notions of ὁμόνοια. If Ignatius echoes Paul in his application of the ὁμόνοια *topos*, his application is more ritually focused, however. Concordant ἕνωσις in the Eucharist achieves by other means the civil harmony much praised in Hellenistic and imperial civic ideology. In this Ignatius goes much further than the Paul of 1 Corinthians, though there, too, ritual and civic goods are combined (1 Cor. 11. 17–34).[63] Further, what seems with Paul a more occasional device to draw a community riven by multiple quarrels into union, in Ignatius takes on a more central and definitive character. Concord is more than a rhetorical portrait to end division—it expresses a divine reality and mirrors a heavenly ὁμόνοια. Here Ignatius,

[62] S. Carruth, 'Praise for the Churches', 296–8; see also Ael. Arist. *Or.* 22. 1; 26. 4, for the praise of cities and the parallels with *Magn.* 1. 2 observed by Schoedel, *Ignatius,* 104.

[63] The pericope is filled with civic vocabulary, as Mitchell, *Paul*, 149–57, notes.

though bolder and more dramatic in his application, is closer to *1 Clement* (see *1 Clem.* 40. 1; 42. 1–2) than to Paul. However, as in the apostle's adaptation of the concord *topos*, personality looms large in Ignatius' application. In both cases, sustained rhetorical self-example allows for an idiosyncratic and emotive application of concord themes. In both authors, shrewdly deployed autobiography centred in the death of Jesus serves polemical hortatory aims and urges audiences to embrace a theologically reconfigured concord. Ignatius thus finds himself in Paul's footsteps (*Eph.* 12. 2) not only as martyr, but as skilled rhetorician. In portraying docetic Christology as faction, and concord as ritual unity with rightly confessing leaders, Ignatius builds on Paul, especially the epistle he knew 'almost by heart', and offers a striking application of ancient political commonplaces.

16

Ignatius and Polycarp: The Transformation of New Testament Traditions in the Context of Mystery Cults

Allen Brent

The letters of Ignatius of Antioch, written putatively by the bishop of Antioch in Syria,[1] are a key indicator of the provenance of the Gospel of Matthew from that city. Those letters, however, also, make some references, and some tantalizing allusions,[2] to the world of the writer of the Apocalypse, as they do to that of the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles.[3] If they are genuine, then Polycarp's *Philippians* is uninterpolated, and refers to Ignatius' martyr procession as the cause of their collection by the former into a *corpus Ignatianum*.[4] But in that letter we find, curiously, the church order of the

[1] The Lightfoot–Zahn consensus stands against R. Hübner, 'Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien', *ZAC* 1 (1997), 42–70, and T. Lechner, *Ignatius adversus Valentinianos? Chronologische und theologiegeschichtliche Studien zu den Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien*, VCSup 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1999); see A. Lindemann, 'Antwort auf die Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien', *ZAC* 1 (1997), 185–94; G. Schöllgen, 'Die Ignatien als pseudepigraphisches Brief-corpus: Anmerkung zu den Thesen von Reinhard M. Hübner', *ZAC* 2 (1998), 16–25; M. J. Edwards, 'Ignatius and the Second Century: An Answer to R. Hübner', *ZAC* 2 (1998), 214–26; H. J. Vogt, 'Bemerkungen zur Echtheit der Ignatiusbriefe', in *ZAC* 3 (1999), 50–63.

[2] I use 'reference' and 'allusion' in the context of the methodological axis set out by Gregory and Tuckett (Ch. 4 in companion volume), on a continuum (direct quotation / citation / allusion / echo / reminiscence). Where the methodological point is critical, I reproduce these terms in italics. My use of the terms holds whether they apply to the oral tradition of the communities in question prior to its appearance in NT texts, or to the written text itself in the fluidity of its early composition; see the defence by Peterson (Ch. 2 in companion volume), of Koester, Ch. 2 in this volume.

[3] For the Johannine parallels with Ignatius, see C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 427–46. See also Foster, Ch. 7 in companion volume

[4] For Polycarp's *Philippians* as interpolated by the alleged forger of the Middle Recension, see Lechner, *Ignatius adversus Valentinianos*, 48–65, but see in reply W. Schoedel, 'Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch', *ANRW* 2. 27. 1 (1993), 272–358, with which cf. P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

Pastoral Epistles, but not that of Ignatius' presiding single bishop. Nevertheless Polycarp clearly knows the docetists both of the Johannine Epistles and of Ignatius' letters, even though he does not make even bare allusions to the tradition of the Fourth Gospel found in Ignatius.[5] How are we to account for the differences between Ignatius' distinctive church order and that of Polycarp and the Pastorals? How did Ignatius move from the world of the writer of the Apocalypse into the world of the Johannine shadows, and then beyond?[6]

The answer to both questions we shall find, not in origins of church order in the διαδοχαί of putative philosophical schools, as Irenaeus and Pseudo-Hippolytus have taught us,[7] but in the liturgical forms of pagan mystery processions and in the images borne in them as part of a mystery play, that characterized the central liturgical acts of the religion of the city-states of Asia Minor.[8] Ignatius contextualized his role as martyr-bishop by analogy with a kind of pagan theology of iconography presupposed by such processional rites. It is in the matrix of the mystery cult, expressing sacramentally the ordering of the life of the city-state, that we should understand Ignatius' reshaping of the organization of the community of the Apocalypse, of that of the Johannine community, and of the Pastoral Epistles, in joint response with the community of the Johannine Epistles to early docetism.

1. IGNATIUS AND THE APOCALYPSE

Ignatius addressed three of the churches, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Philadelphia, to which we find letters addressed also in the Apocalypse (Rev. 2. 1–11; 3. 7–13). Here, as elsewhere in this book, we find various parallels.

As *allusions*, we find the cross as the tree of life in the paradise of God, of which the believer will eat (Rev. 2. 7), as will the nations for their healing (Rev. 22. 1–2).[9] For Ignatius true believers are 'branches of the cross (κλάδοι τοῦ

[5] For the possible quotation of 1 John 4. 2–3 in Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 and other allusions, see Hartog, Ch. 18 below.

[6] For Ignatius' location on such a second-century periphery, see C. P. Hammond Bammel, 'Ignatian Problems', *JTS* 33 (1982), 62–97.

[7] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3. 3. 2 and 4. 17. 4–18. For a full discussion of Irenaeus' view of διαδοχή, with bibliography, see A. Brent, 'Diogenes Laertius and the Apostolic Succession', *JEH* 44 (1993), 380–6, and *idem, Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop* VCSup 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 446–51, 479–81.

[8] See further A. Brent, 'Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic', *ZAC*, forthcoming.

[9] Discussed in A. Brent, 'History and Eschatological Mysticism in Ignatius of Antioch', *ETL* 65 (1989), 311–16; *idem, Cultural Episcopacy and Ecumenism*, Studies in Christian Mission, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 84–5; and *idem, The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order*, VCSup 45 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 213–18.

σταυροῦ)', of which they are the 'imperishing . . . fruit (καρπὸς ἄφθαρτος)' (*Trall.* 11. 2). Christ is he 'who was truly nailed for us in flesh (καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί) from whom are we the fruit from his divinely blessed passion (ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ παθοῦς)' (*Smyrn.* 1. 2).

Ignatius pursues the image of receiving false doctrine in terms of eating poisonous fruits, or drinking drugged wine. The Eucharist is the 'medicine of immortality (φάρμακον ἀθανασίας), the antidote so that one should not die (ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν)' (*Eph.* 20. 2). Alternatively, those who follow false teaching in their own conventicles are not using 'only Christian food (μόνῃ χριστιανῇ τροφῇ)'. In giving a Christian flavour to their teaching, they are like 'those who administer a deadly drug mixed with honeyed wine (θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μετὰ οἰνομέλιτος)' (*Trall.* 6. 2). The Trallians should 'keep away from any strange plant which is faction (ἀλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθε, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἵρεσις)' (Trall. 6. 1).

The Apocalypse fulfils Rowland's definition of the genre in terms of its primary concern with uncovering the furniture of heaven.[10] Images used are of festivals gathered around altars singing in choirs with white raiment in preparation for participation in a sacrifice. The choirs consist of twenty-four elders, and in addition to an altar there is the throne of God and of the Lamb (Rev. 4. 4; 6. 9; 7. 11–14; 8. 3–6, etc.). Ignatius sees in a highly idealized vision the communities to whom he writes as gathered as a chorus in concord (ὁμόνοια), and as a processional sacrifice whose worshippers can be 'enflamed with blood', around a seated bishop surrounded by a presbyterate (*Eph.* 5. 2; *Magn.* 7. 2; *Phld.* 4). But it is here that we come to a significant difference between the two writers.

The earthly counterpart to the heavenly scene in the Apocalypse is not the present church order but rather the imperial cult, in a counter-cultural relationship: the heavenly imagery is a transformed and sanitized alternative to the earthly.[11] The heavenly church order, with which the members of the sacrificed martyr church on earth are about to join, is the replacement for pagan imperial order: it is 'the kingdom of our God and of his Christ' (Rev. 11. 15). In Ignatius, on the other hand, the present church, if its ecclesial structure is informed by the threefold order, is the counterpart of the heavenly church. In the celebration of the Eucharist the seated bishop, image of the Father, around whom is seated the encircling presbyterate, sends the deacons as representatives of the ministry of Christ. It is here on earth, and not in heaven, that they form a chorus and sing with one voice in harmonious unity to the Father.[12]

[10] C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 70–2.

[11] Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 213–18.

[12] For an earlier version of this case, see A. Brent, 'The Ignatian Epistles and the Threefold Ecclesiastical Order', *JRH* 17 (1992), 21–3.

The traditionally held view that the angels of the churches were in fact their bishops would, if it were valid, be strong evidence against the view that I have just advanced. But the self-authenticizing claim of the seer as prophet, and not as holder of an ecclesiastical office, would appear to speak against the traditional view.[13] But if the word 'angel' does not refer to a single human individual, it does, nevertheless, refer to the collective personality of the community addressed.

Michael stood as a personification of the kingdom of Persia, and acted as the collectivity acts (Dan. 10. 10–21; 12. 1). So too the collective quality of 'patience (ὑπομονή)' of the church of Thyateira (Rev. 2. 21), or of 'lukewarmness (χλιαρός)' of Laodicea (Rev. 3. 16) is represented by an angelic personality. Ignatius too has a concept of corporate personality, but this is found not in a heavenly angelic being, but in an earthly bishop: in the clerical representatives of the churches that visit him, he claims to see their corporate character. Here the clear *reference* to the concept of corporate character shows a relation in this regard between the two works.

Polybius, the bishop of Tralles, is described not as an individual personality, but as that of the community. As in the case of Bishop Onesimus of Ephesus, he has such 'converse of mind (συνήθεια)' with them that he can see their corporate personality, their πολυπλήθεια in both of them (*Eph.* 1. 3; 5. 1). Polybius has revealed to him 'your unwavering and blameless mind (ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον)... so that I saw your whole gathered multitude in him (ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι)' (*Trall.* 1. 1). Thus Polybius becomes 'an example of your love (ἐξεμπλάριον τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν)' (*Trall.* 3. 2). In Damas, bishop of Magnesia, likewise he claims to have seen 'your whole multitude' (τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος, *Magn.* 6,1). *Πλῆθος* is the usual word for the gathered church in Ignatius.[14]

The angels of the churches, otherwise the stars of John's initial vision, existed in heaven and thus revealed the corporate character of the communities that they represented before the throne of God. They were the heavenly counterparts to earthly events. But in Ignatius the corporate character of the community is worn by the earthly figure of the bishop. We shall be seeking to argue how this transition has taken place, whether in consequence of a process of historical change over time or whether through a process of dialogue between two early Christian communities at the same time.[15] But first let us look at parallels between Ignatius and the Matthaean and Johannine communities.

[13] A. Satake, *Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse*, WMANT 21 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966).

[14] *Smyrn.* 8. 2; *Trall.* 8. 2 (ἔνθεον πλῆθος); cf. W. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 112.

[15] H. Koester, '*ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ*: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of the Early Church', *HTR* 58 (1965), 290–306, and W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und*

2. IGNATIUS AND THE GOSPELS

Ignatius clearly knew the traditions of the communities of both Matthew[16] and John, despite the highly allusive character of many of the references to both. The clear *reference* to the fulfilment of righteousness at the Baptism, unique to Matthew,[17] anchors his other less direct *allusions* securely to such a tradition. Likewise, Ignatius' references to becoming manifest in the flesh, to the Logos proceeding from God's silence, to Jesus coming from and returning to God are unmistakably Johannine,[18] and anchored firmly to that tradition by more direct quotations.[19]

Ignatius shares with John, in contrast to the Apocalypse, the claim that eschatology is already realized. Ignatius has an *allusion* to the Matthaean tradition of the star of Bethlehem (Matt. 2. 2),[20] but draws Johannine conclusions, when he informs the Ephesians that, following the appearance of the star:

> In consequence all magic was dissolved (*ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία*), and every bond of wickedness was wiped away (*καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο κακίας*); ignorance was removed (*ἄγνοια καθῃρεῖτο*), and the old kingdom destroyed (*παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο*), with God appearing humanly (*θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου*) for the renewal of eternal life (*εἰς καινότητα ἀϊδίου ζωῆς*) ... Here all things were disturbed (*ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο*), because the destruction of death had been planned (*διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν*) (*Eph.* 19. 1–3).

Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum, BHT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964). Cf. H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1954); F. W. Norris, 'Ignatius, Polycarp and 1 Clement: Walter Bauer Reconsidered', *VC* 30 (1976), 23–44.

[16] *Smyrn.* 6: *ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω* (= Matt. 19. 12: *ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρείτω*); *Pol.* 2. 2: *φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς καὶ ὄφις ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰς ἀεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστερά* (= Matt. 10. 16: *γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί*); *Eph.* 14: *φανερὸν δὲ τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ* (= Matt. 12. 33: *ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται*); *Trall.* 11. 1 (cf. *Phld.* 3.1): *οὗτοι γὰρ οὔκ εἰσιν φυτεία πατρός* (= Matt. 15. 13: *πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου* ...).

[17] *Smyrn.* 1. 1: *βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἵνα πληρωθῇ πάσα δικαιοσύνην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* (= Matt 3.15: ... *πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην*). See also Foster, ch. 7 in companion volume.

[18] *Magn.* 8. 2: *εἷς θεός ἐστιν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτον διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* (= John 17. 6: *ἐφανέρωσά σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*), *ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών* (cf. John 1. 14: *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*), *ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν* (= John 8. 29: *ὁ πέμψας με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν; ὅτι ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ ποιῶ πάντοτε*; 8. 42: *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἥκω*; 16. 28: *ἐξῆλθον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ... καὶ πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*). See also n. 3.

[19] *Phld.* 7. 1: *τὸ πνεῦμα ... οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει* (= John 3. 8: *τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ ... ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει*); *Phld.* 9. 1: *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ... αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρός* (= John 10. 9: *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα*).

[20] Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36. 22.

The Apocalypse's 'kingdom of our God and of his Christ' are here not future but realized at Bethlehem, just as for John the judgement and the reign begin in the consummation of the history of the Word made flesh on the Cross, through which the devil is cast out and the designs of Judas as son of perdition and Antichrist are thwarted, and the elect are gathered together as on the Last Day.[21] The theme of 'appearing (*φανερουμένου*)' is also typically Johannine.[22]

The realized kingdom in John continues to be realized in the church through the insufflation of the disciples on the day of the resurrection. The Paraclete will continue these realized eschatological events (John 14. 18; 16. 7–11), and is given when 'he breathed into them (*ἐνεφύσησεν*) and said to them (*καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς*): receive the Holy Spirit (*λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον*)'. Ignatius makes *reference* to a Matthaean event: 'For this reason the Lord received anointment on his head (*διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος*)', but adds immediately his *allusion* to the Johannine Pentecost: 'in order that he might breath incorruption upon the Church (*ἵνα πνέῃ ἀφθαρσίαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ*)' (*Eph.* 17. 1). For him the incorruption continues to be achieved in the life of the worshipping church at the Eucharist.

But Ignatius now goes beyond such a Johannine tradition in claiming that a valid Eucharist will be marked by the presidency of bishop, presbyters, and deacons performing their assigned liturgical roles (*Smyrn.* 8. 1). The attainment of *ἀφθαρσία* is the attainment of unity, which can be achieved only by submission to the threefold order:

> Be united with the bishop (*ἑνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ*) and with those who are preeminent (*καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις*) in forming an image (*εἰς τύπον*) of incorruption and (thus) teaching (it) (*καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας*). (*Magn.* 6. 2)

Eschatology is thus realized through hierarchy, since the latter is necessary to gather and to constitute the ecclesial assembly in which the former is realized:

> Be anxious therefore to assemble frequently (*σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι*) for the Eucharist of God and his glory (*εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν*), for when you more frequently meet as a Church (*ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε*), the powers of Satan are destroyed (*καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανα*), and his destruction is unbound (*λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ*) in the concord of your faith (*ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως*). (*Eph.* 13. 1)

The community of the Fourth Gospel was not a hierarchically governed community. Indeed, it has been argued that it was a charismatic community of equals, which would also account for its later popularity with adherents of the New Prophecy (Montanism). In that respect, its ecclesial order was similar

[21] John 1. 14 (incarnation); 13. 6–7 and 13. 29 (Judas); 12. 31–3 (cross).
[22] e.g. John 2. 1; 17. 6; 21. 1; 1 John 1. 2; 3. 2, etc., cf. n. 18.

to that of the seer's community that we have argued to have been charismatic, as indeed were some forms of Gnosticism.[23] Therefore, just as we needed to ask how the transition could take place from the concept of an angelic being who wore the corporate image of its earthly Christian community to that of an Ignatian bishop on earth with such a role, so too now we are faced with a similar question in the present case.

How, in the case of the Johannine community, concerned with the church as realizing eschatology as the extension of the incarnate life of the Logos made flesh and manifesting incorruption, did what pertained to the community as an undifferentiated, charismatic whole now come in Ignatius to be identified with the threefold hierarchy? What concepts were there in the Hellenistic background of the Greek city-states of Asia Minor that assisted Ignatius' shift to this new position that even Polycarp would have found strange?

3. IMAGE BEARING AND IMAGE WEARING IN THE MYSTERY CULTS

We saw in the last section that Ignatius saw unity, and therefore the attainment of incorruption, in terms of the bishop and the presbyters who formed images (*εἰς τύπον*) of what was to be attained.[24] I shall first show how this was the central concept of the significance both of his martyr procession and of the Sunday Eucharist. We shall then argue that for Ignatius the churches are constituted, like the pagan *ἐκκλησίαι* of the city-states, by means of a hierarchy that bore images in mystery processions, and performed mystery dramas that were expressive of the unity and life of their culture.

3.1 The Eucharist and *προκαθημένος εἰς τύπον*

Ignatius' highly idiosyncratic view of church order was alien to Irenaeus' perspective. For Ignatius the bishop is not the successor of the apostles, nor does he mention any act of ordination performed by bishops forming links in a chain running through secular history.[25]

[23] H. Köster, 'Geschichte und Kultus im Johannesevangelium und bei Ignatius', *ZTK* 54 (1957), 56–69, with which cf. Brent, *Cultural Episcopacy*, ch. 3. For Gnosticism and charismatic church order, see K. Koschorke, 'Eine neugefundene gnostische Gemeindeordnung', *ZTK* 76 (1979), 30–60.

[24] With reference to *Magn.* 6. 2, cf. above, p. 330.

[25] Brent, 'Ignatian Epistles', 18–32.

The bishop is not a successor of the apostles, but rather an image of God the Father, which he projects as he conducts the liturgy. The image of Christ in the performance of the Eucharist is found in the deacons, and that of the apostles in the presbyteral circle or council.[26] As Ignatius says:

Likewise let all revere the deacons (*ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους*) as Jesus Christ (*ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*), even as they do the bishop who is the image of the Father (*ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρός*), and the presbyters as God's council (*τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ*), and as a band of apostles (*καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀπόστολων*): without these a church cannot be summoned (*χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται*). (*Trall.* 3. 1)[27]

Similarly, he says:

Be eager to do all things in God's concord (*ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν*), with the bishop presiding as an image of God (*προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τύπον θεοῦ*) and the presbyters as an image of the council of the apostles (*καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων*), and of the deacons . . . entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ (*καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν . . . πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*). (*Magn.* 6. 1)[28]

For Ignatius the public role of the bishop, with his presbyters and deacons, is focused on, and demonstrated by, their role in the liturgical drama.[29] At the Sunday Eucharist the bishop, seated in pre-eminent view (*προκαθημένος*), with his presbyters and deacons, creates the image of God the Father (*εἰς τύπον θεοῦ* or as *ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρός*). The image, created by each clerical role in its pre-eminence (*προκαθημένος*), is, as we have seen, *τύπος ἀφθαρσίας*. In Ignatius' liturgical assembly, the Father-bishop has seated around him the circle of the presbyters who create the image of the Spirit-filled apostles at the Johannine Pentecost:

[26] In addition to quotations that follow, see *Trall.* 1. 1–2.

[27] See also *Phld.* 5. 1.

[28] I follow Lightfoot and Zahn in adopting the reading *τύπος* (along with the (abridged) Syriac (S) and Armenian (A)) versions, and not *τόπος* even though the latter is attested by both Greek and Latin versions of the Middle Recension (G and L) as well as the Greek (g) and Latin (l) of the Long Recension. The reading is also supported by Severus of Antioch (*c.*AD 515). However, the reading *τύπος* in *Trall.*, 3. 1 is secure, which must be a powerful support for not reading *τόπος* instead in this similar passage. Furthermore *Didascalia* 2. 26 attests such an Ignatian usage, which was misunderstood by that writer as type in an exegetical, OT sense, which would explain why Severus and later scribes replaced it with *τόπος*, which by that time described the physical space assigned to the various clerical orders in the architechtural arrangement of the basilicas of Eastern Christendom. But see Schoedel, *Ignatius,* 141. For further discussion, see A. Brent, 'The Relations between Ignatius of Antioch and the *Didascalia Apostolorum*', *SC* 8 (1991), 129–56.

[29] For my discussion of the Ignatian typology, see Brent, 'History and Eschatological Mysticism'; *idem*, *Cultural Episcopacy,* 84–5; *idem*, *Imperial Cult*, 213–23.

Be eager to be confirmed (*σπουδάζετε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι*) in the teachings of the Lord and of the apostles (*ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) . . . together with your worthily esteemed bishop (*μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπίσκοπου ὑμῶν*), and the worthily woven spiritually garlanded presbyterate (*καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*), and of the deacons according to God (*καὶ τῶν κατὰ θεὸν διακόνων*). (*Magn.* 13. 1)

The presbyterate, who sat in a horseshoe circle around the enthroned bishop in the liturgy, thus appeared as an *ἀξιοπλόκος πνευματικός στεφάνος*. It was *πνευματικός*, in an Ignatian *allusion* to the Johannine Pentecost,[30] when the risen Christ 'imbreathed (*ἐνεφυσήσεν*)' the Holy Spirit into the Twelve.

For Ignatius, therefore, the bishop is the human image of God the Father in the drama of replay that is the Eucharist. The presbyterate recalls the Spirit given to the apostolic circle in John on the evening of the resurrection. The deacons, as they take the eucharistic gifts from the Father-bishop and give these to the people, issuing their appropriate eucharistic instructions, thus represent the Christ who comes from the one Father (*τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα*) and returns to him who is one again (*καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα*).[31]

Ignatius now assimilates the celebration of order in the drama of the redemptive mystery of the Eucharist to that of the pagan mystery cults and their processions in the Greek city-states of Asia Minor of the second century. Because those processions were characterized by a drama of replay involving the bearing or wearing of images, Ignatius was able to attribute to his three Christian orders critical roles in the creation of community through liturgy. Because those images had apotropaic functions, bishops, priests, and deacons by analogy were essential both to gathering the community and to the concept of the gathered community realizing eschatology by the shaking of the demonic powers. Thus the realized eschatology of a Johannine charismatic community became transformed into one whose ecclesial structure was necessarily hierocratic.

Regarding the second transition, which was the grounding of the heavenly church order of the Apocalypse in the church on earth, we shall see that the pagan iconography of mystery cults and their priests also carried over into ambassadorial processions in which the ambassador, like the priest, in carrying the image of his city's deity also bore the corporate personality of his pagan community.

[30] *Eph.* 17. 1; cf. John 21. 22 and n. 26 and related text.

[31] *Magn.* 7. 2: *πάντες ὡς εἰς ἕνα ναὸν σύντρέχετε θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα.*

3.2 θεοφόροι and σεβασταφόροι in the Mystery Cults

Ignatius in his inscription to every letter uses after his name the phrase *ὁ καὶ θεοφόρος*. Holmes is the most recent to translate this phrase as 'who is also called Theophorus', following Schoedel.[32] Thus the phrase has been understood as a kind of *cognomen* or other kind of second name. But the epigraphic evidence is clear that the term *θεοφόρος* does not refer to a second name, but in fact to someone who bears an image in a pagan religious procession.

We have an inscription from Oinoanda recording documents relating to a music festival (*ἀγών μουσικός*) in that city in honour of Julius Demosthenes and recording Hadrian's permission for its observance, given 19 August 124 AD.[33] In the prescribed procession and its ritual we find both *θεοφόροι* and *σεβαστοφόροι*, who 'will carry (*βαστάσουσι*) and lead forward (*καὶ προάξουσι*) and escort (*καὶ προπομπεύσουσι*) the images of the emperors and the image of our ancestral god Apollo (*τὰς σεβαστικὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν[τοῦ] πατρῴου ἡμῶν θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*), and the... holy altar (*καὶ τὸν ... ἱερὸν βωμόν*'.[34]

Although the portable images carried here are called *εἰκόνες*, Ignatius' word was *τύπος*, in terms of what the three orders image. *εἰκών* is used of Christ in Colossians (1. 15), but never in the Apocalypse, which reserves this term for the image of the beast as the Roman Emperor (Rev. 13. 14–15; 14. 9–11; etc).[35] Ignatius, in the world of second-century Asia Minor, might well have preferred the term *τύπος* in view of the imperial connotation of *εἰκών* for some Christian communities who would react negatively to the *σεβαστοφόροι* in processions celebrating together Hellenic and imperial unity, as in the case of Demosthenes. For Ignatius, as the bishop from the East confronting the Emperor of the West in his arena, the *θεός* of whom he was the *φόρος* represented a different ideal.[36]

Nevertheless, *τύπος* is used of portable images such as those borne in a procession or having apotropaic functions. Josephus uses this term for the

[32] M. W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1992/9), 137, 150, 158, 166, 176, 184, 194; Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 35, 103, 140, 165, 195, 219, 257.

[33] *SEG* XXXVIII. 1462.

[34] *SEG* XXXVIII. 1462C.51–4; 56–9; 61–4. For an alternative English translation, see S. Mitchell, 'Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor', *JRS* 80 (1990), 183–7.

[35] Cf. Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 196–7.

[36] *Rom.* 6. 1: 'The furthest ends of the world profit me nothing (*οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου*) nor do the kingdoms of this age (*οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*): it is better for me to die (*καλόν μοι ἀποθανεῖν*) for the sake of Jesus Christ (*διὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*) than to reign over earth's furthest ends (*ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς*).' Cf. Brent, 'Ignatius of Antioch and the Imperial Cult', *VC* 52 (1998), 30–58, and *idem*, *Imperial Cult,* ch. 6.

teraphim of Laban, which he also describes as πατρίοι.[37] They are his *lares et penates*, such as Aeneas carried after the destruction of Troy. Moreover, in Demosthenes' procession τύποι do make their appearance, though they are carried in the sense of 'worn' rather than 'borne'.

The Agonothete who leads that procession wears a golden crown or στέφανος, decorated with embossed images. That these are to be described as τύποι is indicated by their description as ἔκτυπα πρόσωπα (embossed portraits) of a type of which extensive examples remain.[38] We recall that Ignatius used the image of a στέφανος for the presbyterate as τύπος ἀποστόλων (*Magn.* 13. 1).[39] Perhaps the most famous case was Domitian's headdress, when he celebrated the Capitoline games, in which he wore the images of the Capitoline triad: there the *coronae* of the priests contained his own image in addition.[40] In the case of Demosthenes, these ἔκτυπα πρόσωπα were of 'the emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus (Αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Ἀδρια[νοῦ] Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ) and our Leader the ancestral god Apollo (καὶ τοῦ προκαθη[γέτ]ου ἡ[μῶ]ν πατρῴου θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος)'.[41] There is a clear ordering of the life of the city-state within an imperial whole suggested by this interrelationship of the imperial cult with the traditional deity of the city, as there was with Domitian's inclusion of his own image along with those of the Capitoline triad on the *coronae* of Roman priests.

The crown bearing the τύποι was to be worn 'in procession in company with the other magistrates (καὶ συνπομπεύοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν)'.[42] Ignatius, as we have seen, saw the three orders, not simply as τύποι, but as προκαθημένοι εἰς τύπον. We find, when we compare the significance of use of images here with that in other sources, an analogy between his view of ecclesial order and a pagan theology of representation.

The priest who heads the procession, by virtue of the images that he bears, becomes identified with the god or goddess. The priest as προκαθηγέτης, and the god as προκαθηγέτης, are regarded as one in the same. Gods and goddesses are described, like Ignatius' three orders, as προκαθημένοι, which I have translated as 'pre-eminent' rather than 'preside'. Gods and goddesses are quite frequently described as προκαθημένοι/αι, within a semantic field that contains such terms as προκαθηγέτης, προηγέτης, (προ) καθηγεμών, προηγεμών, and

[37] Josephus, *AJ.* 1. 322 (10).

[38] J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London: Oxford University Press/British Academy, 1966), 178, cat. no. 228, plate no. CXXVI Geyre (Aphrodisias Depot), Excavation inv. nos. 63–5. Negs. E.R. XXII, 2–3. See also E. Kenan, *Illustrated London News,* Archaeological Section no. 2163, 21 Dec., 1963, fig. 9.

[39] See above, p. 333.

[40] Suet., *Dom.* 4. 4; cf. Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 175–7.

[41] *SEG* XXXVIII. 1462.C.52–3.

[42] *SEG* XXXVIII. 1462.C.58.

θεοὶ πρὸ πόλεως, in a family of concepts that find their overlap, in one of their applications, with the leader of a θιάσος of a mystery cult.[43]

Deities are said to be 'pre-eminent' (προκαθέζομενοι/αι) in the quite usual, visual and spatial sense of that term, of 'sitting forward', in the only enduringly visible form to humans. We find references to 'Demeter and Kore (τῇ τε [Δή]μητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρ[ῃ]), the goddesses who are pre-eminent over city (ταῖς π]ροκαθημέναις [θε]αῖς τῆς πόλεως ἡμ[ῶν)'.[44] In the dedication of P. Aelius Menekrates for Demeter and the god Men, he declares that he has:

> consecrated a silver basket (καθιερώσαντα κάλαθον περιάργυρον), which he has left behind for the mystery rites (τὸν λείποντα τοῖς μυστηρίοις), and for Men who is pre-eminent before the village (καὶ τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆς κώμης Μηνί).

Here we find that his pre-eminence is expressed quite visually in the form of 'a silver symbol that will process before his mystery rites (σημήαν περιάργυρον τὴν προπομπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦς)'.[45] Finally it is Tateia, priestess of Artemis, who is said herself to be 'pre-eminent before', or to 'head' (ἣ προκάθηται) 'the queen's village (κ[ώμ]ης βασιληΐδος)'.[46]

Ignatius regards the gathering for the Eucharist by analogy with a choir gathering for a pagan festival, as does the Apocalypse:

[43] Robert argued that προεστώς, καθηγεμών, and προκαθημένος are synonymous terms, see: J. and L. Robert, *La Carie: Histoire et Géographie Historique, avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques*, ii: *Le Plateau de Tabai et ses envirions* (Paris: Dépositaire Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1954), 226 anm. 12. See also, and particularly, L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, i: *Exploration, Histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*, Commission des fouilles et missions archéologiques au ministèredes relations extérieures (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1983), 172: 'Les inscriptions préciant sa primauté emploient les terms suivants: εἰς τὸν προε[σ]τῶτα τῆ[ς] π[όλεω]ς ἡμῶν θεὸν Διόνυσον, ou bien τοῦ προκαθηγεμ[όνος τῆς πόλεω]ς θεοῦ Διονύσου, or τῷ [καθ]ηγεμόνι θεῷ Διονύσῳ'. See also J. Nollé, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Etenna in Pisidien, in Asia Minor Studien*, Forschungen in Pisidien, 6 (Bonn: Schwertheim, 1992), 81.

[44] *Syll.*³ 694.50–4; A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Grabinschriften aus Kleinasien*, SPAW (1932), 792–865; also in *Kleine Schriften*, ii, in W. Peek *et al.* (eds.), *Opuscula: Sammelausgaben seltener und bisher nicht selbständig erschienener wissenschaflicher Abhandlungen*, viii, Akademieschriften zur griechische Inschriftenkunde, Teil 2 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1974), 347. See also Brent, 'Ignatius and the Imperial Cult', 45–7; *idem*, *Imperial Cult*, 224–6. For other references, see (i) *SEG* XXXVII. 1403.20, lines 16–23 (= A. Invernizzi, 'Héraclès a Séleucie du Tigre', *RArc* 1 (1989), 65–113): 'in this temple of the god Apollo (ἐν ἱερῷ τῷδε θεοῶ Ἀπόλλωνος), who sits out over the bronze gate (τοῦ χαλκῆς πύλης προκαθημένου)'. (ii) J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum: Geschichte und Zeugnisse*, i, Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 43, Österreiche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Bonn: Habelt, 1993), 195, 3.2.1.6–8: Aurelius Mandrianus Longinus (AD 143): 'acted as a priest (συνιερασάμενον) . . . for the goddess Athena who is pre-eminent (τῇ προκαθεζομένῃ θεῷ Ἀθηνᾷ)'.

[45] *I.Eph.* VII.1.3252.5–9.

[46] Wilhelm, *Griechische Grabinschriflen*, 803/347, prefers κώμης to κούρης, which I here follow. See also J. G. C. Anderson, 'Explorations in Galatia Cis Halym, Part II', *JHS* 19 (1899), 306 no. 246.

For your worthily named presbytery (τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέριον) . . . is so joined to the bishop (οὕτως συνήρμοσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ) as cords to a lyre (ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ), wherefore, in your concord and symphonic love (διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπη/), Jesus Christ is sung (Ἰησοῦ Χριστὸς ᾄδεται). And become those who, as individuals, are a choir (καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς γίνεσθε). (*Eph.* 4. 1)

When Ignatius writes as θεοφόρος to those churches, he describes them, as he does the Ephesians, as participants in a mystery cult with ascribed roles in the drama involving the bearing of images: they are 'fellow initiates of Paul (Παύλου συμμύσται)'. (*Eph.* 12. 2). The language of μυστήριον and μιμητής is otherwise used in such a cultic context.[47] The Ephesians, hastening to Ignatius' martyr entourage, as representatives of their churches, are described as σύνοδοι.

You are all, therefore (ἐστὲ οὖν), fellow cult members (σύνοδοι πάντες), God-bearers (θεοφόροι), and temple-bearers (καὶ ναοφόροι), Christ-bearers (χριστοφόροι), bearers of holy things (ἁγιοφόροι), in every way adorned with the commandments of Jesus Christ (κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). (*Eph.* 9. 2)

The σύνοδοι are not merely 'companions', nor even the anachronous 'fellow pilgrims' of recent translations.[48] One of the registers of meaning of this term is 'members of a common cult or guild'. The usual σύνοδος appears as a plural here because the churches are joining his martyr procession through their representatives, and therefore each church individually is viewed as its own cult. Furthermore, the term has close associations with mystery cults. We have a letter (AD 147) of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius, the introduction of which reads:

Greeting . . . to the gathering of the followers of the Brysean Dionysus (συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόνυσον), who are the gathering of those initiated into the mysteries of in Smyrna (συνόδῳ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ μυστῶν χαίρειν).[49]

Thus, in terms of the procession, he who as bishop is θεοφόρος, bears the τύπος πατρός of the suffering Father God, as he gathers the bearers of other images around him as the procession proceeds.

47 μιμητής: *Eph.* 1. 1; *Trall.* 1. 2; *Rom.* 6. 3. μυστήριον: *Eph.* 19. 1; *Magn.* 9. 1; *Trall.* 2. 3.

48 Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 143. Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 65, translates 'companions'; cf. 'compagnons de route' in P. T. Camelot, *Ignace d'Antioche [et] Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres: Martyre de Polycarpe*, 4th edn. SC 10 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 79.

49 *Syll.*^{3} 851.7–9; 26–7 (= *IGROM* 1399). See also Marcus Aurelius to Smyrna (between AD 161 and 166), *IGROM* IV. 1400.9–10 (= *CIG* 3177): 'to the cult gathering (τῷ συνόδῳ) of the artists and initiates associated with Brysean Dionysus, greeting (τῶν περὶ Βρεισέα Διόνυσο[ν τεχνειτῶν καὶ μυστῶν χαίρειν])'. The *lacunae* ([ ]) are supplied from *IGROM* IV. 1399.8. See also Damoteles (Ephesus, 2nd century BC), in *SEG* XLIII. 773.32–3: πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον Ἀφροδίτῃ πολυαινέτῳ); Moretti, *IGUR* 246.B.2–9(= *IG* XIV. 253): 'ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστικὴ σύνοδος of the athletes of the company of Herakles (τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν)'.

The χριστοφόροι and θεοφόροι bear in their human flesh, along with their words and actions, the only image available to a monotheism that disallows plastic representations of deity. But they are nevertheless to be understood by analogy with the image-bearing θεοφόροι and σεβαστοφόροι of Demosthenes' festal procession. In that procession too there was mention of a portable altar in correspondence with Ignatius' ναοφόροι. Apuleius describes in the Isis mysteries how 'the foremost high priests (*antistites sacrorum proceres*) . . . carried before them the distinctive attributes of the most powerful gods (*potentissimorum deum proferebant insignes exuvias*)'. But these θεοφόροι were also accompanied in the goddess's procession by a second group, with a priest who 'carried with both hands an altar (*manibus ambabus gerebat altaria*)'. The altar in question clearly was miniature, and thus we have βωμοφόροι as counterparts to Ignatius's ναοφόροι, or ἁγιοφόροι.[50] Such image bearing and wearing was also part of the Dionysiac mystery procession.[51]

We find one gruesome example of a pagan ἁγιοφόρος in the basket held by a κιστοφόρος that contained the *vires* of Attis. A striking example was found at Rome in a marble relief on a base inscribed in memory of L. Lartius Anthus,[52] who is a κιστοφόρος of the temple of Ma Bellone.[53] Indeed, like Ignatius' θεοφόρος, the title of his position and function in the cultic procession is used almost like a *cognomen.* Lartius is depicted on the relief with a laurel crown decorated with three medallions, with busts of divinities. In his left hand are two double axes, and in his right a laurel twig with which to sprinkle the blood produced by self-mutilation with the axes. On the ground to the right of Lartius is a *cistus,* with closed lid, evidently made of basket work. He wears a crown, possibly originally golden, of laurel leaf design, which is adorned with three medallions (τύποι) of helmeted divinities, the central medallion probably of Bellona, with Mars on the right and Minerva on the left.[54] We note that a *coronatus cistifer*, like Lartius, was of a higher grade than that of ordinary

[50] Apul. *Met.* 11. 10.

[51] See the pillar dedicated to Agrippinilla, Moretti, *IGUR* 160.

[52] *CIL* VI. 2233. See also E. Strong, 'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 9 (1920), 207: 'L. Lartio Antho Cistophoro aedis Bellonae Pulvinensis fecit C. Quinctius Rufinus Fratri et Domino suo pietissimo cui et monumentum fecit interius agro Apollonis Argentei Quinctius Rufinus. (C Quinctius Rufus has made this for L. Lartius Anthus Cistophoros of the Temple of Bellona for his most pious brother, for whom also Quinctius Rufinus made a monument in the neighbourhood of the field of the silver Apollo).'

[53] Ma Bellone was the divine Mother in Cappadocia and Pontus, assimilated to the Roman cult of Bellona from the time of Sulla when introduced at Rome. She was associated nevertheless also with Magna Mater; see Strong, 'Sepulchral Relief', 207.

[54] Ibid., 208–9 and plate XXVI. See also F. Cumont, *Religions orientales dans la paganisme romain* (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), 51 plate II. 2, and, L. Robert, 'Nouvelles remarques sur l' "Édit d'Ériza" ', in *OpMinSel*, 2 (1969), 967–968 (= *BCH* (1932), 263).

κιστοφόροι. The *cista* at his feet contained the *vires* of Attis, emblems of his suffering.

Ignatius' martyr procession, too, is a celebration of Christ's death, which can be seen in Ignatius' body. As his procession passes through Ephesus, he speaks of the Ephesians as greeting his procession, and becoming part of it, like Bacchic maenads, or the worshippers of Attis, roused to ecstasy or 'inflamed (ἀναζωπυρήσαντες)' by 'the blood of god (ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ)', in the drama in which they participate through *mimesis*:

> being imitators of God (μιμηταὶ ὄντες θεοῦ), being inflamed by the blood of God (ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ) you completed the task that was natural to you (τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε) . . . in order that I might be able to achieve my goal of becoming a disciple (ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι). (*Eph.* 1. 1)

Thus Ignatius, as θεοφόρος in the procession of the Christian cult, creates the τύπος of the suffering Father God that elicits such a frenzied response (ἀναζωπυρήσαντες).

The bearing or wearing of such portable images also performed an apotropaic function. Philostratus at one point describes Apollonius as criticizing the superstition of those travellers who bear a Δήμητρος ἢ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα in order to avert harm and danger.[55] They are held in the bosom of their garment, or held out in front of them, in order to avert the wrath of the nether gods. Plutarch makes it clear that Sulla, for example, carried a small, portable image (ἀγαλμάτιον), as a protection against his warring enemies.[56]

It is at this point that we discover how Ignatius can regard the church as the extension of the Incarnation in breathing the incorruption of the Johannine Pentecost upon the Church as requiring a hierarchical organization in order to so function. It was their frequent assembling for the Eucharist (συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν) in consequence of which 'the powers of Satan are destroyed' and thus the old kingdom is shaken through 'God appearing humanly (θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου) for the renewal of eternal life (εἰς καινότητα ἀδίου ζωῆς)'. But, as we have seen, the Eucharist required the threefold order to be conducted as a drama of replay by analogy with a mystery procession. The Christian ἐκκλησία is a σύνοδος or a θιάσος. Bishop, presbyterate, and deacons

[55] F. J. Dölger, 'Demeter und Dionysos-Figürchen als Glücksanhänger nach einer Mahnpredigt des Apollonius von Tyana', in *Antike und Christentum*, IV (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934), 277–9; cf. L. Robert, 'Le Serpent Glycon d'Abônouteichos à Athénes et Artémis d'Éphèse à Rome', *OpMinSel*, 5 (1989), 747–69, at pp. 757–762 (= CRAI (1981), 522–8). See also C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Appendix 4, 136–40.

[56] Plut. *Sull.* XXIX. 11.12, cited and discussed in L. Robert, 'Le Serpent Glycon', and F. J. Dölger, 'Das Apollobildchen von Delphi als Kriegsamulett des Sulla', in *Antike und Christentum*, iv. 68–9. See also Apul. *Apol.* 53.

projected the images (τύποι) borne by those office-holders, of divine persons and events. Read in the context, therefore, of Ignatius' pagan background, the bearing of images in the form of patterns in our human flesh has an atropaic function in averting the destructiveness of the heavenly, Satanic powers. The waving as it were of the clerical icons extended the Incarnation, and realized eschatology, because those images had an apotropaic function. Thus the Johannine tradition had become clericalized.

Thus we have answered our first question: namely, how Ignatius has transformed what are nevertheless essentially Johannine themes. Let us now address our second question: namely, how, on my thesis of Ignatius' enculturalization in terms of pagan mystery cult theology, did the angelic corporate personality in the Apocalypse, as heavenly counterpart of the earthly community, come to be located in the earthly figure of the bishop?

4. AMBASSADORS, CULT AND *HOMONOIA* TREATIES

The role of the ambassador as representative of a city was also the role of one who bore the image of the city's god, just like the priest bearing the image of the god at the head of a mystery procession. The pagan representatives of the Alexandrians, in their dispute with their Jewish neighbours, carried the bust of Serapis when their case was heard before the tribunal of Trajan. The *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* describes such ambassadors as 'each . . . carrying their own gods (ἕκαστοι βαστάζοντες τοὺς ἰδίους θεούς)'.[57] βαστάζειν is a technical term meaning 'to carry in a procession'.[58]

Through their act, the particular tutelary divinity of the city could be said to lead the embassy, just as could the god in the mystery rite by virtue of the priest who bore his image. In Caracalla's letter to Ephesus (AD 200–5), we have the emperor's description of the ambassadors who congratulated him on his Parthian victory. When he says: [ἃ δὲ π]ροεπρέσβευεν ἡ πάτριος ὑμῶν θεὸς Ἄρτεμις, he means that 'your ancestral goddess Artemis heads the embassy', because her image is literally carried at the embassy's head.[59] Furthermore, the city was particularly personified in its deity: the action of the deity was the corporate action of the city itself. It was ambassadors who concluded the ὁμόνοια treaty between city and city. It may therefore have been the case that the ambassadors who concluded the ὁμόνοια treaty carried the coins them-

[57] H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs, Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 8 (= *P Oxy.* 1242). 17–18.

[58] L. Robert, 'Le Serpent Glycon', 764.

[59] *SEG* XXXI. 955; *IEph.* 2026.16.

selves as images of the divine, iconographic representations of the city as part of the ritual of the embassy whose conclusion was a *συνθυσία* in which the altar flames blazed in the presence of such joint images of the two cities.

Ignatius describes the character of the Christian *χόρος* gathered for the Eucharist and shaking the cosmic powers as being *ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ*. Characteristically, the series of *ὁμόνοια* coins show, on their reverse, representations of the deities associated with the two cities between which *ὁμόνοια* has been achieved, honouring each other. For example, we have a commemoration of an agreement between Side and Alexandria, during the reign of Valerian I (253–60), where, on the left side of the image on the obverse of the coin, we have Athena standing with a lance, as the divinity of Side, and, on the right, we have Isis, standing with a *sistrum* in her right hand, and a *sistula* with Nile water in her left, as the divinity of Alexandria.[60] Between them stands a round altar with a burning flame that suggests a festival and a sacrifice cementing the concord between the two representative deities. On the reverse we have *CIΔHTΩN ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ*. We thus have portrayed a festival concluding *ὁμόνοια* between Side and Alexandria.[61]

We have a series of such coins with these features.[62] We have coins from both Side and Aspendos from the same reign, showing Athena and Serapis, divinities of their respective cities, with *ὁμόνοια* inscriptions.[63] Athena exemplifies, in various epigraphic examples, the description *προκαθεζόμενη θεός* as sacral representative of her cities, which we have seen to parallel Ignatius' description of a cleric as *προκαθημένος εἰς τύπον*.[64] The ambassadors with their *τύποι* effect the *ὁμόνοια* that for Ignatius it is the function of the community gathered for the Eucharist to both express and secure, in which the powers of Satan are destroyed.

We should remember that the word for such an impressed image on a coin is *τύπος*, but that the coins themselves may have been carried as portable images by the ambassadors. The images on the *στέφανος*, such as that of the Agonothete in Demosthenes procession, are also called *τύποι* or, in his particular instance, *πρόσωπα ἔκτυπα*. And I have now argued that Ignatius,

[60] M. K. Nollé and J. Nollé, 'Vom feinen Spiel städtischer Diplomatie zu Zeremoniell und Sinn kaiserlicher Homonoiafeste', *ZPE* 102 (1994), 244, and Abb. 2, 258; P. R. Franke and M. K. Nollé, *Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasiens und der thrakischen Randgebiete*, Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte, ed. A. Furtwängler, P. R. Franke, and C. Reinsberg, 10 (Saarbrück: Druckerei und Verlag, 1997), 195, nos. 1924–5, and table 89.

[61] Nollé and Nollé, 'Vom feinen Spiel', 241–2.

[62] J. Nollé, 'Side: zur Geschichte einer kleinasiastischen Stadt in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel ihrer Münzen', *Antike Welt*, 21 (1990), 261, nos. 108–18.

[63] Franke and Nollé, *Homonoia-Münzen*, 15, nos. 82–7.

[64] See also Nollé, *Side im Altertum*, 195, Tep 1. and 200;. See also Nollé, 'Side: zur Geschichte', 251, mentioning a coin (248, nos. 23–4) with the inscription: *CIΔH MYCTIC NEΩKOPOC* ('Side; keeper of the Temple mystery').

in seeing ecclesial order by analogy with the ceremony involving the bearing and wearing of *τύποι*, was drawing on such a pagan background.

In conclusion, therefore, given the character of deity and its imaging as *τύπος* as in one aspect reflecting and embodying the corporate expression of the city community, we can now see how the angelic corporate personality in heaven has been firmly grounded in ecclesial order through its human iconography. Ignatius believed that he could see the corporate character of the churches to whom he wrote in the persons of their bishops, because he believed that they bore or wore, in their flesh, the *τύποι* of divinity that also reflected the divine life of the societies to which they particularly pertained. Thus he was able to effect the transition between the church order of the Apocalypse and the hierarchy that he advocated and reinforced in the communities to whom he wrote.

We are now in a position to consider the relationship between Polycarp and Ignatius against such a background, and the former in relation also to the Pastoral and Johannine Epistles.

5. POLYCARP, THE PASTORAL EPISTLES, AND THE JOHANNINE COMMUNITY

Polycarp's letter, if the forgery thesis fails, must be uninterpolated and unreconstructed. Polycarp was then the collector of the Ignatian corpus on behalf of the Philippian community, who themselves received a letter from Ignatius that has not survived (*Phil.* 13. 1). But if this is the case, there remains the problem of why Polycarp refers neither to Ignatius' theology nor to his practice of church order.

Polycarp knows nothing of an Ignatian single bishop encircled by a presbyteral council and attended by deacons. His church order reflects that of the Pastoral Epistles, to which he makes a reference with several *allusions*.[65] He knows of *πρεσβυτέροι* and *διάκονοι*, for whom he offers moral prescriptions paralleling those demanded by the Pastoral Epistles.[66] Unlike the Pastorals, he uses neither the terms *ἐπίσκοπος* nor *ἐπισκοπή*, although in the former the term appears to be generic and seems to apply to 'the presbyters who preside well (*οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι*)'.[67] Titus is to ordain to the office of

[65] *Phil.* 2. 1 (cf. 2 Tim. 4. 1); 4. 1 (cf. 1 Tim. 6. 7 and 10); 5. 2 (cf. 2 Tim. 2. 12). See also n. 5 above.

[66] *Phil.* 5. 2–3; 6. 2; cf. 1 Tim. 3. 8; 6. 1 (cf. Titus 1. 5–6).

[67] 1 Tim. 5. 17: *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν*; cf. 1 Tim. 3. 1–2; Titus 1. 7.

πρεσβύτερος, whose function is described as ἐπισκοπή.[68] Ordination, however, appears as normally the collective act of the presbyterate.[69] We have reference to an order of widows common to both communities (*Phil.* 4. 3; cf. 1 Tim. 5. 3–16).

Polycarp gives no indication that he has any real understanding of Ignatius' threefold typology of order. The subjection to all three orders that Ignatius requires is from the laity, who always function, he thinks, in mutual harmony. Polycarp exhorts submission to the presbyters and deacons alone, which suggests that he did not regard an ἐπίσκοπος as holding a separate office. However, inasmuch as the reason is because submission to the presbyter is 'as to God (ὡς θεῷ)' and to the deacon 'to Christ (Χριστῷ)', that much of Ignatius' claim has rubbed off on his exhortation.[70]

Accepting the genuineness of the Middle Recension, and therefore the integrity of *Philippians*, we must in consequence note that, although he accepts the title given him at the head of Ignatius' personal letter to him (Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ), he has trouble grasping its precise Ignatian sense.[71] His own preferred self-designation in addressing the Philippians is Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι. Polycarp therefore rather regards himself as what his most cited New Testament document, 1 Peter, describes as a συμπρεσβύτερος. Such a presbyter is *primus inter pares*, who has συμπρεσβυτέροι who do not constitute a distinct, Ignatian office characterized by a distinct divine image, even though he will not refer to such an office, as 1 Peter does, by the term ἐπισκοῦντες, in common with the Pastorals, as an exercise of ἐπισκοπή.[72]

It is therefore not only with the subtleties of Ignatian concepts of ἐπισκοπή that Polycarp has problems, but also with the nuances of that term in 1 Peter and the Pastorals, to which works he also makes reference. It is relevant also to observe a further feature of the Pastorals of which Polycarp is quite oblivious, but which illuminates also the Ignatian background. We have, in the former, reference to an embryonic theology of an understanding of God through a *via*

[68] Titus 1. 5: ἵνα . . . καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. For ἐπισκοπή as a noun see 1 Tim. 3. 1.

[69] 1 Tim. 4. 11: μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου.

[70] *Phil.* 5. 3: ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ; cf. 1 Pet. 5. 5: ὁμοίως νεώτεροι ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις.

[71] Since ἐπίσκοποι is used collectively along with διακόνοι in *Phil.* 1. 1, I cannot accept that there is any suggestion of more than the exercise of a generic ἐπισκοπή in Polycarp's understanding of church order, despite the ingenious suggestion that Polycarp is refusing episcopal jurisdiction in an Ignatian sense over the Philippians; cf. Oakes, Ch. 17 below.

[72] *Phil.* praef.: Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι; cf. 1 Pet. 5. 1: πρεσβυτέρους οὖν τούς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος: ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπισκοῦντες . . . ; cf. 1 Tim. 3. 1. ἐπίσκοπος is used only for God and ἐπισκοπή for his judgement in 1 Pet. 2. 12 and 25.

negativa that is part also of Ignatius' Hellenistic background. God is described as 'he who alone has immortality (ἀθανασία), dwelling in light inapproachable, whom no human being has seen nor is able to see'.[73] ἀθανασία, in the context of the possibility of the direct vision of God, is characteristic of a Hellenistic philosophical theology, and is not found in the earlier books of the New Testament.[74] Similarly, too, the Pastoralist uses the terms ἀφθάρτος and ἀόρατος,[75] but these terms do not occur in Polycarp.

Polycarp is therefore insensitive to this character of documents known to him. We should not be surprised, then, that Polycarp does not enter into Ignatius' reflection of such a milieu when the latter uses of God such terms as ἀόρατος (*Magn.* 3. 2), ἀγέννητος, ἀπαθής (*Eph.* 7. 2; *Pol.* 3. 2), ἄχρονος, or ἀψηλάφητος (*Pol.* 3. 2). That common Asian milieu is also reflected in the sophistical rhetorical juxtapositions of opposites in synthesis, marked both by Ignatius and the Pastorals, but unrepresented in Polycarp.[76] Similarly, though, in contrast with Ignatius, he never refers nor alludes to the Fourth Gospel, he does know the Johannine Epistles, whose anti-docetic message he finds valuable: 'for everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in flesh is antichrist and whoever does not acknowledge the testimony of the cross is of the devil'.[77]

Here we have a reference to an inaugurated if not a realised eschatology (1 John 2. 19–21), a full-blooded version of which, as we have seen, Ignatius shares in his incarnational view of the church's threefold order. Ignatius too attacks a docetism in a Hellenistic milieu of which, again Polycarp shows little recognition, though he agrees in censuring it as heresy.[78] Ignatius shares with 1 John a theology of deification through *mimesis*, that he nevertheless develops in his own way. 1 John denies accessibility to the direct vision of God in this life: 'No one has ever seen the vision (τεθέαται) of God' (1 John 4. 12). But he nevertheless asserts that deification will take place eschatologically: 'Beloved, now are we children of God, and it has not yet been made manifest (οὔπω ἐφανερώθη) what we shall be. We know that if he should be manifested, we shall be like him (ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα) because we will see him as he is (ὅτι ὀψόμεθα αὐτὸν καθώς ἐστιν)' (1 John 3. 2).

[73] 1 Tim. 6. 16: ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὃν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται.

[74] We have ἀθανασία only in two other places, and this is in the context of the resurrection body of the believer, 1 Cor. 15. 53–4.

[75] 1 Tim. 1. 17: ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ.

[76] 1 Tim. 3. 16; 2 Tim. 1. 9–10; 2. 11–13; cf. Ign. *Eph.* 7. 2; *Magn.* 5. 1–2.

[77] Poly. *Phil.* 7. 1; cf. 1 John 4. 2–3 and 3. 8. See also nn. 5 and 90.

[78] *Magn.* 11; *Trall.* 9–10; *Smyrn.* 1. 1; 2–3; 4. 2–5.2; 6. 2–7. 1.

The fourth evangelist, in his realized eschatology, equated, rather, Antichrist with Judas Iscariot. Though he will agree that the vision of God is not directly granted, it is nevertheless obtained in this life from the vision of Jesus (John 1. 18; cf. 17. 18, 22–3). Ignatius agrees that union (*ἕνωσις/ἑνότης*) with the divine leads to incorruption (*ἀφθαρσία*) in this life, but it is specifically through the divine persons and events, to be seen in the *τύποι ἀφθαρσίας* worn by the three clerical orders (*Magn.* 6. 2).[79]

For as many as are of God and Jesus Christ (*ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*), these are with the bishop (*οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιν*). And as many as having repented (*καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες*) come to the unity of the Church (*ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας*), these also shall be of God (*καὶ οὗτοι θεοῦ ἔσονται*). (*Phld.* 3. 2)

Coming 'to the unity of God (*εἰς ἑνότητα θεοῦ*)' is equivalent to coming to 'the (presbyteral) council of the bishop (*συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*)' (*Phld.* 8. 1).[80] Spiritual and fleshly realms are united in the *τύποι*, so that the redemptive *ἕνωσις* can take place that leads to *ἀφθαρσία*. He prays for 'unity of flesh and spirit (*ἕνωσιν ... σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος*)' (*Magn.* 1. 2) in the Churches, which is specifically obtained through subjection 'to the bishop and each other (*τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις*)... in order that there may be a spiritual and fleshly unity (*ἵνα ἕνωσις ᾖ σαρκική τε καὶ πνευματική*)' (*Magn.* 13. 2).[81] After the resurrection, the church began with 'those around Peter' touching the risen Christ, and thus 'mingling with his flesh and spirit (*κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι*)' (*Smyrn.* 3. 2). Thus is the 'inbreathing (*ἐνεφύσησεν*)' of the Johannine Pentecost[82] developed into the concept of the church as the extension of the Incarnation, achieving unity with God through the threefold order.

Once again we see Ignatius taking a further step beyond that of both the Johannine Epistles and of the Gospel itself. I have argued in this paper that the clue to this transition lies in his assimilation of the theology of Christian church order with the pagan theology implied by the ceremonial and iconography of the mystery cults. Let us now examine the implication of this transition for Polycarp's relationship with Ignatius.

[79] See above, p. 330.

[80] Cf. the heretics in 2. 2: *ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἕξουσιν τόπον*.

[81] See also *Smyrn.* 12. 2: *ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ θεοπρὲς πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μου διακόνους καὶ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, ἐν ἑνότητι θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν*.

[82] See nn. 26 and 30 and related text.

6. IN CONCLUSION: POLYCARP AND IGNATIUS

Polycarp's meeting with Ignatius was also a meeting of two distinct early Christian worlds. Indeed, there were bridges between Ignatius' world and that of the Pastorals and Johannine Epistles that were in Polycarp's canon, the nature of which the latter failed to grasp. But at all events, Ignatius has gone well beyond such relationships in defining ecclesial order in terms of analogies with pagan mystery cults and the iconographic roles of their priests in a cultic drama. By this means he has made a given church order redemptive.

Accepting the genuineness of Polycarp's references to Ignatius as his contemporary (*Phil.* 1. 1 and 13), Ignatius and his martyr's entourage would have appeared to him strange. Here was a Christian leader claiming that he was a *θεοφόρος* of the Christian cult, with other clerics holding such offices as *ἁγιοφόροι*, *ναοφόροι*, and *χριστοφόροι*, both in his procession and as their own local *σύνοδος* or cult association. Union with the divine nature and the attainment of *ἀφθαρσία* came about in the Christian cult by a process similar to that in the pagan mystery cults: namely, by joining in a sacred drama of replay in which the *μύσται* became what they imitated.[83]

Polycarp made every effort to understand that entourage, but with as little success as with the Pastoral and Johannine Epistles. He regarded Ignatius as regarding rightly the two orders for which he had any real use, presbyters and deacons, as representatives respectively of God and of Christ,[84] and that submission was to both orders: it was not simply a matter of having a presbyter-monarch like the presbyter of the Pastorals or 3 John.[85] Polycarp enters into the spirit of Ignatius' entourage as a procession when he employs the characteristic terms for *προπέμψασιν*, typically used for conducting a pagan procession, as we saw in the case of Demosthenes' procession.[86] His description of what the Philippians did on Ignatius' arrival shows the extent to which he was 'on message' with how Ignatius chose to interpret the theological character of his martyr procession: his use of characteristic Ignatian vocabulary indicates, not a forger's hand, but the visible impression that it had made upon him[87]:

[83] *Eph.* 12. 2 (= *συμμύσται*); *Smyrn.* 12. 1: of a deacon: *πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο*.

[84] See nn. 26 and 27 and related text.

[85] *ὁ πρεσβύτερος* who writes in the latter case clearly demands obedience against Diotrophes for his letter and presence (3 John 1 and 9–10). In 1 Tim. a *πρεσβύτερος* is described as *προϊστάμενος*, whether as patriarch over his own house (3. 4–5 and 12) or over the church (5. 17).

[86] See nn. 33 and 34 and associated text.

[87] The presence of such Ignatian imagery plays a vital role in all interpolation theories so necessary to removing the pivotal place of this letter as evidence to the authenticity of the Middle Recension.

I greatly rejoice with you in our Lord Jesus Christ (*συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*), since you made welcome the imitations of true love (*δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης*), and conducted forward (*καὶ προπέμψασιν*), as opportunity fell to you (*ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν*), those bound with bonds that befit their sanctity (*τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς*), which are the diadems of those truly chosen by God and our Lord (*ἅτινα ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων*). (*Phil.* 1. 1)

Polycarp did not like the typology so reminiscent of pagan processions, so he would not use the language of *προκαθημένος εἰς τύπον*. He certainly would have found bewildering the way in which Ignatius has poured his theology of Christian order and cult into such a pagan-shaped mould, as implied by such epithets.

He prefers instead to reinterpret Ignatian theology far more ambiguously, with his reference to *τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης*. For Ignatius to define ecclesial order as specifically threefold—and that because they are *τύποι* of Father, Son, and Spirit-filled apostolic council—is for him a too radical a *rapprochement* with pagan theological culture. With this amendment, Polycarp is prepared to support the procession with elected ambassador-clerics on its way to Rome (see *Phld.* 10. 1; *Smyrn.* 11. 2–3; *Pol.* 7. 1–2).

Indeed, such expressions as *μιμήματα*, *τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς*, and *διαδήματα* are readily comprehensible in the context of the language of processions, even though Polycarp fights shy of Ignatius' precise meaning. *μιμήματα* is a word expressive of a mystery procession, though Ignatius never uses it, even though Polycarp obscured the context by making that of which they are imitations an abstraction (*τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης*), and not of the more concrete *τοῦ πάθους θεοῦ μου*.[88] The latter term would have referred to the concrete details of the eucharistic drama of replay, and would therefore have been too close to the pagan background.

Διαδήματα, in the case of Philip of Macedon, were part of a procession involving deification through a processional *ἐνθρόνισμα*. The latter 'sent in procession an image befitting divinity (*ἐπόμπευε θεοπρεπὲς εἴδωλον*)',[89] in which context we should read Polycarp's reference to those that the Philippians 'processed forward, (*καὶ προπέμψασιν*)', as 'those bound with bonds that befit their sanctity (*τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς*)'. Unlike Ignatius, who wrote that he was 'bound in bonds most befitting divinity (*δεδεμένος θεοπρεπεστάτοις δεσμοῖς*)', Polycarp will not attribute 'befitting divinity (*θεοπρεπής*)' directly to the martyrs' bonds (*Smyrn.* 11. 1).

[88] *Rom.* 6. 3 : *ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ παθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου.*
[89] Diod. Sic. XVI. 92.5.

But why, then, did Polycarp find Ignatius acceptable, and wish to assemble a *corpus* of letters for the martyr? I would suggest that this was for one reason and one reason alone, and that was the anti-docetic message of the choreographed procession that came through Smyrna. It was a dazzling piece of enacted, sophistic rhetoric, and encapsulated a message in more than words that Polycarp found so serviceable to his needs. The message of the martyr-bishop, in his procession to Rome, despite all the semi-pagan cultic imagery, was of

> Jesus Christ . . . who was really born (ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη), who both ate and drank (ἔφαγεν τε καὶ ἔπιεν) . . . who really was crucified and died (ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν), who really was raised from the dead (ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν) . . . But if, as some atheists (εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες), that is unbelievers (τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι), say he suffered in appearance only (λέγουσι τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν) . . . why am I in chains (ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι), why do I pray that I can fight with wild beasts (τὶ δὲ εὔχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι) (*Trall.* 9. 1–2; 10)

The symbolism of the cultic procession was for Polycarp a breath-taking refutation of docetism, in which the eloquent prefigurement of martyrdom in the flesh of Ignatius justified Christ's true birth and sufferings. All other features could be ignored in the light of so visually an enacted refutation of docetism. It was by reason of the martyr procession, the final, spectacular refutation of docetism, and for this reason alone that Polycarp was convinced of the basic soundness of the strange, enigmatic figure who came through. Thus Polycarp's incomprehension was the product of Ignatius' closeness to the pagan culture that Polycarp found as difficult to comprehend in Ignatius as he had in the lesser case of the Pastorals and the Johannine Epistles. He tried to repeat Ignatius' terms in a fashion consistent with his own more conservative, Judaeo-Christian perspective.

Ignatius of Antioch, coming from the Hellenistic shadows, was destined to do for church order what his near-contemporary, Johannine community, also in those same shadows, was to do for later, orthodox theology. Ignatius' conceptualization of church order, in terms of bishop, priests, and deacons was, in a form distorted beyond original recognition, the classical form of the church order of later Christendom. Likewise, the theology of the Fourth Gospel, badly understood, and, until Irenaeus' time, like that of Ignatius, treated circumspectly, was destined to provide the philosophical model, again distorted out of all recognition, for defining theologically the nature and character of the Incarnation.

Polycarp, as we have seen, liked the anti-docetic features of Ignatius' procession, but otherwise shows little comprehension of what for him would have been its semi-pagan typology. The Johannine community perhaps fares even worse with Polycarp, since he never cites the Fourth Gospel, however much he may rely on the anti-docetic texts drawn from the Johannine Epistles.[90] Polycarp clearly justified ideas of which he had little comprehension as orthodox solely on the basis of their writer's position on docetism.

[90] 1 John 4. 2–3 and 2 John 7, quoted in *Phil.* 7. 1.

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Part VII

Polycarp, Letter to the Philippians

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Leadership and Suffering in the Letters of Polycarp and Paul to the Philippians

Peter Oakes

A comparison of the letters that Paul and Polycarp sent to Philippi suggests some new directions in the study of Polycarp's letter. Two key points of comparison between the letters concern leadership and suffering. Paul and Polycarp present somewhat different models of leadership in the two letters. This difference maps rather well on to the difference in style between the letters, especially in the impression of a certain diffidence on the part of Polycarp. Something has also changed in the leadership of the Philippian church. The ἐπίσκοποι of Paul's day have disappeared. In a context in which Ignatius is a central figure, the issue of episcopal oversight is a crucial one. We will explore the way in which Polycarp's presentation of leadership may be linked with the issues involved in a bishop writing a letter of advice to a bishopless church.

Suffering is present in the context of the letters of both Paul and Polycarp. In Paul's letter it forms a central theme. Consideration of the use of ἀγάπη and δικαιοσύνη in Polycarp's letter suggests that suffering is also a central theme there. Economic suffering is likely to have been an important factor in the Philippian church in both Paul's day and Polycarp's day. This suggests that concern about φιλαργυρία in Polycarp's letter could be linked with the issue of suffering.

Several of the above issues are affected by views on the nature of Polycarp's prior contact with the Philippians. The main evidence for this depends on the Latin of the first sentence of chapter 14, which Lightfoot describes as nonsensical. Freshly accessible evidence allows us to overturn Lightfoot's assertion and to translate the sentence in a way that affirms prior face-to-face contact between Polycarp and the Philippians. This will be handled in an Appendix.

COMPARING THE LETTERS OF POLYCARP AND PAUL

A glance at Polycarp's letter reveals the extent to which he writes under the influence of a range of New Testament texts. This makes comparison of Polycarp's letter with these texts an essential move in the interpretation of the letter. Scholarship has recently benefited from two careful studies in this area, by Paul Hartog[1] and Kenneth Berding.[2] However, the breadth of the range of texts covered by Hartog and Berding allows them little space for going in depth into Polycarp's relationship to any particular New Testament text. Although Paul's letter to the Philippians is not the text most frequently cited by Polycarp, it is a natural text to use for more detailed comparative study, because Polycarp consciously writes in the shadow of that letter.

> These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not at my own instance, but because you first invited me. For neither am I, nor is any other like me, able to keep pace with the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who . . . also when he was absent wrote letters to you, from the study of which you will be able to build yourselves up into the faith given you. (Pol. *Phil.* 3. 1–2)[3]

The use of some unusual phrases gives strong evidence of Polycarp's knowledge of Philippians: *πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως* (Pol. *Phil.* 5. 2; cf. Phil. 1. 27); *οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον* (Pol. *Phil.* 9. 2; cf. Phil. 2. 16); *inimicis crucis* (Pol. *Phil.* 12. 3; cf. Phil. 3. 18). Berding discusses the evidence in detail, and suggests seven further possible allusions to or reminiscences of passages in Philippians.[4] I would add a further allusion that I think is structurally important. Polycarp's instructions on 'righteousness' seem to reach their climax in the discussion of endurance in the face of martyrdom in chapters 8–9. Here the term *δικαιοσύνη* returns (three times), having been absent since shortly after its introduction in and near 3. 1. The weightiness of the subject-matter in chapters 8–9, the intensity of the rhetoric, and the reintroduction of the martyrs who were probably alluded to in 1. 1, also mark this out as a climactic

[1] P. Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament: The Occasion, Rhetoric, Theme, and Unity of the Epistle to the Philippians and its Allusions to New Testament Literature*, WUNT 2.134 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002).

[2] K. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul: An Analysis of their Literary and Theological Relationship in Light of Polycarp's Use of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature*, VCSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[3] The abbreviation Pol. *Phil.* is used to avoid confusion between numerous instances of *Phil.* and Phil. This translation is mainly that of Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, LCL (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1912; London: Heinemann, 1925). The expression 'keep pace with' comes from J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. and rev. Michael W. Holmes (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

[4] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, summarized on pp. 200–1. See also Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 177.

point in the letter. Polycarp then 'cashes this in' by writing: *in his ergo state et domini exemplar sequimini* (10. 1). The structural parallel to Phil. 4. 1 is striking. Having reached the eschatological climax of his exhortation to the suffering Philippians, Paul concludes, *Ὥστε, . . . οὕτως στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ* (Phil. 4. 1). The summarizing use of *state* and *στήκετε* in the two letters is extremely similar. Moreover, the idea of Christ's example, although unexpressed in Phil. 4. 1, has underlain all Paul's preceding argument, especially Phil. 2. 5.[5]

Another reason for comparing Polycarp's letter with Philippians is that there are actual and perceived continuities in the addressees. Paul had been to Philippi. Polycarp had probably been there too (depending on the reading of Pol. *Phil.* 14). Both had been in repeated contact with the Philippians, so were aware to some extent of their situation. In both Paul's and Polycarp's day, the Philippian church had enough members to have a degree of developed organization, but in neither case is there evidence that the church was very large. The apparent lack of a bishop when Polycarp's letter was written (on which see further below) could be linked to the community being of limited size. In both letters, the Philippians face suffering. When Paul writes, this is unspecified, but generalized to involve the community as a whole (Phil. 1. 29). In Polycarp's letter, some Philippians seem to have been martyred (Pol. *Phil.* 9. 1), and there is a broader sense of danger associated with contact with Christian prisoners taken via Philippi to execution (1. 1).

The nature of the socio-political context in Philippi did not undergo obvious changes between the middle of the first century and the first quarter of the second. It remained a moderate-sized (*c.*10,000–15,000), primarily agricultural town. It was a colony that was particularly firmly under Roman political control. However, the nature of the Roman veteran settlement at Philippi and the typical patterns of Greek peasant behaviour under the Romans suggest that the majority of the population of the town were probably non-Roman (including Greek-speakers from a Thracian cultural background and slaves).[6] If the majority in the town was 'Greek', the same would probably be true to a greater extent in the church. This is supported by the names in Paul's letter and the traditions in Acts 16.[7] Even though Valens, the only name in Polycarp's letter, is Roman, the Philippian church of his day was

[5] For the structure of the argument of Philippians, including some evidence for the integrity of the letter, see P. Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*, SNTSMS 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 103–11.

[6] Ibid. 14–50; P. Pilhofer, *Philippi*, I: *Die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas*, WUNT 87 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995), 85–92; S. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), ch. 3.

[7] Oakes, *Philippians*, 55–70.

probably still mainly made up of Greeks, excluded from Roman citizenship and political power at Philippi.

As well as common elements in the actual situations of the first-century and second-century Philippian Christians, there is probably an element of Polycarp envisaging his audience in terms of what Paul writes about the Philippians of his day. This is particularly seen where Polycarp commends the Philippians' faith, both in 1. 2 and especially in 11. 3:

Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio epistulae eius. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus eccelsiis, qui dominum solae tunc cognoverant…

Notice the way that Polycarp mixes together the two periods in the referents of the pronouns: the *vobis* slides from Polycarp's audience to that of Paul.

In the end, however, the justification for a comparative study must really lie in its ability to shed light on one or both of the letters. The two areas in which the comparison looks potentially to be particularly fruitful are those of leadership and of suffering. For each of these two areas we will look first at factors in the context of each letter, then at the key comparative issues.

LEADERSHIP

Context

Paul founded the church at Philippi. This gave him an element of inherent, long-term authority there. In the Graeco-Roman context, founding a community carried with it patronal implications.[8] This was particularly obvious in the context of Philippi. Its founding as a Roman colony was due to Mark Antony. However, the patronal association that this carried became unsustainable after Antony's defeat at Actium. Moreover, Octavian (soon to be Augustus) wanted to draw all such patronal ties into his own grasp. The colony was 're-founded' and renamed in honour of Augustus and Julius Caesar.[9] Patronal ties[10] gave Paul both authority over the Philippian church

[8] E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae (264–70BC)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 162.

[9] Oakes, *Philippians*, 13. A wide range of Caesarean, triumviral, or Augustan colonies took titles including Iulia and/or Augusta. See L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 BC* (London: British School at Rome, 1983), 15, 63.

[10] Since completing my book on Philippians my view of the nature of patronage has widened. I am now sympathetic to Lukas Bormann's view that Paul stood in what could be called a patronal relationship to the church: L. Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*, NovTSup 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 207–24; partly *contra* Oakes, *Philippians*, 132.

and responsibility to show concern for it. For example, his attempt to settle an internal dispute (in the case of Euodia and Syntyche: Phil. 4. 2–3) fits the pattern of behaviour of a Roman patron of a community (in the Republican period at least).[11]

Polycarp did not found the Philippian church, and it is hard to decide whether he had some sort of patronal relationship towards it. His expressions of diffidence about giving them advice (e.g. 3. 1) suggest not. As well as settling internal disputes, Roman patrons of communities were expected to inform them about decrees and laws affecting them.[12] Other types of advice must also have been given. Polycarp's expressions are reminiscent of Paul's diffidence in addressing the Roman Christians, to whom he did not have a patronal link. However, the fact of the Philippians asking Polycarp for such advice implies that the Philippians may have viewed him as their patron. This is especially so if the request centred on dealing with the problem of Valens. If an association had a problem with one of its officers, then appeal for advice to the association's patron would seem a likely course of action. My argument clearly makes several jumps here. Badian's evidence is of patronage by Republican Romans of foreign or colonial communities. I am raising the issue of whether those patterns might shed light in the Imperial period on the relationship between associations and their patrons, and on the behaviour of churches. Further work is needed on these possible links, but it seems worth drawing attention to these patterns, because they show that an act of writing, of the kind that Polycarp engages in, may have weighty implications, in the area of patronage, as well as in relationship to episcopacy. Alternatively, the patterns could suggest that episcopacy, as a concept, had these kinds of links to ideas of patronage.

Paul was in prison. This puts him more on a par with Ignatius than with Polycarp. Suffering grants a measure of authority. Paul was not loath to use it in this way (Philem. 9). In Polycarp's day, this point probably carried yet more weight than in the first century. Certainly Ignatius makes much of his situation (e.g., *Trall.* 5. 2; 10; 12. 2), and Polycarp himself describes martyrs' chains as διαδήματα (Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1). The primary connotation of this must be glory, but this form of glory would seem likely also to imply that martyrs carried a certain authority. On the other hand, it could have the reverse effect. Chaining, and other ways in which prisoners were handled, were part of a Roman system of shaming those who broke the bounds of the social order. Several leading Philippians scholars see Paul's imprisonment as having

11 Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 160, citing various examples; S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 60.

12 Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, 160–1, citing Livy 39. 17. 4.

produced a crisis in the church's perception of his authority. On such a reading, the main theme of the letter is the demonstration that suffering and apostolic authority are compatible.[13] It could even be that, given the difference between the perceptions of Christian suffering in the first and the second centuries, Paul might feel his authority to be endangered by his chains, while Polycarp feels his authority to be endangered by his lack of chains! In fact, even in a single context, both prisoners and non-prisoners could feel compromised by which side of the prison gate they were on.

Ignatius is an important contextual factor in Polycarp's letter. The significance of Ignatius is particularly clear if the letter is a unity. Chapter 13 sees both Polycarp and the Philippians as being strongly interested in the network of correspondence initiated by Ignatius. Polycarp also asks the Philippians to write back to him about Ignatius. However, even if chapter 13 is a separate letter (with or without chapter 14), its content must still indicate what presumably was an abiding interest of both sender and recipients of the rest of Polycarp's letter. This conclusion is strongly reinforced by Ignatius' place as the first in the list of martyrs who had been seen by the Philippians (9. 1), relegating even their own members and Paul. The position of Ignatius in the list makes it likely, in turn, that he and his companions (cf. 13. 2) are the 'representations of the true love'[14] spoken of in 1. 1. In any case, the fact that we know of Ignatius' journey through Philippi, but not the journeys of others, makes it preferable to assume that his is the journey referred to, in the absence of counter-evidence. If chapters 1–12 do date from later than chapter 13, the place of Ignatius in the letter argues in favour of a date reasonably close to his martyrdom. P. N. Harrison's argument for a late date linked to Marcion seems to depend on a degree of anti-Marcionite specificity in the letter that is not actually matched by what the letter says about heresy.[15]

We will now move to the key puzzles about leadership highlighted by a comparative study of the Philippian letters of Paul and Polycarp. Why do the *ἐπίσκοποι* of Philippians disappear by the time of Polycarp's letter, and what are the implications of the lack of the expected *ἐπίσκοπος* in Philippi at that time? Why does the style and content of Polycarp's letter project such a diffident picture of leadership, so different from that projected by Paul or, indeed, Ignatius?

[13] D. Peterlin, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians in the Light of Disunity in the Church*, NovTSup 79 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), esp. 51; R. Jewett, 'Conflicting Movements in the Early Church as Reflected in Philippians', *NovT* 12 (1970), 362–71.

[14] Trans. Lightfoot, Harmer, and Holmes.

[15] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 17–25.

Episkopoi

Peter Pilhofer gives an interesting contextual reading of the surprisingly early appearance of ἐπίσκοποι in the Philippian community (Phil. 1. 1). The markedly Roman context of Philippi has a proliferation of titles for functionaries in many spheres of life. Some of these are unique to Philippi. The church there will thus have felt a cultural inclination to create structures with named posts. The title of the group in question, ἐπίσκοποι, is even rather close to that of certain *procuratores*, who are officials of one of the local cults of the Thracian Rider god.[16] Pilhofer then sees this local nomenclature as having been overtaken by the standardizing of Christian titles in the late first century. The Philippian ἐπίσκοποι become the more standard πρεσβύτεροι. The fact of appeal to Polycarp for advice suggests that there was no ἐπίσκοπος, in the second-century sense, at Philippi at the time of Polycarp's letter.[17]

This seems a reasonable reconstruction of the process that took place, although the tendency of associations everywhere in the Graeco-Roman world to create or adopt a plethora of titles makes me hesitant about linking this to Philippi in particular. What Pilhofer does is to use his knowledge of the inscriptions at Philippi to show how, at Philippi, this would be likely to take place. It is probably demonstrable elsewhere too, but at least it has been demonstrated for the town in question.

However, the disappearance of the ἐπίσκοποι and Polycarp's failure to comment on it seems to me to be part of a broader issue about Polycarp's views on bishops, views that are very striking in the context of the letters and activities of Ignatius. When Ignatius travelled through Philippi, one would imagine that he told them that they needed a bishop (cf. *Phld.* 7. 1). His letters make the place of a bishop central to the healthy functioning of a church (e.g., *Eph.* 6. 1; *Smyrn.* 8). He is deeply worried by the Syrian church being left without a bishop (*Rom.* 9. 1). It might be that, in the absence of a bishop at Philippi, Ignatius suggested that they seek oversight from Polycarp at a distance, in which case their letter to Polycarp (Pol. *Phil.* 3. 1) could even be effectively a request for him to act as a sort of bishop. This speculative line of thought gives a new dynamic to Polycarp's letter. The key question becomes the following: to what extent does the letter imply the acceptance of responsibility for episcopal oversight of the Philippians?

Even assuming that this speculation is wrong, as is likely, the question does not disappear. In a context where Ignatius is a key figure, a letter from a bishop to a church without a bishop, especially when the letter is in response to a request for advice, must involve the issue of the extent to which the

[16] Pilhofer, *Philippi I*, 142–7. [17] Ibid. 226–7.

bishop is accepting some sort of episcopal responsibility for the recipients. Polycarp's response to this issue seems to me to be a very careful one. He gives advice, as requested, but he minimizes the exercise of episcopal authority in doing so. Moreover, this response does not seem to be designed to avoid 'treading on the toes' of some other bishop. Polycarp seems to downplay the need for episcopal authority for the Philippians at all.

Polycarp gives himself no title or epithet (Ignatius uses the latter, e.g., *Eph.* heading). Polycarp makes no reference to his episcopal role in Smyrna. He associates the πρεσβύτεροι at Smyrna, as a body, with him in the writing of the letter (1. 1). The simplicity and the collegiality of the opening take away from the impression of the letter being an episcopal pronouncement. Added to this are Polycarp's expressions of diffidence, both in expressing his opinions to the Philippians at all (3. 1) and, curiously, in his scriptural knowledge (12. 1, see below).[18] He is more inclined to send his hearers to the letters of Paul (3. 2) or Ignatius (13. 2) than to assert any authority of his own. Polycarp's protestations of diffidence seem to be carried much more fully into the tone of the letter than are those of Ignatius (such as *Eph.* 3. 1).

The contrast between Polycarp and Ignatius in their calls for submission to church leaders is very striking. Ignatius repeatedly calls for submission to the bishop (e.g., *Trall.* 2), often to the bishop and the presbytery (e.g., *Eph.* 2. 2), and sometimes to bishop, presbytery, and deacons (*Phld.* 7. 1). Ignatius regards submission to the bishop as a defining characteristic of a Christian (*Magn.* 4). Calls for such submission are the most common refrain in Ignatius' letters. Polycarp, on the other hand, despite the literary opportunity presented by his use of a 'household code' form, calls the 'young men' to submission only to church leaders, in this case πρεσβύτεροις (as 1 Pet. 5. 5) and διακόνοις. No mention is made of submission to an episcopal figure, an omission that Ignatius would surely not have contemplated, whatever the current pattern of leadership at Philippi. Moreover, when Polycarp calls all to submission, it is to one another (10. 2).

The closest that Polycarp comes to talking about an ἐπίσκοπος is in using the cognate verb in his instructions to the elders. However, his use of it there is to encourage them to be ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς (6. 1). The use of the verb in such a specific sense suggests that Polycarp possibly does not commonly use the word-group in its more broad-ranging episcopal sense. The instructions to the presbyters overall seem to be aimed at controlling the use of authority rather than sustaining it (6. 1–2). The emphasis is on mercy. The

[18] On these points see also Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 177–8. Berding goes so far as to write that Polycarp 'apparently does not view himself as a singular bishop. He is one of the presbyters of Smyrna' (p. 178). However, such a flat contradiction of Ignatius' description of him (Ign. *Pol.* heading) seems unlikely.

same comes out in the instructions about Valens and his wife (esp. 11. 4), the implementation of which was presumably mainly in the hands of the presbyters. It is notable that the advice to presbyters does not include activities such as teaching.

The placing of the instructions to deacons is unexpected. They seem to be categorized among the congregation (between widows and young men) rather than with the elders. Moreover, the instructions to them seem not to relate particularly to leadership. The overlap between the lists for deacons and for widows is striking.

Polycarp greatly respects Ignatius, as do the Philippians. Polycarp acts on Ignatius' wishes about envoys going to Syria (Pol. *Phil.* 13. 1; Ign. *Pol.* 7). However, Polycarp's letter appears to encourage the Philippians to views on church leadership that differ somewhat from those of Ignatius. The first-century Philippian ἐπίσκοποι have probably become πρεσβύτεροι. Polycarp does not lead them in the direction of seeking an ἐπίσκοπος. And if the Philippians' letter to him was effectively a call for him to take up episcopal oversight at a distance, he seems effectively to have declined the request.

Leadership Styles and Self-sufficiency

These points are taken further by consideration of what Paul and Polycarp convey in their Philippian letters about style of leadership.

The main structure of Philippians is a threefold parallel between Paul, Christ, and the Philippian Christians. The patterns of Paul's action, Christ's action, and the action to which the Philippians are called have important correspondences. The letter is full of signals for the hearers to draw the parallels (1. 7, 30; 2. 5, 17–18; 3. 10, 17; 4. 9). Although a number of recent scholars have argued that the central concern of the letter is the interpretation of Paul's imprisonment, the linking signals imply that the main aim is to encourage the Philippians in facing their own situation.[19]

An implication of such a reading of Philippians is that the main idea of leadership that Paul is conveying is that of leadership by example. The leader undergoes difficulties and demonstrates how the faithful Christian should think and act in such circumstances. Paul can also use his leadership as an example with regard to issues such as missionary self-reliance and integrity (1 Thess. 2. 1–12). Polycarp does not offer himself as an example. In fact, he writes virtually nothing about himself or his activities. This again contrasts with Ignatius, who writes repeatedly about his martyrdom (as one would

[19] Oakes, *Philippians*, 103–23.

expect anyway) and makes a range of points about his attitude in the circumstances he is facing (e.g., *Smyrn.* 4. 2). He clearly expects these to carry lessons for his hearers.

Polycarp's main contention about leadership seems to be that a Christian leader should be gentle. Evidence of this has been cited above, from his own diffidence, from his advice about Valens, and from his instructions to the presbyters. In fact, the links between these three mean that Polycarp is indeed, in a way, a model of leadership. However, in contrast to Paul and Ignatius, he does not present himself as a model in his way of living, only in his way of leading.

Polycarp's gentle leadership in the letter may have a particular point, which brings us back to our earlier discussion. Polycarp's model of leadership may be aimed at encouraging self-sufficiency. Ignatius gives his opinions. Polycarp cites New Testament texts. These are texts accessible to the Philippians. They can use them themselves rather than needing help from him. He ends his letter by pressing this home.

Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris litteris et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum. Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est... (12. 1)

He then cites Eph. 4. 26 (although, as Schoedel argues, the tag 'scripture' may result from Polycarp confusing Eph. 4. 26 with Ps. 4. 5, which it cites[20]), the kind of text to which they seem to have access. Polycarp also turns his hearers to the letters of Ignatius as a source for instruction (13. 2). More forcefully, he turns them to Paul's letter to them. The positioning of that commendation, in counterpoint to Polycarp's expression of diffidence about writing (3. 2), clearly could be a kind of politeness. But it could also aim to draw attention to a key resource that they already have.

From Philippians, and possibly other of Paul's letters, Polycarp also draws commendations of the Philippians' faith (Pol. *Phil.* 1. 2; 11. 3). He sees the commendations of Paul's day as still appropriate now. Again, politeness requires expressions of praise, especially in the letter's opening. However, particularly in the case of Valens, where Polycarp's commendation of the Philippians sits alongside his apparent unwillingness to make any very definite authoritative pronouncement, my impression is that commendation is part of a strategy by Polycarp to put responsibility back on to the Philippians' shoulders.

[20] W. R. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967), 35 n. 12. Schoedel argues that Polycarp's aim here is not to assert inferiority in knowledge of Scripture. Rather, the point is that 'The Philippians are to edify themselves (11. 4b). They know the Old Testament. To instruct them in it is not Polycarp's task. All he will permit himself to do (*modo*) is to draw attention to a few key verses from the Bible.'

Polycarp does give instruction in his letter. But the way in which he does it seems designed to convey the message to the bishopless Philippians that they are able to instruct themselves.

SUFFERING

Scholars have tended to underplay the sense of danger present in the context of both Paul's and Polycarp's letters to Philippi. In each case, the initial impression of a friendly but rather rambling text has led interpreters away from seeing the letter as produced under a threatening cloud. Recent work on Paul's letter has begun to change this, with several scholars seeing suffering as a central issue in the letter.[21] The context of Polycarp's letter seems equally threatening. The theme of suffering probably needs to be more central to study of the letter than has generally been the case so far.

The theme of suffering pervades Paul's letter (Phil. 1. 7, 12–26, 28–30; 2. 6–8, 17–18, 26–30; 3. 10; 4. 12–14). The hearers are described as experiencing suffering (1. 29), and their experience is linked to the sufferings of Paul (1. 30; 2. 17–18), which are, in turn, linked to those of Christ (3. 10).[22] In Polycarp's letter, some Philippians seem to have been martyred (Pol. *Phil.* 9. 1). The letter opens by referring to the journeying martyrs, who are praised as archetypal Christians. The preliminary exhortations end with a reminder that the kingdom of God belongs to the persecuted (2. 3). The theme of righteousness (3. 1) comes to its conclusion in the call to endurance under suffering (chapters 8–9).

Context

In Paul's day the context of Christian suffering was not generally one of martyrdom. Paul may have been facing it, but the Philippians seem not to have been. By a space of at least a couple of years, the letter preceded the Neronian persecutions in Rome, and even these were specific to that city. This means that the suffering 'for the sake of Christ' that the Philippians faced (1. 29) was not an organized attack by the provincial authorities. It was something more piecemeal, more local. The possibilities range from occasional action by

[21] L. G. Bloomquist, *The Function of Suffering in Philippians*, JSNTSup 78 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); P. Holloway, *Consolation in Philippians*, SNTSMS 112 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Peterlin, *Paul's Letter.*

[22] Oakes, *Philippians*, 77–89.

city magistrates (judicial beatings, brief imprisonment) to disruption of relationships with family, friends, business associates, or customers. For each of these possibilities, the most tangible long-term effect was likely to be economic. This is true even of magistrates' action, because the continuing effects of one-off punishments would be mainly in the area of reputation, and hence in disruption of economically important relationships.[23]

This reading fits the textual evidence well. Paul writes of the Macedonian churches that

ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλίψεως ἡ περισσεία τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ κατὰ βάθους πτωχεία αὐτῶν ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτῶν (2 Cor. 8. 2)

The Philippian or the Thessalonian church, or both, is described as both suffering and poor. (Notice that willingness to give money, as the Philippians did to Paul, is not necessarily an indicator of a relatively wealthy congregation, *contra* many commentators on Philippians.) Moreover, the pattern of argument of Philippians works well in a context of economic suffering. Paul's main call is for standing firm under suffering (1. 27–30). The call is worked out in terms of unity (2. 1–4). This unity is focused on humility and considering the interests of others (2. 3–4). The call is then reinforced by a recounting of the story of Christ in a way that highlights his vast lowering of status, his obedience under suffering, and the universal extent of the authority given to him in response (2. 5–11). In a context of suffering, considering one another's interests must primarily mean the giving of practical help, economic help. Christ's fall in status and obedience under suffering offer an example that provides effective encouragement under the dangers inherent in giving economic help to fellow Christians in trouble. My reading of the statement of authority in 2. 9–11 is that, primarily, it places Christ's imperatives of unity and faithfulness above Philippian society's problematic imperatives, such as those of status-preservation and the avoidance of trouble-makers.[24]

Economic suffering is not a major theme in early Christian texts. Heb. 10. 34 talks of 'plundering of possessions'. The book of Revelation speaks of prevention of trade (Rev. 13. 17). One phase of action against Christians at Lyons was that they were 'excluded from public buildings, baths and markets' (Euseb. *HE* 5. 1). Otherwise the focus is on more dramatic forms of suffering, especially death. Second-, third-, and fourth-generation Christians did not face quite the same issues as the initial groups of converts. The first Christians needed to construct new patterns of economic interaction where some of the prior links with non-Christians had broken down. Later generations inherited an economic *modus vivendi*. However, outbreaks of

[23] Ibid. 89–96. [24] Ibid. 99–102, 175–210.

persecution, as at Lyons, must have tended to disrupt those arrangements, either by breaking more links with non-Christian society or by removing key figures from the Christian community. To take one type of case: the martyrdom of a Christian householder would usually cause long-term economic hardship for that person's dependants.

The event that we know about in Philippi in Polycarp's day is the journey of the martyrs, probably Ignatius and his companions, through the town. This must have been a public event, at least in so far as the magistrates at Philippi would have been aware of it. If the magistrates, and probably a wider group in the town, were aware of, and probably involved in, the transit of Christians who had been condemned to die and were being taken to Rome, then the situation of Christians at Philippi was likely to have been affected. Two factors make this particularly probable. The first is the size of Philippi. In a moderate-sized country town there was not the anonymity that a Christian group might expect to enjoy in Antioch or Corinth. The second is that the Philippian Christians made contact with the prisoners as they passed through Philippi (Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1). By doing so, they forcibly drew to the magistrates' attention their identity of interest with the prisoners.

In fact, by 'receiving' the prisoners and 'sending them on' (1. 1), the Philippians were probably doing what Paul had called *his* generation of Philippians to do: namely, provide practical, probably economic, help to Christians in trouble. The difficulties involved in this may be suggested by Polycarp's note that the Philippians helped the prisoners ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν (1. 1). As a result of drawing this negative attention to themselves, the Philippian Christians must have feared a deterioration in their situation in the town. It is likely that some such deterioration occurred and that Polycarp writes in that context.

Martyrdom would be a danger facing the second-century Philippian Christians. However, there was no likelihood of wholesale killing. That hardly ever happened. There would be specific danger to church leaders. More generally, a deterioration in the situation of Christians in the town probably meant harassment, either in dealings with officials or in encounters with others, or the breaking of some of the relationships that must have still existed between Christians and non-Christians. The most obvious implications of this would, as in the first-century context, be economic.

Polycarp wrote in a context where the aftermath of the martyrs' journey through Philippi must have engendered fear in the Philippian church. The fact that martyrdom was likely to be prominent in the Philippians' minds is reinforced by their request for the letters of Ignatius (13. 2), in which martyrdom is a central theme. It was also no doubt in their minds because Philippians appear, at some point, to have been martyred (9. 1). As well as increased fear, the letter implies that the Philippians are also likely to have been facing worsening relations in the town. Current persecution is suggested by 2. 3 and 12. 3. The most likely effects of persecution would again be economic. Reading Polycarp's letter in a context of economic suffering has a significant effect on its interpretation.

Love, Righteousness, and Suffering

The context of Polycarp's letter means that one would expect suffering to be a leading theme, or even the main theme. However, scholars tend to see the main focus of the letter as lying elsewhere, in ethical teaching or the issue of heresy or the problem over Valens. The reason for this is probably that suffering seems not to have a place in the letter that is structurally important: Valens (at the end) or the Household Code (in the centre) look better placed. Yet all would agree that 'righteousness' has a crucial place in the letter. I would argue that 'love' also has a crucial place, and that the co-ordination of the two terms forms the most important structure in the letter, a structure which focuses on suffering and martyrdom.

The letter opens by describing the martyrs as *τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης*, 'the representations of the true love' (1. 1).[25] Elsewhere in the letter, *ἀγάπη* is generally a human action (first of two occurrences in 2. 2; 3. 3; 4. 2; 9. 2), and it seems likely that that is the case in 1. 1 as well. The acts of the martyrs in 1. 1 demonstrate their love (whether or not they also demonstrate God's love). This then fits Polycarp's conclusion to his call in chapter 9 for the Philippians to follow the martyrs in endurance. They suffered with Christ, *οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα* (9. 2). The martyrs' love brackets a major section of the letter.

This structure is complicated by the introduction of *δικαιοσύνη* in 2. 3–4. 1. After noting that *δικαιοσύνη* is that for which Christians are persecuted (2. 3), Polycarp sets the term up as a theme for his letter (3. 1). He adverts to Paul, then to faith, which brings him to *ἀγάπη* for God, Christ, and neighbour (3. 2–3). This leads him to characterize *δικαιοσύνη* as a command which is fulfilled by *ἀγάπη* (which, in turn, protects from sin, 3. 3). *Φιλαργυρία* is then described as the beginning of all troubles (*χαλεπῶν*). The armour of *δικαιοσύνη* is commended, and the first thing to be taught is to walk in the 'command of the Lord' (4. 1), presumably the 'command of *δικαιοσύνη*' of 3. 3, which was fulfilled by *ἀγάπη*.

As noted above, except in a description relating to deacons (5. 2), the *δικαιοσύνη* terminology does not return until chapters 8–9. Then it returns

[25] Following Lightfoot, Harmer, and Holmes, *contra* Lake.

insistently, and with a very specific focus. The suffering Christ is the ἀρραβὼν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν (8. 1). The Philippians are called to imitate his endurance (8. 2). Polycarp sums up his call as being for all of them πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν (9. 1), imitating the martyrs who 'ran' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ and, as noted above, did not love the world but loved Christ (9. 2).

The explicit application of the δικαιοσύνη theme, announced in 3. 1, lies in encouraging the Philippians to ὑπομονή under suffering, following the λόγον τῆς δικαιοσύνης in imitation of the ἀρραβὼν τῆς δικαιοσύνης and of those who ran ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. This makes the issue of suffering central to the structure of the letter. This is particularly so since it also maps on to the main use of ἀγάπη. The ἐντολὴ δικαιοσύνης is fulfilled by love. The paradigms of love are the martyrs of 1. 1 and 9. 2.

Chapters 1–9 thus form a structure beginning and ending with the martyrs and their love. The theme of righteousness, introduced in the context of persecution at the end of chapter 2, may have many ramifications in issues of behaviour and belief (chapters 4–7). However, when it returns explicitly, in chapters 8–9, it, like love, concerns endurance in the face of suffering and martyrdom. My suggestion is that Polycarp, like Paul, is particularly aiming to encourage the Philippian Christians to stand firm under the threat of suffering: στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ: *in his ergo state* (Phil. 4. 1; Pol. *Phil.* 10. 1).

Suffering and the Love of Money

Polycarp does not only stress the need to love. He also stresses the need not to love. The martyrs οὐ . . . τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα (9. 2). The letter's first call to love specifies that only certain things should be loved, ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν (2. 2). This fits with Polycarp's repeated calls for people to distance themselves from certain things. The first call to action, δουλεύσατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ (2. 1), continues, ἀπολιπόντες. . . . The call to love in 2. 2 continues, ἀπεχόμενοι. The person having love μακράν ἐστιν πάσης ἁμαρτίας (3. 3). The widows are called to μακρὰν οὔσας (4. 3), the young men ἀνακόπτεσθαι (5. 3), the presbyters to be ἀπεχόμενοι (6. 1), all to be ἀπολιπόντες (7. 2). One explanation for the concentration of this kind of language could be that Polycarp was reinforcing the sharpness of the community boundaries as a way of strengthening the community as it faces suffering.[26] However, some of

[26] Harry Maier sets out the evidence on Polycarp's concern with group boundaries. Maier sees this as a strategy for handling 'the "social chaos" which resulted from the avarice of the presbyter Valens': H. O. Maier, 'Purity and Danger in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians:

the things that he calls the Philippians to avoid may be seen by him as posing more specific threats to the community.

The avoidance of φιλαργυρία is the most striking motif in the letter. Πλεονεξία and φιλαργυρία are the first specific terms in the first list of behaviour to avoid (2. 2). As noted above, the main ethical discourse begins with a condemnation of φιλαργυρία as the beginning of all χαλεπῶν (4. 1). After sins of speech, the widows are warned against φιλαργυρία (4. 3). The same pattern is followed for the deacons. Elders are called to μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας (6. 1), a wording that somewhat highlights this prohibition in the midst of a list of other things. Finally, the section on Valens includes emphatic instructions for the Philippians to avoid *avaritia* (11. 1–2), which is the word consistently used in the letter to translate φιλαργυρία.[27]

Φιλαργυρία is frequent enough to stick out to the hearer as a key issue. However, it is not allowed to become the overriding issue. Other matters often overshadow it. The two main scholarly approaches on φιλαργυρία have been to see it as primarily relating to heresy[28] or as being about Valens.[29] Although other early Christian evidence suggests the possibility of a link with heresy,[30] the issue of φιλαργυρία markedly disappears when Polycarp actually writes about heresy (chapter 7). The theory that the topic essentially relates to Valens clearly carries some weight. However, the distribution of the word suggests that φιλαργυρία also has wider ramifications in the Philippian community. Moreover, such theories tend to see Valens as the central issue in the letter. In that case φιλαργυρία would probably need to be visible as the overriding topic, which it is not.

What the martyrs loved was Christ and not τὸν νῦν . . . αἰῶνα (9. 2). In practice that meant, above all, willingness to lose life. However, not loving the present age must also have meant the martyrs not loving other goods such as prestige and wealth. As Polycarp calls the Philippians to imitate the endurance of the martyrs, he would probably expect that, for the Philippians, 'not loving this age' would particularly be lived out in terms of issues such as reputation and wealth. The need for such a warning in a context of suffering is clear. The main route to apostasy was probably through being drawn back into relational networks, economic networks, that involved some Graeco-Roman religious practice or other activity anathema to the Christians. If, as I have argued above, the main long-term form of widespread suffering in the

The Sin of Valens in Social Perspective', *JECS* 1 (1993), 229–47. The place of the martyrs in Polycarp's letter prevents me from seeing Valens as the letter's overriding focus.

[27] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1889 edn.), 2. 3. 340–1.

[28] Meinhold, P., 'Polykarpos', *PRE* 21. 2, 1686–7.

[29] Maier, 'Purity and Danger'.

[30] See the helpful discussion in Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 106–8.

Philippian church was economic, then a call to avoid φιλαργυρία would be an important element of a call for the Christians to stand firm under suffering.[31]

Such a theory would account for the prominent, but not overwhelmingly dominant, place of φιλαργυρία in the letter. Other issues also needed to be addressed as part of Polycarp's call to stand firm, but φιλαργυρία was the one that seems to have struck him most often. The problem over Valens must have contributed to this, but it did not determine it. One possibility about Valens is that he had compromised his Christianity to escape economic suffering. In Paul's letter, my preference for interpreting those ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία (Phil. 3. 19) is in this direction. Such people could also be the 'enemies of the cross' (Phil. 3. 18 and Pol. *Phil.* 12. 3).[32]

Both Paul and Polycarp call the Philippian Christians to 'stand firm'. Both do this in a context of suffering. In each case, economic suffering, which is a likely component of the situation, would relate in a specific way to prominent features of the letter.

CONCLUSIONS

Comparison of the Philippian letters of Paul and Polycarp raises surprising issues. The disappearance of the Philippian ἐπίσκοποι between the two letters becomes a major issue given the Ignatian context of Polycarp's writing. Contrasting Polycarp's leadership style with the styles of both Paul and Ignatius sharpens the issue. Polycarp's explicit encouragement of the Philippians to study Paul's letter, and the way in which his use of New Testament and other texts implicitly calls them to use the resources that they have available, suggests that Polycarp wants the bishopless Philippian community to be self-sufficient and not to seek oversight from elsewhere, including him.

The two letters share a context of suffering. Consideration of the structure of each letter suggests that suffering was, in each case, a major theme. Study of the historical context of Paul's day suggests that, where Christians were suffering for their faith, the main long-term effects of this were economic. Indications in Paul's letter to Philippi fit this scenario. Although second-century Christianity

[31] Hartog has an interesting alternative route to link φιλαργυρία and suffering. He sees Polycarp's main concern as being to discourage revenge against Valens, whose φιλαργυρία has brought them suffering: they are called to patient endurance and non-retaliation in this situation (ibid. 138–45). I agree that this is an important aim for Polycarp. However, much of the retaliation and endurance material in the letter is in the context of persecution and martyrdom, rather than in relation to problems caused by Valens.

[32] Oakes, *Philippians*, 106, 111.

had a more developed economic system than did the first generation, the crisis relating to the martyrs' journey through Philippi means that the Philippian church probably faced fresh difficulties. Again, the most widespread component of this was likely to be economic. Such a context makes sense of the interaction between the themes of love, righteousness, and martyrdom in Polycarp's letter. It also offers an explanation for the surprisingly prominent, but not dominant, place of φιλαργυρία in the letter.

APPENDIX: DID POLYCARP VISIT PHILIPPI? THE TRANSLATION OF *IN PRAESENTI* (POL. *PHIL.* 14)

For a contextual reading of Polycarp's letter, it is clearly important to consider the nature of his prior contact with the Philippian church. His letter shows that there had been some previous interaction.[33] This certainly could have included face-to-face contact, either through a Philippian deputation going to Smyrna or through a visit by Polycarp to Philippi. Whether the letter gives positive evidence of such face-to-face contact depends on the solution to one of the most long-standing puzzles in the interpretation of the letter. The crux is the first sentence of chapter 14: *Haec vobis scripsi per Crescentem, quem in praesenti commendavi vobis et nunc commendo.* J. B. Lightfoot is very forthright about this: 'Looking at the authorities, there can be no doubt that this should be adopted as the reading of the Latin Version. But as it makes no sense it must be a mistranslation.'[34] Hartog expresses the issue succinctly: 'If the Latin were correct, we would read, "I have written this to you by Crescens, whom I commended to you *now*, and now commend again" '.[35]

Lightfoot and Schoedel each offer a solution to this by arguing that the Latin translator has misrepresented the Greek. They then give translations of the suggested underlying Greek. Lightfoot suggests ἄρτι, to be rendered as 'recently'.[36] Schoedel suggests ἐν τῷ παρέλθοντι, to be rendered as 'in the past', with the Latin translator having misread the Greek as ἐν τῷ πάροντι.[37] As well as the great uncertainties involved in working back to the Greek (especially in Schoedel's case), each of these solutions has the problem of still leaving the Latin translator producing what is, in their eyes, nonsensical Latin. Walter Bauer is less dogmatic about the incomprehen-

[33] Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 78–81.
[34] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 349.
[35] Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 79, emphasis original.
[36] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 349–50, 476.
[37] Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 41.

sibility of the Latin, merely describing *in praesenti* as 'dunkel'. However, he follows the same route of translating a supposed underlying Greek phrase, in this case not a temporal one (as Lightfoot and Schoedel) but a locative one, which Lake follows in rendering the clause as 'Crescens, whom I commended to you when present, and now commend again'.[38]

The tradition of scholarship on the word *praesens* is helpfully set out in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.[39] The main meanings of the word are locative, about being at the scene in question. Presumably by extension, there are a range of further meanings, especially temporal ones. The phrase *in praesenti* occurs under three categories. Cicero uses it to mean 'imminent': *in praesenti metu mortis* (Cic. *Caec.* 31). Scribonius Largus uses it to mean 'at the scene of action', 'on the spot': *compositiones non solum quas desiderasti, verum etiam si quas alias expertas in praesenti habui, in hunc librum contuli* (Scribonius Largus, pr. p. 5, l. 18). This is categorized as a version of the commoner expression, *in re praesenti.* Finally, a number of textually disputed passages use *in praesenti* to mean 'for the present', 'temporarily', e.g., *hoc et in praesenti tollit dolorem et in futurem remediat* (Scribonius Largus, 162). Of these options, neither of the temporal ones could work in Pol. *Phil.* 14. Only the locative sense, 'on the spot', looks possible. However, the unusual example from Scribonius Largus does not provide a substantial basis for a judgement about the Polycarp passage. The evidence is very scanty.

The online availability of Duke University's *Databank of Documentary Papyri*[40] has recently opened up the early medieval evidence for easier scrutiny. The Duke databank provides a searchable text of J.-O. Tjäder's *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700.*[41] In these papyri, *in praesenti* is a very common technical phrase used in the formal witnessing of transactions

...*vendatoribus, ipsis praesentibus testis superscripsi, et suprascriptum pretium [a]uri s[olidos] centum decem et in praesenti adnumeratos et traditos vidi.* (*P. Ital.* 30, ll. 90–1, Ravenna, AD 539)

...*pretium quadraginta solidos ei in praesenti traditos vidi, et mei praesentia signum fecit.* (*P. Ital.* 31, l. 15, Ravenna, AD 540)

Iulianus, forensis civitatis Ravennatis, scriptor huius documenti sex unciarum fundi Geniciani cum casale, sicut superius legitur, a testibus roboratum et traditum in praesenti complevi et absolvi. (*P. Ital.* 36, ll. 59–61, Ravenna, AD 575–91)

Ioannes, domesticus numeri Dacorum, huic chartulae a die praesenti donationis de suprascripta omnia immobilia praedia, quae sunt territorio Agubio, seu intro civitate seu [f]oris

[38] Lake, following W. Bauer, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief*, HNT, Die Apostolischen Väter, 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920), 298. Bauer does not specify the underlying Greek.

[39] P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, vi: *Pactus–Qualitercumque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 1439–40.

[40] This is now available for searching by means of the Perseus web-site.

[41] J.-O. Tjäder (ed.), *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, Pt. 1 (Lund: Gleerup, 1955), Pt. 2 (Stockholm: Gleerup, 1982). Some of the Latin spelling below has been normalized.

civitate, ubi ubi ei competit, factae ab Istefano magn[ifico] graeco illustrio in sancta subscripsit, ipso praesente testis subscripsi, et hanc donationem in praesenti [ac]toribus sanctae ecclesiae Ravennatis traditam vidi. (*P. Ital.* 18–19, fr. B, ll. 28–34, Rome, ? seventh century)

The texts are official evidence of purchases or donations. The thirty-seven instances of *in praesenti* span most of the period of Tjäder's collection. The main group are from Ravenna, but others are from as far away as Syracuse (*P. Ital.* 10–11). The function of *in praesenti* in these documents is clear. It is a phrase recording the fact that the transaction took place with the parties to the transaction, and the scribe, present.[42] It was a face-to-face transaction.

The meaning is further clarified in an important current project edited by O. Weijers and M. Gumbert-Hepp, the *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*. The Dutch manuscripts use *in praesenti* in either of two senses. One is temporal: 'of the time', 'now', 'in this life'. The other is the locative one that we saw in the Italian manuscripts. The editors give this as *in eigen persoon, aanwezig* or, in Latin, *praesens (ipse), personaliter*. They give examples from witnessed documents. They also quote a manuscript from Utrecht (AD 937): *consiliantibus nobis episcopis, qui tunc in praesenti erant.*[43] The *tunc* clearly shows that, in this case, *in praesenti* is locative rather than temporal.

Writers such as Lightfoot knew medieval Latin texts. A glance through the many occurrences of *in praesenti* in the *Cetedoc CD-Rom Library of Christian Latin Texts*[44] shows that, overwhelmingly, the use of the phrase is to describe the present, in contrast to the future. It is no surprise that Lightfoot saw this as the sense of the word even if he considered medieval evidence. Most dictionaries of medieval Latin go down this kind of temporal route.[45] However, Souter does spot the locative possibility, and even offers a suggested Greek equivalent, κατὰ πρόσωπον.[46]

Since a locative meaning of *in praesenti* is quite possible in the early medieval period, this looks to be the sense in Pol. *Phil.* 14. (It is also a piece of evidence for an

[42] Tjäder's translations vary rather more than is helpful for what is clearly a technical term. *In praesenti* is represented by *bar* ('in cash': ... *und ich habe gesehen, dass der obengenannte Preis vierzig Solidi ihm bar übergeben worden ist; P. Ital.* 31) or *vor meinen Augen* ('before my eyes': ... *in seiner Gegenwart als Zeuge unterschreiben und ich habe vor meinen Augen gesehen, dass diese Schenkung an die Vertreter der heiligen ravennatischen Kirche übergeben worden ist; P. Ital.* 18–19), or even *sofort* ('at once': ... *wie oben zu lesen ist, habe ich nach der Bekräftigung durch die Zeugen und nach der Übergabe sofort gefertigt und ausgehändigt; P. Ital.* 36). However, the point in each case is that the scribe witnessed the transaction with the parties present. I am grateful to my colleague, Michael Hoelzl, for a helpful discussion on this.

[43] Chart. *Trai.* 102 p. 106 = *Oorkonkendboek van het sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, ed. S. Muller Fzn, A. C. Bouman, K. Heeringa, and F. Ketner (The Hague, 1920–59), cited in O. Weijers and M. Gumbert-Hepp, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, vi: 'P' (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 842–3.

[44] P. Tombeur (ed.), *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts*, 4th edn. (Turnholt: Brepols, 2000).

[45] A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1975); J. F. Niermayer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

[46] A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 AD* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), citing *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.* 31 (1), 198–9.

early medieval date for the Latin translation of the letter.) It seems that Polycarp commended Crescens when Polycarp was with the Philippian Christians. I would suggest translating the key words as 'Crescens, whom I commended to you face to face'. This might have happened on a visit by a representative group of Philippians to Smyrna. However, since Polycarp's letter is to the church as a whole, the commendation probably took place during a visit by him to Philippi.

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The Opponents of Polycarp, *Philippians*, and 1 John

Paul A. Hartog

The 1905 Oxford Society of Historical Theology classified the possible use of 1 John in Polycarp's *Philippians* with a 'C' rating, meaning that they thought there was a 'lower degree of probability' that Polycarp's letter to the Philippians used 1 John.[1] Some scholars have expressed similar uncertainty.[2] For example, S. E. Johnson labelled the possibility of dependence as 'doubtful',[3] and H. F. von Campenhausen dismissed the parallels between 1 John and Polycarp's letter as a typical 'kirchliche Parole im Kampf gegen die kleinasiatische Gnosis'.[4] However, many other scholars have disagreed with the Oxford Society's assessment.[5] G. Strecker asserted that Polycarp 'no doubt' uses 1 John 4. 2–3.[6] J. Painter agreed that Polycarp's letter is 'almost certainly' dependent

[1] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. iii, 100, 137.

[2] Kleist expressed some uncertainty (J. A. Kleist, *The Didache; The Epistle of Barnabas; The Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp; The Fragments of Papias; The Epistle to Diognetus*, ACW (Westminster: Newman Press, 1948), 192 n. 53). Schoedel maintained that parallels did 'not necessarily point to a literary relationship' (W. R. Schoedel, 'Polycarp, Epistle of', in *ABD* v. 390–2). See also F. X. Gokey, *The Terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 90–2.

[3] S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels between the Letters of Ignatius and the Johannine Epistles', in E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing (eds.), *Perspectives in Language and Text* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 327–38, on p. 329. Cf. ibid. 338.

[4] H. F. von Campenhausen, *Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1951), 40–1.

[5] B. Dehandschutter, 'Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians: An Early Example of "Reception" ', in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 275–91, on p. 284. W. von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Gießen: A. Töpelmann, 1932), 23. É. Massaux considered 'literary contact' to be 'beyond doubt' (É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, ed. A. J. Bellinzoni (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990), i. 34). Cf. B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 62.

[6] G. Strecker, *The Johannine Epistles*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), p. xxix.

on the Johannine Epistles.[7] P. N. Harrison concluded that dependence is 'highly probable' and 'practically certain'.[8] The question of Polycarp's use of 1 John centres on Pol *Phil.* 7, a passage that discusses theological opponents. This present study will examine Pol. *Phil.* 7 in its context, address the issue of possible dependence, draw some textual conclusions, and sound an important word of caution.

SETTING THE STAGE

Polycarp's letter to the Philippians is a paraenetic letter.[9] The prescript contains the epistolary address, and 1. 1–3 includes a thanksgiving. The exordium is found in 2. 1 and states: 'Therefore prepare for action and serve God in fear and truth, leaving behind (ἀπολιπόντες) the empty and meaningless talk of the error of the crowd (τῶν πολλῶν).'[10] The credal material that follows probably contrasts 'the error of the crowd' with true belief. True belief concerns the resurrection and exaltation of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is returning as Judge. The theme of the letter ('righteousness') is introduced in chapter 3.[11] Pol. *Phil.* 4. 2–6. 1 includes a series of *Haustafeln.*

Polycarp stresses the certainty of future judgement within his moral paraenesis. In fact, A. Bovon-Thurneysen argues that eschatological judgement has become the basis of Polycarp's ethics.[12] Immediately after the exordium, Pol. *Phil.* 2. 1 asserts that all things in heaven and on earth have been subjected to the risen Jesus Christ, 'who is coming as Judge of the living and the dead'.[13]

[7] J. Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2002), 41. See also J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, KAV 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 57; W. Bauer, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief*, HNT, Die Apostolischen Väter, 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920), 290–1.

[8] P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 300.

[9] In a forthcoming volume, M. W. Holmes contends that Pol. *Phil.* combines elements from the paraenetic letter, the letter of advice, and the letter of admonition. He agrees, though, that the primary genre is the paraenetic letter.

[10] Translations come from M. W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, rev. edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1999). Although 'vanity and error' could be used by Christian writers to refer to idolatry or worldliness, in other places (including here) they refer to heresy (see W. R. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martydom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967), 11–12; cf. Pol. *Phil.* 7. 2).

[11] Polycarp himself states that the theme of his epistle is 'righteousness', and that he was asked to write about 'righteousness' (3. 1). Berding goes further and repeatedly claims that Polycarp was asked to write 'as Paul did': K. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, VCSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[12] A. Bovon-Thurneysen, 'Ethik und Eschatologie im Philipperbrief des Polykarp von Smyrna', *TZ* 29 (1973), 241–56.

[13] Polycarp's emphasis upon resurrection and judgement in 2. 1–2 suggests that the opponents denied these (Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 11; cf. Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1–2).

In the remainder of Pol. *Phil.* 2, Polycarp transforms the theme of judgement into a warning not to judge others (2. 3; cf. 6. 1).

Within the *Haustafeln* series, Polycarp reminds the widows that God is omniscient, and 'nothing escapes him, whether thoughts or intentions or secrets of the heart' (4. 3). Polycarp's moral rationale is succinctly stated in 5. 1. The omniscient character of God becomes his basis: 'Knowing, therefore, that God is not mocked'.[14] The application follows logically: 'we ought to live in a manner that is worthy of his commandment and glory.' On the positive side, 'If we please him in this present world, we will receive the world to come' and will reign with him (5. 2). On the negative side, those who practise various iniquities will not inherit the kingdom of God (5. 3).[15] Polycarp's argument continues: 'Therefore (*διό*), one must keep away from all these things' (5. 3).

Polycarp returns to the theme of the omniscient God in 6. 2: 'For we are in full view of the eyes of the Lord and God' (cf. 7. 2). The subtext of future judgement then comes to the fore again: 'And we must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and each one must give an account of himself.' Pol. *Phil.* 6. 3 exhorts the readers to serve God 'with fear and all reverence'.[16] This duty was proclaimed by the prophets, the apostles, and the Lord himself (6. 3). Readers were to avoid those who tempt others to sin (*σκανδάλων*) and 'false brothers who bear the name of the Lord hypocritically'. These false brothers 'lead foolish men astray' (6. 3). One notices that Polycarp responds more strongly to the false teachers who lead others astray (*ἀποπλανῶσι* in 6. 3) than to those followers who have been led astray (*ἀποπεπλανημένα* in 6. 1).

Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 gets to the heart of the issue. We find that Polycarp is worried about 'the many' who may attempt to deny true belief, including the return of Jesus Christ as Judge (7. 1). Of course, such a denial of future judgement would undermine Polycarp's moral exhortation. The passage is structured around three statements and three labels. An opponent is one who (1) does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh; (2) does not acknowledge the testimony of the cross; and (3) twists the sayings of the Lord to suit his own desires and claims that there is neither resurrection nor judgement. Such a one is labelled as (1) 'antichrist', (2) 'of the devil', and (3) 'the first-born of Satan'.

Pol. *Phil.* 7. 2 returns to the same language as the exordium. 'Therefore let us leave behind (*ἀπολιπόντες*) the worthless speculation of the crowd

[14] Cf. Gal. 6. 7. Polycarp introduces various traditional materials with 'knowing (therefore) that' (*εἰδότες* (*οὖν*) *ὅτι*). See 1. 3; 4. 1; 5. 1; 6. 1.

[15] Berding finds a dependence on 1. Cor 6. 9–10 alone in this statement (Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 78–80). But having just alluded to Gal. 5. 17, Polycarp may employ Gal. 5. 19–21 as a bridge to 1 Cor. 6. 9–10.

[16] Cf. the exhortation to serve God with 'fear and truth' in the exordium of 2. 1.

(τῶν πολλῶν) and their false teachings.' One recognizes the repetition of the thought of 2. 1: 'Leaving behind (ἀπολιπόντες) the empty and meaningless talk and error of the crowd (τῶν πολλῶν)'. Instead, readers are to 'return' (ἐπιστρέψωμεν) unto the 'word delivered to us from the beginning' (7. 2).[17] Polycarp exhorted the Philippians to 'be self-controlled with respect to prayer and persevere in fasting' (7. 2). They are to 'hold steadfastly and unceasingly to our hope and the guarantee of our righteousness, who is Christ Jesus' (8. 1).

POLYCARP'S CONCERN ABOUT JUDGEMENT

Based upon this overview, I would argue that a key point of contention with the opponents is found in the last of the three statements in 7. 1. The false teachers denied a future resurrection and judgement. In the context of Polycarp's letter this was a crucial flaw, since Polycarp's moral exhortation was founded largely upon such eschatological judgement (including the central case of Valens in 11. 1–2). In Polycarp's mind, their denials opened the door to sinful desires.

Polycarp accuses the opponents of 'twisting' the Lord's λόγια to fit their own ἐπιθυμίαι. Some have questioned whether Polycarp refers to 'sinful lusts' or more neutral 'wishes'.[18] However, Polycarp clearly uses ἐπιθυμία in the sense of 'sinful desire' earlier in 5. 3, a passage addressed to the younger men. They were 'to be cut off from the sinful desires (ἐπιθυμιῶν) in the world, because every sinful desire (ἐπιθυμία) wages war against the spirit'.[19] The context of 7. 1 also indicates unrighteous desires.

What might 'twisting the sayings of the Lord' mean in 7. 1? These 'sayings' (λόγια) of the Lord may be dominical oracles or gospel traditions.[20] Although some have seen a Marcionite removal of texts in the verb μεθοδεύειν,[21]

[17] Polycarp had earlier urged the presbyters to turn back (ἐπιστρέφοντες) those who had gone astray (ἀποπεπλανημένα) (*Phil.* 6. 1).

[18] M. Staniforth translates ἐπιθυμία as 'wishes' in Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 (*Early Christian Writings* (London: Penguin, 1968), 121). The verb ἐπιθυμοῦσιν is used in a positive way in Pol. *Phil.* 1. 3.

[19] Cf. the use of ἐπιθυμίαι for 'sinful desires' in Ign. *Pol.* 4–5.

[20] Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 24.

[21] Koester believes that Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 refers to Marcion's revised edition of Luke (H. Koester, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, ii (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 307). Harrison hypothesized that Marcion 'twisted' Scripture before arriving in Rome (based upon Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1), but later excised texts (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 180). For a rebuttal of the view that Marcion is addressed here, see P. Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, WUNT 2.134 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002), 89–105.

W. R. Schoedel argues for the common meaning of 'twisting' or 'manipulating'.[22] According to Polycarp, the opponents misused the materials in order to please their own ἐπιθυμίαι or 'lusts' and claimed that 'there is neither resurrection nor judgment'.[23] Perhaps the opponents believed in an 'over-realized' eschatology that denied any future resurrection and judgement.[24]

Judgement, then, serves as a link between the ethical exhortation in Polycarp's letter (including Valens's greed in 11. 1–2) and the denouncement of the false teachers (7. 1–2). Maier sees no 'explicit connection' (if any) between these two topics: 'the twin problems of heresy and avarice stand side by side with no attempt at integration'.[25] On the other hand, P. Meinhold viewed the two as closely connected, since he conjectured that Valens had accepted a donation from the heretic Marcion.[26] Schoedel postulated a looser connection, believing that 'the two issues were more or less separate in the letter from the Philippians'. He suggested that Valens was an 'embarrassment to the orthodox cause'.[27] Previously I adopted and modified Schoedel's view, asserting that the Valens case manifested a communal weakness which might also be vulnerable to false teaching.[28] But this current study stresses a further connection: the moral exhortation (including the Valens affair) is largely founded upon the incentive of a future judgement, and this

[22] Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 24. 'Die Worte des Herrn "verdrehen, umbiegen" bedeutet sicher, Jesusworte der Evangelien umdeuten' (J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, 59; cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3. 3. 6; Clem. *Strom.* 3. 4. 39. 2). Tertullian speaks of those like Valentinus and Marcion, who corrupt Scripture *detractione, vel adiectione vel transmutatione* (Tert., *De praescr. haeret.* 38). See C. E. Hill, 'The *Epistula Apostolorum*: An Asian Tract from the Time of Polycarp', *JECS* 7 (1999), 1–53, on pp. 25–9. Hill believes that the logia in Pol. *Phil.* 7.1 were most likely written Scriptures, and he asserts that Cerinthus is the opponent who best fits the passage.

[23] The connection between wrong belief and immoral ethics was a common manoeuvre in early Christian polemics. See L. T. Johnson, 'The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic', *JBL* 108 (1989), 419–41, on pp. 428–34.

[24] Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 18. *2 Clem.* 9. 1 succinctly exhorts: 'And let none of you say that the flesh is not judged and does not rise again.' Cf. J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, 59: 'Wenn die Gnostiker beispielsweise vom Gericht sprechen, stellt dieses für sie nur das Vorhandensein des rettenden Lichtfunkens fest und bringt die Vernichtung der Finsternis. . . . Solche gnostische Christen behaupteten, daß die Auferstehung schon geschehen sei, insofern nämlich die "Befreiung der Seele" durch die Erkenntnis als ein Akt der "Auferstehung von den Toten" (= Unwissenden) interpretiert wurde.'

[25] H. O. Maier, 'Purity and Danger in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians: The Sin of Valens in Social Perspective', *JECS* 1 (1993), 229–47, on p. 229.

[26] P. Meinhold, 'Polykarpos,' in *PE* 21.2. 1662–93, on pp. 1686–7.

[27] Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 17.

[28] 'Even as the leaders had failed to refrain from avarice, there was the possibility that they might refrain from combating heresy. (Notice the flow of thought in *Phil* 6. 1–7. 2). The failure of leadership at Philippi led to social chaos, and the social chaos created a vulnerability to false teaching' (Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 108).

judgement is denied by the false teachers. This position brings the material against the doctrinal opponents more into the main thrust of the paraenetic letter.[29]

THE POSSIBLE USE OF 1 JOHN

We now return to the opening considerations of the 1905 Oxford Society. Does Pol. *Phil.* use 1 John?[30] The first sentence in Pol. *Phil.* 7 .1 states: *Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν.* The language of this sentence is similar to 1 John 4. 2b–3a: *Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ του ἀντιχρίστου.*[31] The Johannine Epistles are the only New Testament documents that employ the label 'antichrist' (1 John 2. 18; 2. 22; 4. 3; 2 John 7), and Polycarp is the only other early Christian author to use it as well.[32] Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1a appears to be a 'compressed citation' of 1 John 4. 2–3.[33] D. R. Stuckwisch

[29] Pol. *Phil.* 2. 1 already (briefly) opposed false teachers within a context of future resurrection and judgement. 'Deshalb muß er auch gegen den Doketismus Front machen, der durch die Leugnung der Realität des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu seiner Auffassung der Gerechtigkeit die Grundlage entzieht' (P. Steinmetz, 'Polykarp von Smyrna über die Gerechtigkeit', *Hermes*, 100 (1972), 63–75, on p. 74). One could add that the 'future judgment' was a key ingredient of Polycarp's exhortation on righteousness that the opponents denied.

[30] Stuckwisch compares Polycarp's frequent comments about the 'Truth' with 1 John 3. 18–19 (Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1; 2. 1; 3. 2; 4. 2; 5. 2). He also compares 'walking in the truth' in 1 John 4–6 with Pol. *Phil.* 2. 2; 4. 1; 5. 2; and states that Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1 is reminiscent of 3 John 5–8 (D. R. Stuckwisch, 'Saint Polycarp of Smyrna: Johannine or Pauline Figure', *CTQ* 61 (1997), 113–25, on p. 120). But these parallels are rather ordinary in the first case and inexact and tenuous in the latter cases. Harrison lists various parallels between 1 John and Polycarp's letter apart from these in 7. 1 (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 300). I find Harrison's other parallels to be inconsequentially weak. The footnotes in Schoedel's translation highlight the following possible parallels (though Schoedel does not argue that they necessarily reveal any dependency): 1 John 4. 6 and 2 John 7 (Pol. *Phil.* 2. 1); 1 John 2. 17 (2. 2); 1 John 1. 7; 2. 29; 3. 9–11 (3. 3); 1 John 2. 6, 4. 11; 2 John 6 (5. 1); 3 John 4 (5. 2); 1 John 2. 16 (5. 3); 1 John 3. 8; 4. 3; 2 John 7 (7. 1); 1 John 4. 9 (8. 1); 3 John 8 (10. 1).

[31] The 1905 Oxford Society rated the use of 1 John 4. 2–3; 3. 8; and 2 John 7 in Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 as 'c'. The only other parallel they discussed was the possible use of 1 John 4. 8, 16, in Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1, which they rated as 'd' (*NTAF*, 100). I would consider this latter dependence unlikely.

[32] For brief reviews of *ἀντίχριστος* in early Christianity, see Strecker, *Johannine Epistles*, 236–41; Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 210–11.

[33] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 91. Strecker calls it an 'indirect citation' (*Johannine Epistles*, p. xxix). Harrison refers to it as a 'conscious allusion' (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 300). J. B. Bauer labels it 'eine vereinfachte Textform von 1 Joh 4,2f.' (*Die Polykarpbriefe*, 57). The repetition of 'spirit' is key in the context of 1 John 3. 24–4. 6, but it is unnecessary and therefore missing in Pol. *Phil.* 7.

labels this passage 'The most remarkable "quotation" of any book of the New Testament in Polycarp's epistle'.[34]

The formulation of Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 is also similar to 2 John 7: *ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος.* But Polycarp's placement of the phrase *ἐν σαρκί* before the verb *ἐληλυθέναι* may point to 1 John 4. 2 rather than 2 John 7. The use of the perfect tense in *ἐληλυθέναι* would also tend to lead one toward 1 John 4. 2–3 (*ἐληλυθότα*) rather than 2 John 7 (*ἐρχόμενον*).[35] If one concedes that Polycarp uses 1 John 4. 2–3, then the use of 2 John 7 seems unnecessary.[36]

The second statement asserts: *Καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν.* The phrase *ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου* is found in 1 John 3. 8, and this would appear to be a probable allusion.[37] K. Berding further notes that 'the testimony of the cross' may be reminiscent of 1 John 5. 6–9.[38] However, he acknowledges that because of 'the lack of closer verbal links', the reminiscence 'cannot be considered more than possible'.[39] Direct dependence is difficult to prove, especially since it is possible that Polycarp is combining Johannine and Ignatian thought.[40]

The third statement affirms: 'and whoever twists the sayings of the Lord to suit his own sinful desires and claims that there is neither resurrection nor

[34] Stuckwisch, 'Saint Polycarp', 120.

[35] Strecker, *Johannine Epistles*, p. xxix.

[36] See R. M. Grant, *The Formation of the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 104–5; K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, LCL (London: William Heinemann, 1912), i. 292; Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 173. H-J. Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, EKK 23.1 (Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1991), 17. Harrison concluded that the possible echoes of 2 and 3 John in Pol. *Phil.* were 'faint and inconclusive' (*Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 300–1). But cf. R. E. Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB 30 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 9: 'Overall Polycarp is closer to II John, although the word order of the phrase "in the flesh" is closer to I John.' Campenhausen believed that the language in Pol. *Phil.* and the Johannine Epistles derives from a common anti-Gnostic tradition (Campenhausen, *Polykarp*).

[37] Strecker, *Johannine Epistles*, p. xxix; Dehandschutter, 'Polycarp's Epistle', 284; H. J. Bardsley, 'The Testimony of Ignatius and Polycarp to the Writings of St. John', *JTS* 14 (1913), 218; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 90–1; cf. J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, 59. For the full sense of *τοῦ διαβόλου* as parentage, see 1 John 3. 8–10.

[38] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 90; S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels', 332. Schoedel refers to the 'tenuous parallel' (*Polycarp*, 23).

[39] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 90.

[40] Cf. the 'cross' in Ign. *Smyrn.* 1; *Phld.* 8; *Eph.* 18. Ignatius refers to the 'blood' in *Trall.* 8. 1; *Phld.* praescr.; *Smyrn.* 1. 1; 6. 1; 12. 2. Carson categorizes six views of the 'water' and the 'blood' in 1 John 5. 6–8 (D. A. Carson, 'The Three Witnesses and the Eschatology of 1 John', in T. E. Schmidt and M. Silva (eds.), *To Tell the Mystery*, JSNTSup 100 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 216–32). See additional possibilities in M. C. de Boer, 'Jesus the Baptizer: 1 John 5:5–8 and the Gospel of John', *JBL* 107 (1988), 87–106; R. Winterbotham, 'The Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood', *Expositor*, 8 (1911), 62–71; M. Miguens, 'Tres Testigos: Espiritu, Agua, Sangre', *SBFLA* 22 (1972), 74–94.

judgment—well, that person is the first-born of Satan'. Strecker states that the word ἐπιθυμίας seems to be borrowed from 1 John.[41] However, Polycarp uses the term elsewhere in the letter, and a direct literary dependence is not necessary. Berding argues that the phrase 'first-born of Satan' may have come from 1 John 3. 12, since that text mentions Cain being 'of the evil one'.[42] However, direct reliance is difficult to prove because the verbal similarity is inexact. N. A. Dahl demonstrates that the label 'firstborn of Satan' probably originated in Jewish sources as an application to Cain (cf. Gen. 4. 1). It was later applied in various polemical contexts.[43]

Although Berding's references to 1 John in Pol. *Phil.* 7 end at 7. 1, one may continue into 7. 2. The next sentence refers to 'the word delivered to us from the beginning'. Berding compares this phrase with Jude 3 and *1 Clem.* 19. 2. In light of Berding's inclination toward 'clusters', one wonders if 1 John 1. 1–3 may be a more likely possible source.[44] Painter notes that the 'Word' that is from the beginning in *Pol. Phil.* 7. 2 'echoes' 1 John.[45] 'From the beginning' may also be compared with 1 John 2. 7, 24; 3. 11.[46] Thus, Pol. *Phil.* 7. 2 may be a final possible reminiscence of 1 John, especially 1 John 1. 1–3.

Berding accuses the Oxford Society of inconsistency.[47] They rated Polycarp's use of 1 John as 'C' ('lower degree of probability'); yet they added: 'The numerous coincidences of language render it probable that Polycarp either used 1 John or was personally acquainted with its author.'[48] Berding finds inconsistency between the 'lower degree of probability' of the 'C' rating and the word 'probable' in the Society's latter statement. Yet the crux of the latter quote is that it is 'probable' that Polycarp '*either* used 1 John *or* was personally acquainted with its author' (italics added). In other words, the Oxford Society was open to the possibility of an oral/personal dependency rather than a

41 Strecker, *Johannine Epistles*, p. xxix.

42 Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 91: 'It is possible that since Polycarp's first label is drawn from 1 John 4:3 and his second label is probably drawn from 1 John 3:8 that 1 John 3:12 provides the link to his first <*sic*: third> label'. See also Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, 200.

43 N. A. Dahl, 'Der erstgeborene Satans und der Väter des Teufels (Polyk 7:1 und Joh 8:44)', in W. Eltester and F. H. Kettler (eds.), *Apophoreta*: *Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen,* BZNW 30 (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1964), 70–84. Dahl thinks the label lies behind John 8. 44 as well.

44 Cf. Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, ch. 4. Berding seems to downplay the non-Pauline clusters. The cluster of 1 Peter material in Pol. *Phil.* 8. 1–2 is not addressed in the chapter, and 1 Pet. 2. 24 does not appear in the foundational chart on p. 148 (cf. pp. 94–5).

45 Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 41. Staniforth translates λόγος in 7. 2 as a personified 'Word' (*Early Christian Writings*, 122). Clearly 'Hope' and 'Pledge' are personalized in Pol. *Phil.* 8 (cf. Ign. *Trall.* prescript, 2; Ign. *Smyrn.* 10; 1 Tim. 1. 1).

46 Stuckwisch, 'Saint Polycarp', 120. Cf. the 'faith' which 'has been delivered' in Pol. *Phil.* 3. 2 and 4. 2. Brown draws attention to the difference of prepositions between 1 John and Pol. *Phil.* (Brown, *Epistles of John*, 9), but Polycarp regularly changed prepositions in his allusions.

47 Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 89 n. 195.

48 *NTAF*, 100.

literary dependency. Berding's stated methodology would appear to favour literary dependencies.[49] Yet one should not dismiss the possibility of oral dependence out of hand.[50] For example, the question of oral transmission versus literary reliance is well known in the case of Gospel traditions and materials.[51]

Nevertheless, literary dependence on 1 John should be rated as 'almost certain'.[52] First, the quantity of verbal similarities between Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 and 1 John 4. 2–3 warrants this conclusion: *πᾶς* with the relative pronoun, *ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν*, *ἐν σαρκί*, the perfect tense *ἐληλυθέναι*, and *ἀντίχριστος*.[53] Second, the distinctive nature of *ἀντίχριστος* (found only in the Johannine Epistles and Polycarp's letter within early Christian literature) points to reliance. Third, the density of parallels clustered in Pol. *Phil.* 7 leans one toward dependence on 1 John. The passage includes an almost certain condensed citation of 1 John 4. 2–3, a probable allusion to 1 John 3. 8, and a possible reminiscence of 1 John 1. 1–3 (see also 1 John 5. 6–8).[54]

Some may wonder if these similarities might actually reveal a reliance of 1 John upon Polycarp. However, the evidence points in the opposite direction. Although 1 John and Polycarp's epistle contain some of the same phrases and labels, they are listed in close succession in Pol. *Phil.* 7, while they are embedded within broader contexts in 1 John.[55] Comparing the two, it seems more likely that Pol. *Phil.* strung these locutions together from 1 John, rather than 1 John diffusing Polycarp's expressions into larger discourses. This seems to be confirmed by the pastiche-like character of Polycarp's letter, which gleans phrases and allusions from many sources (and often

[49] Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 28–9.

[50] Although Strecker states that there is 'no doubt' that Pol. *Phil.* borrows from 1 John 4. 2–3, he believes that Polycarp's use of *ἀντίχριστου* can be explained 'either on the basis of the letter itself or from oral tradition' (*Johannine Epistles*, pp. xxix and 63).

[51] Cf. the Oxford Society's discussion of the synoptics in Polycarp (*NTAF*, 103).

[52] In my previous work, I labelled the use of 1 John as 'probable' (Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 195). The rating options in that work were 'certain', 'probable', 'possible', and 'unprovable'. Berding used 'almost certain', 'probable', 'possible', and 'unlikely'. In the end, all these labels concern our ability to verify dependence rather than actual dependence. For example, in his own mind, Polycarp may have 'certainly' taken even a commonplace phrase from a specific text. But since the phrase is so conventional, we as interpreters cannot necessarily prove this is so.

[53] See Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 88–90. Bardsley comments that Pol. *Phil.* 'is as near to 1 John iv 2–3 as any early citation can be expected to be' ('Testimony', 207–20).

[54] Berding adds the 'possible reminiscences' of 1 John 5. 6–8 and 1 John 3. 12. These uses may be possible, given the clustering of Johannine materials in the passage. Definitely the language fits a Johannine milieu. But the examples seem more tenuous and difficult to prove as literary dependences, especially the latter (see the discussions above). Berding himself acknowledges that the use of 1 John 3. 12 is 'somewhat tenuous' (Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 91).

[55] Cf. the context of testing spirits in 1 John 3. 24–4. 6 and the use of 'antichrist' in the context of the secession found in 1 John 2. 18–23.

in clusters, as in chapter 7).[56] In other words, we know that Polycarp habitually treats other materials in a similar manner. Furthermore, 1 John 2. 18 reminds readers, 'you heard that antichrist is coming' (cf. 4. 3). But in fact the current secessionists were already 'antichrists' (cf. 2. 22; 4. 3). Polycarp does not imply any future arrival of 'antichrist'. Everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is already 'antichrist'. The purely contemporary emphasis fits a Polycarpian reliance on 1 John, but not vice versa.[57]

Some scholars have further noted that Polycarp's knowledge of 1 John 'is supported by the evidence of Eusebius concerning Papias'.[58] The material in Polycarp's letter certainly fits Eusebius' assertion that Papias (a contemporary of Polycarp) referred to both 1 John and 1 Peter.[59] But the case should rest on the internal evidence found in Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1–2 itself. Our extant materials from Papias do not include any references or allusions to 1 John, so Polycarp stands as the earliest external witness to the epistle.[60]

TEXTUAL QUESTIONS

There is a textual question whether the opponents' treatment of Jesus Christ in 1 John 4. 3 should read λύει or μὴ ὁμολογεῖ. Can Polycarp's letter assist with this textual issue, since 7. 1 has μὴ ὁμολογῇ? H.-J. Klauck acknowledges that Polycarp is the 'ältester Zeuge', but 'gelegentlich geäußerten Zweifeln an der Kenntnis des 1Joh durch Polykarp erschweren es, diese Selle vorbehaltlos als schlagenden Beweis für μὴ ὁμολογεῖ als älteste Lesart in 1Joh 4,3 zu werten'.[61] This investigation may at least help remove some of those 'occasionally voiced doubts' about Polycarp's knowledge of 1 John.

Zahn, Westcott, Harnack, Brooke, Büchsel, Bultmann, Schnackenburg, and R. E. Brown all agree with the reading of λύει in 1 John 4. 3.[62] Brown contends

[56] See Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 145–52.

[57] The insertion of an introductory γάρ in Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 (cf. 1 John 4. 2–3) may further indicate the use of previous materials.

[58] Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 41; Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 89. R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 9, argues similarly. Cf. W. R. Schoedel, 'Papias', in *ANRW* 2.27.1 (1993), 235–70, on pp. 236, 254–5.

[59] Euseb. *HE* 3. 39. 17; cf. Euseb. *HE* 3. 39. 3 and 1 John 2. 3. Polycarp repeatedly quotes or alludes to 1 Peter.

[60] See Strecker, *Johannine Epistles*, p. xxxix; Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 40–1; and esp. R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 6–9. Brown considers Pol. *Phil.* to be the only 'probative' early witness (ibid. 7).

[61] Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, 234–5.

[62] For a discussion in support of λύει, see R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 494–6; R. Schnackenburg, Die Johannesbriefe, HTKNT 13 (Freiburg: Herder, 1953); ET *The Johannine Epistles*:

that the text was changed to μὴ ὁμολογεῖ in order to parallel the positive confession in 1 John 4. 2 (ὁμολογεῖ). He maintains that the μή before the verb form ὁμολογεῖ is 'dubious grammar', but arose from 'a slavish imitation' of 2 John 7.[63] In 2 John 7, μή is used before the participle ὁμολογοῦντες. While the participle was transferred to 1 John and changed to the indicative, the negative μή was not changed. For Brown, Pol. *Phil.* 7 serves as a parallel example of 'this process of harmonization already at work'.[64]

But, as I argued earlier, Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 can be explained without recourse to 2 John 7.[65] Furthermore, Brown does not clarify that the Greek texts of 1 John 4. 3 read μὴ ὁμολογεῖ, while Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 has μὴ ὁμολογῇ.[66] This distinction is important, because μή with the indicative can be seen as a 'difficult reading' due to its grammatical irregularity.[67] The theory of Brown (and Harnack) relies on the questionable hypothesis that the entire Greek manuscript tradition abandoned λύει and merged 2 John 7 with 1 John 4. 3 to form the μὴ ὁμολογεῖ without changing the unusual grammar.[68] If one accepts the alternative case of a μὴ ὁμολογεῖ original, Polycarp's μὴ ὁμολογῇ is an early witness to a grammatical polishing of the text.

Another textual question surrounds the variants ἐληλυθέναι and ἐληλυθότα in 1 John 4. 2. Like Polycarp's letter, Vaticanus also contains the perfect infinitive ἐληλυθέναι. Most early witnesses (including Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi Rescriptus), however, contain the perfect participle ἐληλυθότα. Brown claims that both Polycarp and Vaticanus performed a

A Commentary (Tunbridge Wells: Burns and Oates, 1992), 201–2; R. Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, Hermeneia (ET Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), 62. Bultmann believes that μὴ ὁμολογεῖ 'was a correction very probably occasioned by v 2'.

63 R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 495. Here Brown follows Harnack. Cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 428 n. 4.

64 R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 495.

65 See also Metzger, *Canon*, 61–2.

66 See the similar simplification by I. H. Marshall, *The Epistles of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978), 207 n. 11.

67 See other examples in B. D. Ehrman, '1 John 4.3 and the Orthodox Corruption of Scripture', *ZNW* 79 (1988), 221–43, on p. 223 n. 8. Cf. J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), i. 169–71.

68 Ehrman argues convincingly for μὴ ὁμολογεῖ rather than λύει. If λύει is the original reading, then either μὴ ὁμολογεῖ was found in a very early archetype which affected the entire Greek tradition; or μὴ ὁμολογεῖ was created independently by various very early scribes and took over the tradition. Otherwise, μὴ ὁμολογεῖ is original (Ehrman, '1 John 4.3', 224). See also Ehrman's critique of the implausibility of 2 John 7 affecting the textual transmission of 1 John 4. 3 (ibid. 227). Ehrman further contends that λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν 'represents a second-century corruption of the text generated precisely *by* the context in which it is still preserved: orthodox Christological polemics' (ibid. 222). Cf. J. Denney, 'He that Came by Water and Blood', *Expositor*, 7 (1908), 416–28, on p. 420.

'scribal "improvement" ' of the 'somewhat awkward' perfect participle.[69] Since the perfect infinitive can be seen as a 'stylistic improvement' rather than a grammatical irregularity (such as μὴ ὁμολογεῖ), the hypothesis seems reasonable.[70] Schnackenburg further asserts that the context in Polycarp reveals that his reading can be explained as a 'free rendition'.[71]

A CAUTIONARY NOTE

Now a question naturally arises: can we use Polycarp to help reconstruct the opponents in 1 John? Both dealt with 'many' opponents (1 John 2. 18; 4. 1; Pol. *Phil.* 2. 1; 7. 2) who 'lead astray' (1 John 2. 26; Pol. *Phil.* 6. 3), using the same polemical language ('antichrist' and 'of the devil' in 1 John 2. 18, 22; 3. 8; 4. 3; Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1). Some scholars have understandably compared the opponents in Polycarp with those in 1 John.[72]

The difficulty of 'reconstructing' the secessionists of 1 John is a well-known puzzle.[73] The opponents deny that 'Jesus is the Christ' (2. 22; 5. 1). They deny that 'Jesus is the Son of God' (4. 15; 5. 5).[74] They deny that 'Jesus Christ come in the flesh' (4. 2; 2 John 7). They apparently deny that he came by both water and blood (5. 6).[75] Various identifications of these adversaries have been

[69] R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 492. Cf. the aorist participle in 1 John 5. 6 and the present participle in 2 John 7.

[70] Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 254.

[71] Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 200 n. 11; cf. 202 n. 17.

[72] H.-C. Puech, 'Review of *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*', *RHR* 119 (1939), 96–102, on p. 102; Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles*, 173. Stuckwisch, 'Saint Polycarp', 115. Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 23. See also S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels'.

[73] Schnackenburg listed four points on which 'there is general agreement': (1) 1 John opposes a single group; (2) they espoused both christological error and a false ethic; (3) they manifested a 'gnostic' tendency; and (4) they arose in a Gentile Christian milieu (Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 17–18). But not even these four points hold a complete consensus: e.g., Vorster questions the 'false ethic' (W. S. Vorster, 'Heterodoxy in 1 John', *Neot* 9 (1975), 87–97, on p. 92). Lieu and Edwards believe that the 'moral debate' is not related to the secessionists (J. M. Lieu, *The Theology of the Johannine Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15–16; R. B. Edwards, *The Johannine Epistles* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 64–67). Smalley denies that there was only one schismatic group (S. S. Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John* (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1984), pp. xiii–xv). Various commentators question the 'gnostic' tendencies of the false teachers.

[74] Many interpreters agree that 'Son of God' is interchangeable with 'Christ' in 1 John (Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 232; Ehrman, '1 John 4.3', 234 n. 45; cf. 1 John 5. 1–5). The use of the article demonstrates that the formulae answer the question 'Who *is* the Christ (or the Son of God)?' (Ehrman, '1 Joh 4.3', 234 n. 45; de Boer, 'Jesus the Baptizer', 87).

[75] These four denials represent a more 'minimalist' reconstruction of the adversaries in 1 John. For a more 'maximalist' approach which includes the evidences of the boasts, the

set forth,[76] including Jewish-Christians,[77] Docetists,[78] Cerinthians,[79] heretical perfectionists,[80] and pneumatic/charismatic prophets.[81]

Scholars have proposed various ways in which the opponents could have made Christ's death only 'appear' to have salvific importance. In its 'narrower' sense, the term 'docetism' refers to the belief that the humanity and sufferings of the earthly Jesus were 'apparent' (in some phantasmal manner) rather than real.[82] Another view ('Cerinthian') would allow for a 'real' human Jesus, but hold that the connection between 'Christ' and the human 'Jesus' was not a personal unity (but, in a sense, a deceptive appearance). A further explanation would claim that another individual was mistakenly crucified in Jesus' place on the cross, yet it 'appeared' that it was really him. A final category would include any other belief that downplayed the actual salvific importance of the

denials, the discussion of the role of the Spirit, the antitheses, and the lack of dependence on the Old Testament, see J. Painter, 'The "Opponents" in 1 John', *NTS* 32 (1986), 48–71. Painter agrees with those who view the conflict with the schismatics as the interpretive key to 1 John (ibid. 48). Lieu, however, warns against 'over-reading' the opponents' role (and anti-opponent material) in 1 John (*Theology*, 13–16). See also B. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1994), 482–3; Edwards, *Johannine Epistles*, 57–68; P. Perkins, *The Johannine Epistles* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1979), pp. xxi–xxiii.

[76] For a brief summary of views up to 1999, see G. Strecker, 'Johannine Letters', in J. H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 603–9, on pp. 605–6; cf. R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 47–68; J. Blank, 'Die Irrlehrer des ersten Johannesbriefes', *Kairos*, 26 (1984), 166–93. See also K. Weiss, 'Orthodoxie und Heterodoxie im 1. Johannesbriefe', *ZNW* 58 (1967), 247–55; A. Wurm, *Die Irrlehrer im ersten Johannesbrief* (St Louis: Herder, 1903).

[77] J. C. O'Neill, *The Puzzle of 1 John* (London: SPCK, 1966). Cf. also one of the two schismatic groups proposed by Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John*, pp. xiii–xv.

[78] G. Strecker, 'Chiliasm and Docetism in the Johannine School', *ABR* 38 (1990), 45–61; in German as 'Chiliasmus und Doketismus in der Johanneischen Schule', *KD* 38 (1992), 30–46. Vorster, 'Heterodoxy', 88–90. S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels', 331. B. Witherington III, 'The Waters of Birth: John 3.5 and 1 John 5.6–8', *NTS* 35 (1989), 155–60, on p. 160. Bultmann, *Johannine Epistles*, 62. E. M. Yamauchi, 'The Crucifixion and Docetic Christology', *CTQ* 46 (1982), 1–20, on p. 6. Ehrman, '1 Joh 4.3', 241.

[79] K. Wengst, *Häresie und Orthodoxie im Spiegel des ersten Johannesbriefes* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976). S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels', 332. Schnackenburg, who opposes the Cerinthian hypothesis, lists past adherents and opponents of it (*Johannine Epistles*, 21 n. 56).

[80] J. Bogart, *Orthodox and Heretical Perfectionism in the Johannine Community as Evident in the First Epistle of John* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 138.

[81] F. Büchsel, *Die Johannesbriefe* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1970), 4–5.

[82] On possible definitions of 'docetism', see J. M. Lieu, 'Authority to Become Children of God', *NovT* 23 (1981), 210–28, on p. 211; Ehrman, '1 John 4.3', 236–7; P. Weigandt, 'Der Doketismus im Urchristentum und in der theologischen Entwicklung des zweiten Jahrhunderts' (diss. theol. Heidelberg, 1961); M. Slusser, 'Docetism: A Historical Definition', *SC* 1 (1981), 163–71; N. Brox, ' "Doketismus'—eine Problemanzeige', *ZKG* 95 (1984), 301–14; G. Salmon, 'Docetism', in W. Smith and H. Wace (eds.), *Dictionary of the Christian Bible* (London: J. Murray, 1911), 867–70.

death of Jesus.[83] For example, U. B. Müller maintained that the opponents in 1 John considered Jesus to be a glorious figure, but not a saviour. He did not suffer and die to save men; therefore, his sufferings were merely 'apparent' and not real.[84] Brown argued that the 'secessionists' relativized the salvific importance of the earthly life of Jesus.[85]

Can Polycarp help us identify the Johannine schismatics? I would caution that the natural inclination to use Polycarp's dependence on 1 John to reconstruct the exact identity and theology of the Johannine opponents may go beyond the evidence. First, Polycarp alters the wording of 1 John. One recalls that Polycarp seems to have changed the perfect participle in 1 John 4. 2 into a perfect infinitive. 1 John 4. 2 can be translated as 'confessing Jesus Christ come in the flesh', where the verb 'confesses' has only one object—the entire phrase taken as a unity. Or it could be translated with 'Jesus' as the direct object and 'Christ having come in the flesh' as the predicate. Or 'Jesus Christ' may be seen as the direct object and 'having come in the flesh' as the predicate.[86] On the other hand, Polycarp's substitution of the perfect infinitive more clearly renders 'confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh'. It is possible to interpret 1 John 4. 2–3 against opponents who broadly denigrate the soteriological significance of Jesus Christ, rather than against the metaphysical views of docetic opponents *per se*.[87] But Polycarp's language is more definite in its anti-docetic import. Even if one believes that 1 John is also anti-docetic in its polemic, one must acknowledge that Polycarp's construction is even more distinctly so.[88]

Second, Polycarp's third disagreement with the adversaries in Pol. *Phil.* 7 goes beyond the emphases of 1 John. This third denial seems to include a crucial issue for Polycarp, the denial of future judgement. 1 John does not address a denial of eschatological judgement by the secessionists, and an

[83] 'They all play down the historic person of Jesus Christ as the unique and true savior. They all deny the way of salvation through his flesh and blood. In their precise christological interpretation of the figure of Jesus, these dangerous heretics, dissolving as they did the substance of the Christian faith, evidently went off in different directions' (Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 23).

[84] U. B. Müller, *Die Geschichte der Christologie in der johanneischen Gemeinde* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975), 53–79.

[85] R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*. See also R. E. Brown, 'The Relationship to the Fourth Gospel Shared by the Author of 1 John and by his Opponents', in E. Best and R. McL. Wilson (eds.), *Text and Interpretation: Festschrift for M. Black* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 57–68, on pp. 62–4.

[86] Lieu, 'Authority', 217.

[87] Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 201. R. E. Brown believes, 'This text gives little support to those scholars who have assumed that the secessionists denied that there was a real incarnation' (*Epistles of John*, 494).

[88] Of course, Ignatius is even more specific in his condemnation of docetism (S. E. Johnson, 'Parallels', 332, 336, 338).

emphasis on judgement as a basis for moral exhortation is not prevalent in the epistle.[89] Certainly 'judgment' is mentioned explicitly in 1 John 4. 17, but the verse simply affirms: 'By this love has been perfected among us, in order that we may have confidence in the day of judgment; because as that one is, we are also in the world.' 1 John 2. 28–3. 3 comes closest to an eschatological basis for moral exhortation, but the passage does not mention 'judgment' explicitly: 'And now, little children, remain in him; so that, when he appears, we may have confidence and not be ashamed before him in his coming.' Everyone who has the 'hope' of becoming like him in his appearing 'purifies himself, even as he is pure'. 1 John does not accentuate a heretical denial of judgement in the same manner as Polycarp.[90]

Third, it is unclear whether Polycarp himself is addressing a specific, well-defined 'system'. H.-C. Puech describes the heretical opposition in Polycarp as 'assez banale', 'insaisissable pour nous sous des traits si généraux'.[91] R. Joly agrees: 'en général, les traits polémiques sont vagues'.[92] J. B. Bauer asserts that 'Eine nähere Bestimmung der von Polykarp ins Auge gefaßten Doketen ist nicht möglich'.[93] H. Maier concludes that 'The most the evidence allows one to conclude is that Polycarp like Ignatius was opposing a form of docetism',[94] since the polemical language of Polycarp shares some similarities with Ignatius' letters to the Smyrnaeans and Polycarp.[95] Furthermore, the language may

[89] Like Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1, 1 John may link ἐπιθυμίαι with the false teachers (but only indirectly so). 1 John condemns the ἐπιθυμίαι found in the κόσμος in 2. 15–17. This section leads into the introduction of the 'antichrists' who left the Johannine community (2. 18–19). Perhaps the tie between the two adjoining paragraphs is the fact that when the adversaries left the community, they went out into the κόσμος (stated explicitly in 4. 1). The false teachers apostasized and entered the world with all of its sinful desires. Painter mentions the ἐπιθυμίαι in Pol. *Phil.* 5. 3 in his discussion of 1 John 2. 15–17 (*1, 2, and 3 John*, 191; cf. R. E. Brown, *Epistles of John*, 325). As in Pol. *Phil.* 5, the context in 1 John may especially stress the dangers of ἐπιθυμίαι to the young men (2. 14–17).

[90] Ignatius repeatedly castigates docetic opponents, but only brings up 'judgment' against them in *Smyrn.* 6. 1 (for their unbelief).

[91] Puech, 'Review', 102.

[92] R. Joly, *Le Dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1979), 35.

[93] J. B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, 58.

[94] Maier, 'Purity and Danger', 231 n. 8. For a recent discussion of the opponents in Ignatius' letters, see J. L. Sumney, 'Those Who "Ignorantly Deny Him": The Opponents of Ignatius of Antioch', *JECS* 1 (1993), 345–65. Ignatius seems to oppose some form of 'judaizing' Christianity in *Magn.* 8–11 and *Phld.* 6–9. Docetic teachers seem to be in view in *Eph.* 7; *Trall.* 8–11; and *Smyrn.* 1–6. *Magn.* 9–11 discusses both traits. In a rhetorical ploy, Ignatius refused to name his docetic adversaries (*Smyrn.* 5. 3).

[95] Some scholars have wondered if Ignatius' polemics reflect more of the situation 'back home' in Antioch than the communities being addressed in Asia Minor. See V. Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). See also D. L. Hoffman's cautions ('Ignatius and Early Anti-Docetic Realism in the Eucharist', *Fides et Historia*, 30 (1998), 74–88). For Ignatius, the problem of 'docetism' was primarily its soteriological

even warn against more of a 'possible' threat in Philippi than a present enemy.[96]

Fourth, Polycarp's use of 'the enemies of the cross' in 12. 3 demonstrates that he can cite traditional polemical labels with new implications. Berding notes that the phrase is found only here and in Phil. 3. 18 within the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers.[97] Philippians 3 begins with a censure of 'judaizing' opponents and continues with autobiographical material. The description 'enemies of the cross' in 3. 18–19 is probably a reference to the same antagonists as earlier in the chapter, although it may refer to others who 'mind earthly things' (3. 19).[98] Polycarp, however, uses the label in a context concerning political authorities and persecutors: 'Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings and powers and rulers, and for those who persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, in order that your fruit may be evident among all people, that you may be perfect in him.' Berding believes that 'the enemies of the cross' in Pol. *Phil.* 12. 3 are docetists.[99] But the context links them with rulers and persecutors, and it does not seem likely that Polycarp would have encouraged intercessory prayer for 'docetic' opponents within this passage. If Polycarp could use 'the enemies of the cross' with new implications, one must acknowledge the possibility that labels such as 'antichrist', 'of the devil', and 'firstborn of Satan' could be used in new ways as well.

Fifth, the later ecclesiastical utilization of both Polycarp and John further manifests the flexible and malleable nature of polemical language. Irenaeus asserted that the Gospel of John countered the Nicolaitans, while Jerome

ramifications: an annulment of the salvific work of Christ (I. A. Saliba, 'The Bishop of Antioch and the Heretics: A Study of a Primitive Christology', *EQ* 54 (1982), 65–76). In Pol. *Phil.*, an important part of the threat appears to have been the ethical ramifications.

96 Ignatius warned against adversaries before their actual arrival (*Magn.* 11; *Phld.* 3; and *Smyrn.* 4). In personal correspondence, M. W. Holmes argues that it is 'likely' that the target(s) of Polycarp's polemic actually reside in or around Smyrna, not Philippi. Definitely, Polycarp does not seem to be in a 'crisis' mode, as Harrison incorrectly pictured (see L. W. Barnard, 'The Problem of St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians', in *idem*, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (New York: Schocken Books; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 31–40, on pp. 34–5).

97 Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 123. For a history of the label 'enemies of the cross' in early Christianity, see S. Heid, 'Die Frühkirchliche Beurteilung der Häretiker als "Feinde des Kreuzes" ', in M. Hutter, W. Klein, and U. Vollmer (eds.), *Haireses* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2002), 107–39.

98 Oakes proposes that Phil. 3. 18–19 refers to those who had compromised their Christian commitment in order to avoid economic suffering (P. Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*, SNTSMS 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 106, 111). Fee theorizes that they were self-serving itinerant preachers (G. D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 366–75). A complete discussion of the identification of the adversaries in Phil. 3 would take us beyond the scope of this paper. For an example, see C. Mearns, 'The Identity of Paul's Opponents at Philippi', *NTS* 33 (1987), 194–204.

99 Berding, *Polycarp and Paul*, 183.

claimed that it was directed 'adversus Cerinthum aliosque haereticos'.[100] Irenaeus related an anecdote about the apostle John running from a bath-house with Cerinthus inside (*Adv. Haer.* 3. 3), but Epiphanius' version changed the adversary to Ebion (*Pan.* 30. 24). A later story was also told of John confronting the Gnostic Basilides. Tertullian declared that the Johannine Epistles opposed those 'whom the Apostle John pronounced to be antichrists, because they denied that Christ had come in the flesh', who are 'a sort of premature and abortive Marcionites' (*Marc.* 3. 8). The 'anti-Marcionite' prologues claimed that John condemned Marcion in person.[101] Irenaeus asserted that Polycarp also personally confronted Marcion, calling him 'the firstborn of Satan' (*Adv. Haer.* 3. 3).[102] Obviously, the same materials from previous traditions could be directed against a variety of adversaries.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Polycarp warns against the threat of false teachings in Pol. *Phil.* 7. A crucial issue is the denial of a future judgement, since this undermines his moral exhortation. Polycarp's literary dependence upon 1 John is 'almost certain'. Pol. *Phil.* 7. 1 should not be utilized to support the reading of *λύει* over *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ* in 1 John 4. 3. (In fact, probably the reverse is true.) Finally, many factors cause us to be prudently cautious in any attempt to use Polycarp's letter to reconstruct the opponents of 1 John and their exact tenets.

100 See Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 21.

101 The 'anti-Marcionite' prologue of the Gospel of John (in the Toletan and other codices).

102 See Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament*, 90–94. Cf. the claim that Ignatius labelled Simon Magus as the 'firstborn' of the devil in Ps.-Ign., *Trall.* 10–11.

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Part VIII

The *Martyrdom of Polycarp*

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19

The New Testament and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*

Boudewijn Dehandschutter

When in 1905 a 'Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology' published *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, or *Martyrium Polycarpi* (= *Mart. Pol.*) was not included. The Committee may have had good reasons for restricting the corpus of 'Apostolic Fathers', but this should not mean that the question about the New Testament and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* has to be neglected in a volume that marks the centenary of the publication of the committee's conclusions. For whatever reasons, the *Martyrdom* has been printed in editions of the Apostolic Fathers from Cotelier to the present.[1] It is my conviction, moreover, that further research on the theme of the present contribution can lead to a better understanding of the general theme 'The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers'. My contribution will therefore take into consideration some elements of the history of research on the *Martyrdom* in the hope that this will clarify some of the problems that arise when dealing with 'The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers'.

In the history of research on the *Martyrdom* we can easily discern several 'contexts' in which the relationship with New Testament texts (mainly the Gospels) is taken up:

1. The nineteenth-century controversy over the Quartodeciman tradition.
2. The defence of the authenticity of the *Martyrdom*.

[1] On ancient editions , see B. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi: Een literair-kritische Studie*, BETL 52 (Leuven: Universitaire Presse, 1979), 57–9; on Cotelier, *idem*, 'The Text of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* again (with a note on the Greek Text of Polycarp, ad Phil.)', in F. Garcia Martinez and G. P. Luttikhuizen (eds.), *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 101–6. A restrictive view regarding the Apostolic Fathers has been put forward in recent times by J. A. Fischer, *Die Apostolischen Väter griechisch und deutsch* (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1956), p. xi: 'Auch die Berichte über die Martyrien Apostolischer Väter (Klemens, Ignatius, Polykarp) gehören nicht hierher. Überdies ist nur das Martyrium Polycarpi . . . als relativ echt und zuverlässig anzusprechen; doch ist dieses nicht Schrift eines Apostolischen Väters.'

3. Interpolation theories.
4. The question of vocabulary.
5. The theology of martyrdom.

1. THE QUESTION OF THE QUARTODECIMAN CHARACTER OF THE *MARTYRDOM* AND ITS BACKGROUND

The nineteenth-century debates about the authenticity of the Gospel of John seem far removed from our concerns today.[2] But it might be helpful to concentrate for a moment on this debate, as it poses the problem of the 'nature' of the parallels between the gospels and the *Martyrdom*. The focus of the debate, one recalls, was about the early ecclesiastical tradition of Polycarp as a disciple of John (see Irenaeus, in Euseb. *HE* 5. 20. 4) and the fact that neither Polycarp's *Epistle* nor the *Martyrdom* shows any acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel. It is in this context that A. Hilgenfeld published his 1860 book on *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche*,[3] in which he argued that the synoptic chronology of the passion story is the basis of the Quartodeciman tradition, and that the *Martyrdom* gives evidence of this. Central to Hilgenfeld's argument is the identification of the 'great Sabbath' in *Mart. Pol.* 8 with the sabbath of Nisan 15; this is in agreement with the synoptic chronology. Moreover, all this fits with the presentation of Polycarp's martyrdom as parallel with Jesus' passion according to the synoptics! Among many other parallels, Hilgenfeld refers to the predictions of Matt. 26. 2 and *Mart. Pol.* 5. 2, the betrayal of the domestic servants, the irenarch Herodes, etc.[4] Hilgenfeld was contradicted by G. E. Steitz,[5] who had been a target of his polemics. Steitz rejects the idea of a synoptic chronology, and makes every effort to prove that there are also

[2] Recent studies about the Quartodeciman tradition in the context of *Martyrdom* are R. Cacitti, *Grande Sabato: Il contesto pasquale quartodecimano nella formazione della teologia del martirio* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1994); A. Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast: Melito, Peri Pascha and the Quartodeciman Paschal Liturgy at Sardis*, VCSup 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). For earlier studies, see Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 131 n. 302. On the 'Johannine Quest', see M. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage: Ein Lösungsversuch*, WUNT 67 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1993); it is my pleasure to read on pp. 25–6 that Hengel considers my position to be 'too cautious'. But see now on the whole question B. Mutschler, *Irenäus als johanneischer Theologe: Studien zur Schriftauslegung bei Irenäus von Lyon* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004).

[3] A. Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte und für die Evangelienforschung urkundlich dargestellt* (Halle: Pfeffer, 1860). For further details on the history of research, see my *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 131–4, 234–7.

[4] Hilgenfeld, *Paschastreit,* 245–6.

[5] G. E. Steitz, 'Der Charakter der kleinasiatischen Kirche und Festsitte um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für deutsche Theologie*, 6 (1861), 102–41, on pp. 117–20.

reminiscences of Johannine and Pauline literature in the *Martyrdom*. The voice from heaven in *Mart. Pol.* 9. 1 is comparable with John 12. 28, 29; and the blood flowing in *Mart. Pol.* 16. 1 corresponds with John 19. 34. According to Steitz, there is no reason to accept that the 'martyrdom according to the gospel' (*Mart. Pol.* 1) would refer only to the synoptics. According to him, it is all about 'die eine, in allen Evangelien mit sich selbst einig gedachte Ueberlieferung des evangelischen Geschichtsstoffes'. Hilgenfeld immediately rebuked Steitz:[6] apart from earlier arguments, he shows that *Mart. Pol.* 4 goes beyond indeterminate 'evangelische Geschichtsstoff'; rather, the Gospel of Matthew is used here! And with other examples Hilgenfeld demonstrates that the Johannine parallels are 'mit den Haaren herbeigezogen'.

2. THE DEFENCE OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *MARTYRDOM*

Hilgenfeld continued to defend his position, first against R. A. Lipsius, and later against T. Keim.[7] But both scholars, together with H. J. Holtzmann, brought another aspect of the question into the debate.[8] Holtzmann offers a long list of parallels between the *Martyrdom* and the New Testament, but connects this with a later date for the *Martyrdom*. Along the same line as Lipsius and Keim, Holtzmann proposes a date during the Decian persecution for the actual text of the *Martyrdom*. The latter has to be dissociated from the historical period of the facts, and in that way the authority of the gospels, including the Fourth Gospel, is no longer a problem. Keim in turn insists again on the parallels with the whole New Testament, in order to show that the *Martyrdom* is a 'katholisches Produkt', accepting all the apostles.[9] It is clear that with Keim and the others the authenticity of the *Martyrdom* is called into question, but it might be interesting to point for one moment to Hilgenfeld's reaction: the latter firmly rejects the idea that the parallels with the gospels threaten the authenticity of the *Martyrdom*. Again he argues against the use of John and observes here an important difference between the *Martyrdom* and a

[6] A. Hilgenfeld, 'Das neueste Steitzianum über den Paschastreit', *ZWT* 4 (1861), 106–10; *idem*, 'Der Quartodecimanismus Kleinasiens und die kanonischen Evangelien', *ZWT* 4 (1861), 285–318.

[7] R. A. Lipsius, 'Der Märtyrertod Polykarps', *ZWT* 17 (1874), 188–214; T. Keim, *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (Zürich: Füssl, 1878).

[8] H. J. Holtzmann, 'Das Verhältnis des Johannes zu Ignatius und Polykarp', *ZWT* 20 (1877), 187–214.

[9] For other writings of Keim with the same criticism of the authenticity of *Martyrdom*, see my *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 133 n. 316.

text such as the *Martyrdom of Lyons and Vienne* (177 CE): this latter text, unlike the former, clearly knows *John*.[10]

The questioning of authenticity provoked a long reaction (mainly against Keim) in the unrivalled magisterial work of J. B. Lightfoot on the Apostolic Fathers. For the bishop of Durham, the Quartodeciman character of the *Martyrdom* is no longer a matter of discussion—all the more reason why the real meaning of the gospel parallels has to be evaluated correctly. Lightfoot again gives the list of references, considering their authenticity as interpreted by the introduction of the *Martyrdom* which speaks about a martyrdom 'according to the gospel'. This may mean that there are more obvious parallels and more indirect ones; but his final judgement would influence scholarship for a long time: 'the violence of the parallelism is a guarantee of the accuracy of the facts'.[11]

Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century one can observe a shift between two tendencies: from discussion of the authenticity of the Johannine Gospel and its position in early Christianity to an appreciation of the New Testament parallels with regard to the authenticity of the text of the *Martyrdom*.

3. THE INTERPOLATION THEORY WITH REGARD TO *THE MARTYRDOM*

Lightfoot's analysis did not have that much effect on German 'Literarkritik'. Following observations of Lipsius and others, H. Müller reconsidered the case of the *Martyrdom*.[12] In Müller's opinion, the parallels with the passion story could not belong to a simple historical narrative as offered by the letter to the Smyrneans. But instead of rejecting the text of the *Martyrdom* as a later literary fiction, Müller wanted to maintain the 'main' text. In comparison with the latter, the gospel parallels are later additions, and this can be seen as well by the version of the *Martyrdom* in Eusebius' *Church History*. This interpolation theory, also sustained by E. Schwartz,[13] leads directly to the well-known thesis

[10] A. Hilgenfeld, 'Polykarp von Smyrna', *ZWT* 17 (1874), 305–45; *idem*, 'Das Martyrium Polykarp's von Smyrna', *ZWT* 22 (1879), 145–70. Hilgenfeld was later supported by E. Egli who, approaching *Martyrdom* from the point of view of hagiography, nevertheless accepted Hilgenfeld's parallels. But Egli added the influence of the book of Acts, especially the 'way of suffering' of Paul, to the possible sources of inspiration of *Mart. Pol.*; cf. E. Egli, *Altchristliche Studien: Martyrien und Martyrologien ältester Zeit* (Zürich, 1887); cf. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 134–5, 236–7.

[11] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part II: *S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp* (London: Macmillan, 1889), i. 614. As such it became a common assumption among scholars, that if the parallels had been introduced by a later editor, they would have been more elaborated.

[12] H. Müller, 'Das Martyrium Polykarps', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 22 (1908), 1–16; cf. *idem*, *Aus der Überlieferungsgeschichte des Polykarpmartyriums: Eine hagiographische Studie* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1908).

[13] E. Schwartz, *De Pionio et Polycarpo* (Göttingen: Akademie, 1905).

of H. von Campenhausen, and is at the basis of many considerations of the *Martyrdom* as a (later) hagiographic document: the text has a historical nucleus but 'suffered' (inevitably) from later expansions.

It is instructive, however, to follow for a moment the criticisms levelled against Müller. In their studies on the *Martyrdom*, B. Sepp and W. Reuning[14] pointed out that the case for gospel parallels should not be overestimated. The mistake of Müller lay in seeing contacts between the *Martyrdom* and the gospels where there are only very general similarities. Both authors want to save the historicity of the story (as too would Lightfoot) by minimizing the phenomenon of the similarities. Fundamentally, H. von Campenhausen wants the same. But in his famous study of 1957, he elaborates this by a theory of interpolations among which the 'Evangelien-Redaktor' plays a crucial role.[15] The German church historian is quite certain in identifying what had been the initial 'simple' story of Polycarp on the basis of a comparison with Eusebius; and as a result he can identify later additions where the parallels with the gospels are not infrequently laborious constructions. His theory has been very influential, as I tried to show in my earlier contributions.[16] However, it is possible today to argue that the so-called gospel parallels could belong to the original document, and that it is certainly not correct to use Eusebius as a criterion for the contents of that document.[17] It has to be recognized that Christian hagiography is an early phenomenon, and so that there is nothing against the influence of it on the earliest redaction of the story of Polycarp's death.[18]

[14] B. Sepp, *Das Martyrium Polycarpi nebst Anhang über die Afralegende* (Regensburg: Akademische Buchdruckerei von F. Straub in München, 1911), 5–14; W. Reuning, *Zur Erklärung des Polykarpmaryriums* (Darmstadt: Wintersche Buchdruckerei, 1917), 10–20.

[15] H. von Campenhausen, 'Bearbeitungen und Interpolationen des Polykarpmartyriums', *Sitzungsberichte Akademie Heidelberg* (1957), 5–48; also in *idem*, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1963), 253–301.

[16] Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 139–40, 238–9; cf. *idem*, 'The *Martyrium Polycarpi*: A Century of Research', *ANRW* 2. 27. 1 (1993), 485–522; *idem*, 'The Martyrdom of Polycarp and the Outbreak of Montanism', *ETL* 75 (1999), 430–7, cf. 431 n. 8. The most striking example of support for von Campenhausen's theory is H. Conzelmann, 'Bemerkungen zum Martyrium Polykarps', in *Sitzungsberichte Akademie Göttingen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), who renewed the view that a text such as *Mart. Pol.* contains a 'historical' nucleus, later adapted and enlarged for theological or hagiographical reasons.

[17] This has been seen clearly already by L. W. Barnard, 'In Defence of Pseudo-Pionius' Account of Saint Polycarp's Martyrdom', in P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (eds.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift für J. Quasten* (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1970), 192–204; = *idem*, *Studies in Church History and Patristics* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1978), 224–41; most recently the major commentary of G. Buschmann has again been critical of von Campenhausen: G. Buschmann, *Das Martyrium des Polykarp*, KAV 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 91–2.

[18] See my 'Hagiographie et histoire: à propos des Actes et Passions des Martyrs', in M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective*, Mémorial

4. THE QUESTION OF VOCABULARY

Preceding von Campenhausen's essay by a few years, the magisterial study by É. Massaux on the influence of the Gospel of Matthew on early Christian literature before Irenaeus posed again the problem of the impact of the (canonical) gospels,[19] but tried to arrive at conclusions on the basis of a careful textual comparison.

According to Massaux, the *Martyrdom* does not show any interest in a particular gospel text. The author of the martyr story follows only the important moments of the passion which are reflected in Polycarp's death. Strikingly, Massaux is quite cautious about a direct literary influence of New Testament texts on the *Martyrdom*. Even the case of *Martyrdom* 2. 3 with what appears to be a very direct reference to 1 Cor. 2. 9 is not decisive: it might be that the *Martyrdom* is using the same tradition as was available to Paul, so there is no necessary literary contact.[20] As for the prayer in *Mart. Pol.* 14, one must take into consideration the possibility that the many biblical reminiscences in the prayer are borrowing from an early Christian liturgical prayer.[21] If Massaux's inquiry remains rather undecided about literary influences on the *Martyrdom*, it has brought an important methodical issue again to the fore: what can be regarded as real literary influence? The Louvain scholar observed that this is a question not only of 'quotation', but also of the phrasing of a text, a certain

L. Reekmans (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 295–301; see now also R. H. Seeliger, 'Märtyrerakten', and his concept of 'hagiographischer Diskurs', in S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (Freiburg: Herder, 1997), 411–19, on p. 413.

[19] É. Massaux, *Influence de l'Evangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1950; réimpression anastatique, BETL 65 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986)); Massaux preceded also the well-known study by H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957) but the latter does not take *Martyrdom* into account; see also F. Neirynck, 'Introduction à la réimpression', pp. x–xi; the book of Massaux has been translated into English: *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990); on the *Martyrdom*, cf. *Book 2: The Later Christian Writings*, 45–53.

[20] However, the use of 1 Cor. 2. 9 in other early Christian texts might point to the contrary. Also the next case of the prayer of Polycarp gives us the impression that, for Massaux, *Mart. Pol.* 14 is in the first place to be discussed from the point of view of liturgical traditions. But the question of liturgical traditions is seldom unequivocal. In the case of the famous prayer of *1 Clem.* 59. 2– 61. 3, it has been argued by Lona that the prayer is redactional! Cf. H. E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, KAV 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 583–623; a recent study by Löhr places the prayer again in a liturgical context: H. Löhr, *Studien zum frühchristlichen und frühjüdischen Gebet: Untersuchungen zu 1 Clem 59 bis 61 in seinem literarischen, historischen und theologischen Kontext*, WUNT 160 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[21] See previous note; the question of the tradition behind the prayer has been studied fully by Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 226–57.

terminology making some vocabulary visible. This was reiterated by M. L. Guillaumin in a short study preparatory to the first volume of the *Biblia Patristica*.[22] This study tried to identify a peculiar vocabulary and the combination of expressions as parallels between the *Martyrdom* and biblical texts. In this way one may discover a lot of 'rapprochements', but only those which reflect the intention of the author should be retained, and this reduces, for example, the real references to the passion story. Guillaumin, however, demonstrates that small correspondences can also be meaningful, and that New Testament texts other than the gospels may have played a role in the formulation of the author.

The fact that we find in the *Martyrdom* more reminiscences, rather than exact borrowings or citations, is what I tried to explain in my dissertation of 1977, comparing the phenomenon with what we find elsewhere during the first half of the second century in writings such as *1 Clement*: namely, earlier Christian documents being 'received' in the form not of quotations but of allusions, implying the common basis of a written text but without 'scriptural' authority. It must be added that the *Martyrdom* shows some evolution to a certain 'authority' in the sense that it refers to the 'example of the Lord' (1. 2) and 'the gospel' (1. 1, 4; 19. 1).

In the meantime W. D. Köhler took up the problem, especially in relation to Matthew. Although he refines the analysis of the materials parallel to the gospels, he does not achieve a conclusive position. Köhler sees no instance of literary dependence on Matthew on the part of the *Martyrdom*, only a possibility ('gut möglich') for a text such as *Mart. Pol.* 6. 2. Positively, he reformulates the question whether the notion of *euaggelion* may point to a written gospel in the *Martyrdom*. But for Köhler all this is valid only at the level on which the 'Evangelienredaktor' was formulating! This reduces very much the impact of his judgement.[23]

Almost simultaneously, V. Saxer published an inquiry on the Bible and hagiography, about the use of the Bible in early Christian Acts of Martyrdom.[24] For the *Martyrdom*, Saxer shows the importance of the theme of imitation

[22] M. L. Guillaumin, 'En marge du "Martyre de Polycarpe": le discernement des allusions scripturaires', in *Forma Futuri: Studi in onore del Cardinale M. Pellegrino* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975), 462–9; cf. *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, i: *Des origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975).

[23] W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 487–9.

[24] V. Saxer, *Bible et Hagiographie*: *Textes et thèmes bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques des premiers siècles* (Bern: Lang, 1986), 27–35; cf. *idem*, 'The Influence of the Bible in Early Christian Martyrology', in P. M. Blowers (ed.), *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 342–74.

as a clear purpose in the use of the Bible, but leaves undecided whether this implies reference to a particular gospel. Apart from other reminiscences, Saxer discusses the prayer of Polycarp (*Mart. Pol.* 14). Emphasizing the density of scriptural reminiscences, Saxer believes in the influence of liturgical tradition as many others before (and after him) have done.

As a summary, we can observe that the discussion of the authors presented in this section points to the need for careful attention to the exact nature of the biblical references in the *Martyrdom*: these references are more allusive than 'quoting'. Above all, this kind of 'appropriation' does not exclude reference to a written text; on the contrary, the 'martyrdom according to the gospel' implies the written gospel(s).[25]

5. THE THEOLOGY OF MARTYRDOM

Buschmann's impressive commentary returned to the question of 'the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the New Testament', treating the issue wholly from the side of a theological interpretation of the idea of martyrdom according to the gospel. In a way that he had already anticipated in his 1994 monograph,[26] Buschmann interprets the *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* intention of *Mart. Pol.* as 'katholisch-normativ und anti-enthusiastisch'.[27] The question of the use of a particular gospel text is present only marginally; the emphasis is on the theological meaning of the parallel. As the normative intention of the text is dominant for Buschmann, he continuously risks overestimating the nature of the parallels. And this certainly is nothing new, but can be discovered more than once when the early theology of Christian martyrdom is at stake. So, if one can agree with Buschmann's presentation of *Mart. Pol.* 5 (the flight of Polycarp) and his description of the terminological parallels of this passage with the gospels, one should at the same time disagree about the perspective: 'Die zahlreichen Anspielungen an die Passion Christi werden zur ethischen Umsetzung benutzt.'[28] Are these 'Anspielungen' really so numerous? And if they are

[25] And not a general idea of the (oral) gospel message. Buschmann, *Martyrium des Polykarp*, 127–8, develops this again, in comparison with the use of 'euaggelion' in *2 Clement* and the *Didache*. Certainly the latter text shows in my opinion that the matter of interpretation has little to do with 'earlier' or 'later'. Unfortunately, *Martyrdom* is not discussed by D. A. Hagner, 'The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and in Justin Martyr', in D. Wenham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels*, Gospel Perspectives, 5 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 233–68, cf. 260 n. 5.

[26] G. Buschmann, *Martyrium Polycarpi: Eine formkritische Studie. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung der Gattung Märtyrerakte* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1994), 321–7.

[27] Buschmann, *Martyrium des Polykarp*, 51.

[28] Ibid. 127.

only 'Anspielungen', can they really have been so normative? Another example of the perspective of (omnipresent) normativity is Buschmann's exaggeration of the meaning of the parallelism between the vision of Polycarp and the 'Leidensankündigung' (Mark 8. 31 par.). That such a presentation risks being too generalizing, I have tried to show on other occasions.[29] It is, however, true that Buschmann's commentary invites us to summarize some methodical aspects of the question of the relationship between the *Martyrdom* and the New Testament, which I want to do by way of conclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The notion of 'gospel' in the expression 'martyrdom according to the gospel' can be taken in the sense of written gospel (so also Buschmann). It remains undecided, however, whether this implies one or more gospels. The author of the *Martyrdom* can be considered as having not one particular gospel in mind, although he might have known more than one gospel, as we do nowadays. The trouble remains to find something more (cf. Köhler): it is true that Quintus' conduct in *Mart. Pol.* 4 is not praised, in contradiction to what the gospel teaches. Editions and commentaries refer here as a rule to Matt. 10. 23 and John 7. 1; 8. 59; 10. 39 (cf. Bihlmeyer), but in the end these texts shed little light on the case of Quintus. On the other hand, the reference *ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες* is much closer to a specific text such as Matt. 26. 55, although another synoptic gospel might be implied.

2. There remains little support for the 'Gospel Redactor'. A certain parallelism with the passion story must be admitted, but Lightfoot's warning about the 'violence' of the parallelism remains: it makes little sense to maintain this phenomenon outside the passage where the author of *Martyrdom* himself indicates it (*Mart. Pol.* 6. 2). There is all the more reason to doubt the existence of any parallelism in the case of Polycarp being put on a donkey (8. 1)!

3. It appears that much description of the 'use' of the New Testament in the *Martyrdom* has been governed by ideas about the theological tendencies in

[29] I have commented elsewhere sufficiently on this; cf. 'Martyrdom of Polycarp and the Outbreak of Montanism'. That it is possible to integrate *Martyrdom* into a wider perspective of early theology of Christian martyrdom, without exaggerations of the kind made by Buschmann, has been shown by T. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980), 295–306, cf. p. 302; and my article 'Le Martyre de Polycarpe et *le* développement de la conception du martyre au deuxième siècle', in E. A. Livingstone (ed.), *St Patr* 17, 2 (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), 659–68; and the reaction by W. R. Schoedel.

relation to martyrdom. But the difficulty remains that we cannot speak about formal 'quotation'. The statement in *Mart. Pol.* 7. 1, 'God's will be done'—most crucial in my opinion for the understanding of the entire document—can be linked to Acts 21. 14 as well as to Matt. 6. 10 (the Lord's Prayer), and only indirectly to the context it evokes: namely, the Gethsemane scene in Matt. 26. 39 par.

Thus it seems that New Testament references and reminiscences in the *Martyrdom* are embedded within a view of the meaning of martyrdom without it being appropriate to overdo the idea 'according to the gospel' in the sense of an anti-Montanist statement, or as an idea that implies a strict parallelism with the passion story. That we should become 'imitators of the Lord' is given expression with a Pauline reference (Phil. 2. 4; see *Mart. Pol.* 1. 2 and 17. 3). The most recognizable Pauline 'quotation', 1 Cor. 2. 9, is adapted to a context about the heavenly reward for the martyrs (*Mart. Pol.* 2. 3). As I have tried to show in earlier contributions, all this implies a 'free' reception of early Christian texts, including what were later to become the canonical gospels, the authority of which is not questioned, although they are neither formally used nor normatively exploited.

One important remark remains after this brief discussion of the history of research. It is not superfluous to restore expressions such as 'Evangelien-Redaktor' or 'martyrdom according to the gospels' to their proper proportions. Only this can lead to a correct evaluation of the appropriation of earlier Christian literature in the *Martyrdom*. It is possible to illustrate this by another example of early Christian literature: the *Martyrium of Lyons and Vienne* (Euseb. *HE* 5. 1–3 = *Mart. Lugd.*). In this text too we can find a 'use' of early Christian literature that is more 'integrating' than formally 'quoting'.[30] There are, however, two exceptions: in *Mart. Lugd.* 1. 15, the fulfilment of the saying of our Lord in John 16. 2, and the fulfilment of the *graphe* in Rev. 22. 11, which is an adapted version of Dan. 12. 10. One sees here a process whereby a text gets 'authority': as fulfilment, without being in contradiction with other less formal 'quotations'. But with the *Martyrium Lugdunensium* we are getting close to the situation of an Irenaeus of Lyons, for whom formal quotation became an instrument in building up his refutation against Gnostics and Marcionites. And Irenaeus knows the four gospels. In my view, it might remain a riddle how this could be possible, and be functioning in a

[30] Cf. Rom. 8. 18 in *Mart. Lugd.* 1. 6; Rev. 14. 4 in *Mart. Lugd.* 1. 10; 1 Cor. 4. 9 in *Mart. Lugd.* 1. 40; Phil. 2. 6 in *Mart. Lugd.* 2. 2; Rev. 3. 14 in *Mart. Lugd.* 2. 3. More recently the monograph of Nagel on the Gospel of John does not treat *Martyrdom* or *Martyrdom Lugdunensium*; cf T. Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenaischen Aneignung und Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-gnostischer Literatur* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstadt, 2000).

polemical writing, had the gospels not been disseminated and read decades earlier, exercising some authority not only on the field of the transmission of the *logia Iesou* in the early Christian communities, but also on the field of the story of Jesus' life and passion. The case of the *Martyrdom* contains at least the warning that this was not necessarily a matter of explicit quotation, as if only the latter could guarantee real literary influence.

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The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the New Testament Passion Narratives

Michael W. Holmes

A surprising feature of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, a document that explicitly declares its intention to describe a 'martyrdom in accord with the gospel' (*Mart. Pol.* 1. 1; cf. 19. 1), is that nowhere in the course of its narrative does it ever quote a gospel or a saying of Jesus. At the same time, there are numerous apparent parallels and allusions to gospel tradition, which in the opinion of many provide the key to understanding Polycarp's martyrdom as an *imitation* of the passion of Jesus. This unusual circumstance—the seemingly central role of gospel parallels in a document that never cites a gospel—calls for further investigation. I propose to look first at the relationship (if any) between the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the gospels,[1] and second at the relationship between the meaning of a martyrdom 'according to the gospel' and the parallels with the gospel tradition, and its significance for understanding the *Martyrdom.*

THE GOSPELS IN THE *MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP*

In this section, the focal question is relatively straightforward: *is there any demonstrable evidence that the author of the* Martyrdom of Polycarp *has made use of any of the written gospels now included in the canonical New Testament?* The question is limited to the gospels for the moment, because features intrinsic to the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (noted in the preceding paragraph) direct particular attention to the gospels.[2]

[1] It will be noticed that *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905) did not include the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in its purview.

[2] The rest of the New Testament is discussed in an appendix at the end of this essay.

The simplicity of the question masks, of course, substantial methodological and procedural difficulties. These have been well articulated by Andrew Gregory, whose general approach and perspective will be adopted.[3] In what follows I will proceed through the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in the order of its text, assessing those instances where there is some possibility that the document may draw upon material from a (now canonical) gospel text. There is no attempt to list all possible parallels between the gospels and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, since Dehandschutter has compiled a very detailed list of verbal links, similarities, or parallels.[4] Instead, the investigation will focus on those instances which seem most likely (or which have been claimed) to offer probative evidence of the knowledge or use of *specific* gospel texts or documents.[5]

Mart. Pol. 4

'We do not praise', says the narrator near the end of §4, 'those who hand themselves over' (Quintus, of course, being the prime example of one who did), 'since the gospel does not so teach.' Massaux observes that 'commentators have wondered where such a teaching of the gospel is read. They generally go back to Mt. 10. 23; Jn. 7. 1; 8. 59; 10. 39, where the teaching of Christ and his example show that persecutors can be fled from and that it is not necessary to wait for them.'[6] But this is an odd line of interpretation to propose: the

[3] Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003), 5–20. See also the introductory essay on this topic by Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett in the companion volume.

[4] See B. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi: Een literair-kritische studie*, BETL 52 (Leuven: Universitaire Presse, 1979), 241–54. See also the commentary by Gerd Buschmann, which on individual passages typically offers extensive lists of parallels: *Das Martyrium des Polykarp*, KAV 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). For surveys of previous research, consult Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 231–41; B. Dehandschutter, 'The *Martyrium Polycarpi*: A Century of Research', *ANRW* 2.27.1 (1993), 485–522, on pp. 503–7; Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 49–58; cf. also M.-L. Guillaumin, 'En marge du "Martyre de Polycarpe": Le discernement des allusions scripturaires', in *Forma Futuri: Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975), 462–9.

[5] This means that a number of 'obvious' parallels, such as those to material occurring in the Triple Tradition, will not be listed, since there is no way the parallel can be linked to a specific gospel text.

[6] Édouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, ii: *The Later Christian Writings*, ed. A. J. Bellinzoni (Louvain: Peeters; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1992), 48; his list of possible references follows J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part 2: *S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1889; repr. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981), 3. 370. Cf. also Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 244; Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 126–8.

(uniquely Matthean) directive in Matt. 10. 23 to *flee* persecution contradicts the explicit behaviour for which Polycarp is commended in 1. 2: 'he *waited* to be betrayed, just as the Lord did.' Moreover, it is rather odd to propose parallels in the gospels for something that, according to the *Martyrdom*, the 'gospel' does *not* teach. Köhler's claim that dependence on Matt. 10. 23 is 'gut möglich'[7] would appear to overstate the matter considerably.

Mart. Pol. 5. 2a

Lightfoot suggests that there is in 5. 2 an allusion to Matt. 26. 2: 'As Christ prophecies his betrayal "after two days" (Matt. xxvi. 2), so Polycarp "three days before he was apprehended" foretold the fate that awaited him (§ 5).'[8] But Polycarp, unlike Jesus, did *not* predict the timing of his betrayal (nor of his fate): the mention of 'three days before he was apprehended' is the report of the document's author, not a prediction by Polycarp. There is here no parallel to the gospel account, and thus no allusion to Matt. 26. 2.

Mart. Pol. 5. 2b

Both Jesus and Polycarp are, however, reported to have predicted the manner of their death, the one by crucifixion and the other by fire (5. 2; cf. 12. 3)—an action which, in Polycarp's case at least, hardly required any unusual foresight, in view of Roman custom and practice. So here there is a firm parallel between the gospel tradition and the *Martyrdom*.[9] It cannot, however, be linked to a specific gospel, inasmuch as Jesus' prediction is reported in both Matthew and John. The latter might be thought to be the closer parallel, since it mentions, like the *Martyrdom*, both the prediction (12. 32–3) and its fulfilment (18. 32). On the other hand, Matthew twice portrays Jesus as specifying in advance death by crucifixion (20. 19;[10] 26. 2; cf. 23. 34), and thus both offer a possible source of the parallel (as also, we must not forget, oral tradition likely does). In short, this is a parallel to gospel tradition, but it cannot be linked with a specific gospel.

[7] W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 489.

[8] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 610.

[9] Cf. ibid. 2. 3. 385; 2. 1. 611; Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 251.

[10] The synoptic parallels (Mark 10. 34; Luke 18. 33) to this third passion prediction retain the less specific 'kill' (ἀποκτείνω) of the two earlier predictions (Matt. 16. 21 // Mark 8. 31 // Luke 9. 22; Matt. 17. 23 // Mark 9. 31).

Mart. Pol. 6. 2a

The narrative indicates that Polycarp's arrest was inevitable, inasmuch as 'the very persons who betrayed him were people of his own household' (οἰκεῖοι). Citing Matt. 10. 36, a passage unique to the first gospel (echoing Mic. 7. 6[11])—'and a man's foes will be those of his own household' (οἰκιακοί)—Lightfoot suggests that 'Here again the martyrdom of Polycarp was κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . for Christ likewise was betrayed by one of His own household (John xiii. 18)'.[12] The similarity between οἰκεῖοι and οἰκιακοί (elsewhere in the NT only at Matt. 10. 25) is the primary reason for linking 6. 2a with Matt. 10. 36, whose context is otherwise rather different. Köhler rates this as no more than 'gut möglich', and Massaux only raises a question ('Is the author perhaps making a casual reference to this saying?').[13] The one-word connection is much too slender a basis to demonstrate use of Matthew.

Mart. Pol. 6. 2b

In a remarkable coincidence (which for the writer was probably not a 'coincidence' at all), Herod, the police captain responsible for the arrest of Polycarp, bore the same name as the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea in office when Jesus was arrested and tried, Herod Antipas. This (grammatically somewhat awkward) reference is clearly one of the most intentional allusions to the gospel narrative in the *Martrydom.* But not even here can one reliably relate it to a specific gospel text, for whereas the confrontation between Herod and Jesus is narrated only in Luke 23. 6–12, Acts 4. 27 ('For truly in this city there were gathered together against Your holy servant Jesus, whom You anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, along with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel') and Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 1. 2, 'truly nailed in the flesh . . . under Pontius Pilate and Herod') remind us that Herod's name was part of the larger tradition about Jesus. The bare reference to Herod's name, given the absence of any mention of (or allusion to) distinctive Lucan material, is insufficient to justify any higher rating than 'possible' in regard to a link with the third gospel.

[11] Mic. 7. 6 LXX: ἐχθροὶ ἀνδρὸς πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

[12] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 370–1; cf. Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 146; P. T. Camelot, *Ignace d'Antioche [et] Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres. Martyre de Polycarpe*, 4th edn., SC 10 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 217 n. 4; Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 246.

[13] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 489; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 48–9.

Mart. Pol. 6. 2c

The narrator states that those who betrayed Polycarp 'received the punishment of Judas himself', and Köhler thinks that here dependence on Matt. 27. 5 is 'gut möglich'.[14] But Matt. 27. 5 is one of at least three extant accounts of the fate of Judas, each one different; the other two are reported in Acts (1. 18) and by Papias.[15] Since the narrator does not mention what the specific 'punishment of Judas' was, there is no way to determine which of the three accounts—indeed, if any of them—is the referent of the author's comment.

Mart. Pol. 7.1a

Here the author reports that those pursuing Polycarp came after him 'as though chasing after an armed rebel' (*ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες*). A search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for '*ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν*' in centuries 2 BCE–2 CE turns up only five instances: one here in *Mart. Pol.* 7. 1, three in the synoptics (Matt. 26. 55 = Mark 14. 48 = Luke 22. 52), and one in Origen (*Comm. Jo.* 28. 14. 113, clearly citing synoptic gospel material). Therefore in this instance we may with some confidence label this a virtually certain allusion to the gospel narrative. But there is no way to determine whether the allusion is to an oral or a written version of that narrative; moreover, even if it could be determined that it was from a written gospel, it is impossible, in view of the verbal identity of the phrase in all three synoptic gospels, to connect the allusion to any one gospel.[16]

Mart. Pol. 7.1b

Massaux lists Matt. 6. 10; 26. 42; Luke 22. 42; and Acts 21. 14 as possible sources for the phrase *τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθω* in 7. 1, and then declares, with no explanation, that 'Only Matt 26: 42 and L. 22: 42 can be considered' (even though the wording of 26. 42 is identical to that of Matt. 6. 10).[17] But in key respects, the wording and form of 7. 1 is most like that of Acts 21. 14 (*τοῦ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα γινέσθω*), though certainly not close enough to demonstrate

[14] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 489.

[15] For Papias's account (cited in an excerpt attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicaea), see Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, rev. edn. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1999), 582–5.

[16] Similarly, Massaux (*Influence*, ii. 47), contra Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 489.

[17] Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 47.

anything more than a possible link. A prayer such as this surely was a common feature of early Christian experience; texts such as εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς γενέσθαι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 4. 8. 66)[18] show how easily the second person address of the Lord's Prayer could become a third person statement such as we find in *Mart. Pol.* 7. 1. Moreover, the distinction between θεοῦ and κυρίου is not insignificant: in the New Testament, references to the 'will of God' outnumber those to the 'will of the Lord' eleven to three, a ratio that holds as well for the rest of first- and second-century Christian literature. Finally, it may be suggested that if the phrase in 7. 1 is an allusion, the most likely reference is to be found in the *Martyrdom* itself: namely, 2. 1 ('all the martyrdoms that have taken place in accordance with the will of God', . . . τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα).

Mart. Pol. 8.1a

The narrative indicates that when Polycarp had finished his prayer, 'the hour having come to depart', his captors led him into town. The phrase τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης may be a Johannine echo (cf. John 17. 1 and 13. 1),[19] but Mark 14. 41 (ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα) may equally be in view[20]—if one assumes that a parallel is intended and that the phrase is more than a simple indication of time.

Mart. Pol. 8. 1b

Polycarp's captors seat him on a donkey (ὄνῳ) before leading him into town. In the canonical gospels the substantive ὄνος occurs only in Matt. 21. 2, 7; again, Köhler thinks dependence on Matthew 'gut möglich'.[21] But the related diminutive ὀνάριον occurs in the Johannine version of the episode (12. 12), and Massaux is right to conclude that a single shared word is 'too thin a clue, however, to conclude in favor of a literary dependence'[22]—especially if the possibility of influence from oral tradition is kept in mind.

[18] Cf. also Origen, *De or.* 26. 1; *AJ* 18. 12.

[19] Cf. Judith M. Lieu, *Image and Reality* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 71 ('Johannine echoes are hard to avoid'); Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 358.

[20] The Matthean parallel, 26. 45, has ἤγγικεν rather than a form of ἔρχομαι.

[21] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 489.

[22] Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 47.

Mart. Pol. 8. 1c

At first glance the remark in 8. 1 that Polycarp's captors 'brought him into the city, it being a great Sabbath' (*ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου*) is an evident allusion to John 19. 31 (*ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου*).[23] An immediate difficulty for this claim is the lack of synchronicity: in John (and the synoptics as well) Jesus dies the day *before* a 'great Sabbath', whereas Polycarp dies *on* a 'great Sabbath'. Thus it is possible that the reference to a 'great Sabbath' here is, like the other reference (in ch. 21, the 'chronological appendix' to the main narrative, where a 'great Sabbath' is part of a complex dating formula[24]), nothing more than a chronological marker.[25] In view, however, of the context of the reference—'the long sentence which it closes, as a genitive absolute, is loaded with deeper significance'[26]—it is not surprising that many have sought a literary or theological explanation of the phrase. Despite all the discussion, there is certainly no consensus, or much clarity, regarding the possible meaning(s) of the phrase.[27] This reference is certainly a possible allusion to the Gospel of John, but it is difficult to find any firm ground that would justify raising it to a more certain category.

Mart. Pol. 9. 1

Lightfoot claims that 'the parallel to John xii. 28, where likewise a voice comes from heaven to Christ at the supreme crisis . . . is manifest'.[28] However, in all there are three instances of a voice from heaven in the gospel tradition: not only John 12. 28, but also at the Baptism and the Transfiguration (which is in its own right nearly as climactic a moment—coming as it does just after the

[23] E.g., most recently, Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 358.

[24] Whether ch. 21 is supplementary or secondary is for the moment immaterial; for the former view cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 626–38; for the latter, W. R. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967), 77–8.

[25] Perhaps indicating, e.g., the day of the week (cf. W. Rordorf, 'Zum Problem des "grossen Sabbats" im Polykarp- und Pioniusmartyrium', in E. Dassmann and K. S. Frank (eds.), *Pietas: Festschrift für B. Kötting* (Münster: 1980), 245–9).

[26] Lieu, *Image and Reality*, 71. Her correct observation that 'against this background it is natural to look for a symbolical, "Gospel" significance in the mention of "a great sabbath" ' does not, however, constitute evidence that such significance is (or need be) present.

[27] For discussions (with bibliography) see Remo Cacitti, *Grande Sabato: Il contesto pasquale quartodecimano nella formazione della teologia del martirio*, 19 (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994); Lieu, *Image and Reality*, 70–9; Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 166–9; Dehandschutter, 'Century of Research', 498–501.

[28] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 611.

first passion prediction and not long before his final ascent to Jerusalem—as John 12. 28). Moreover, in John 12. 30 Jesus indicates that the voice has not come for his sake, but for that of the crowd around him—a distinctive *functional* difference from *Mart. Pol.* 9. 1, where the voice is clearly intended to encourage the martyr himself.[29] Indeed, in terms of *function*, Luke 22. 43 offers a closer parallel in certain respects (as would Acts 18. 9–10 and 23. 11, were we not so predisposed by *Mart. Pol.* 1. 1 to confine our search to gospel tradition). Nor should it be overlooked that the closest parallels with regard to the *content* of the heavenly voice are in LXX Joshua (1. 6, 7, 9, 18). In short, while John 12. 28 may be an obvious parallel, it is clearly not the only possible parallel, or perhaps, even the most probable one. In short, once again we find the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* echoing gospel tradition, without being able to relate that echo (at least with any degree of probability) to a specific gospel.[30]

Mart. Pol. 11. 2

Without providing details, Köhler asserts as 'gut möglich' dependence of 11. 2 on Matt. 25. 46 (unique to Matthew); he apparently has in mind the two-word phrase *αἰωνίου κολάσεως* (reversed from Matthew).[31] While the term *κόλασις* occurs only twice in the New Testament (1 John 4. 18 is the other place), there are ten instances in the Apostolic Fathers—three of which occur in *Mart. Pol.* 2. 3–4—and over twenty instances in Justin Martyr.[32] In short, the term is not uncommon in the vocabulary of Christian writers in the second century, and thus is of little value for the question at hand.

Mart. Pol. 12. 3 (see on 5. 2b above)

Mart. Pol. 14. 2a

The prayer recorded in *Mart. Pol.* 14 bristles with allusions and echoes of scriptural and early Christian texts, here pulled together in a clearly liturgical context. One such allusion or echo is the reference in 14. 2 to the 'cup of Christ'. Once again Köhler thinks that dependence on Matthew (in this

[29] Notice the second person address, which occurs in the canonical narratives only in the Marcan and Lucan versions of the Baptism.

[30] Cf. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 249.

[31] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 489.

[32] The two-word combination (disregarding the order) also occurs in *2 Clem.* 6. 7; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 8. 4; 12. 1; 18. 2; *Dial.* 117. 3.

instance, 20. 22–3) is 'gut möglich'.[33] But the phrase is so short and non-specific that it could be linked with any number of passages (e.g., Matt. 20. 22–3 // Mark 10. 38–9; Matt. 26. 39 // Mark 14. 36 // Luke 22. 42), and thus is of no value for tracing a connection to any specific document.

Mart. Pol. 14. 2b

The phrase *εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου* occurs only here in Christian literature of the first two centuries CE.[34] The first part of the phrase (*εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς*) occurs elsewhere in the same corpus only at John 5. 29, while the second part (*ζωῆς αἰωνίου*) occurs fifty-two times in the New Testament and Apostolic Fathers (including John 5. 24). It is difficult not to see here the influence of the Fourth Gospel. What is indeterminable, however, is how this influence was exerted. Does this reflect direct knowledge of a written gospel, or indirect influence via the language of prayer and worship (especially in eucharistic contexts)? The phrase is simply too short to do more than suggest the possibility of direct dependence.[35]

Mart. Pol. 15. 1

In Lightfoot's opinion, the eyewitnesses of the events surrounding Polycarp's death 'lay stress on their providential preservation that they might relate the incidents to others (§15), just as the evangelist emphasizes in similar language the fact of his presence as witness' in John 19. 35 (cf. 21. 24).[36] But Buschmann[37] thinks that the emphasis is on the testimony to the 'wonders'

[33] Köhler, *Die Rezeption*, 489; cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 121 (the phrase 'is a reminiscence of Matt. xx. 22 and xxvi. 39').

[34] To be more precise, 'Christian literature of the first two centuries that is included in the *TLG* data base'.

[35] Cf. Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 49 ('The words . . . recall Jn. 5:29, which does not have the adjective *αἰωνίου*; the context is different. . . . To be sure, the author of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* may have taken the expression ready made from Jn., but there is no element in the text to suggest it. On the contrary, the words which follow, "of soul and body in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit," do not lead to Jn. 5:29'); differently Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 358–9. For liturgical (especially eucharistic) parallels, cf. Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 282–4.

[36] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 611; also Hermann Müller, 'Das Martyrium Polycarpi: Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Heiligengeschichte', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 22 (1908), 1–16, at p. 11; L. W. Barnard, 'In Defence of Pseudo-Pionius' Account of Saint Polycarp's Martyrdom', in P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (eds.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), i. 192–204, at p. 195.

[37] Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 298.

attending his death, with Mark 15. 33–9 // Matt. 27. 45–54 // Luke 23. 44–8 being the more comparable texts; from this perspective one might suggest Matt. 27. 54 // Luke 23. 47–8 as an even closer parallel. Dehandschutter offers, however, the key assessment: that 15. 1 reflects the general idea rather than direct knowledge of John 19. 35.[38] But if we are dealing only with the general idea, we can no longer distinguish between gospel tradition and gospel text. Once again, there is no more than a possibility of dependence on a specific gospel.

Mart. Pol. 16. 1

With regard to the administration of the *coup de grâce* by means of a short sword (*ξιφίδιον*), Lightfoot expresses a widely followed opinion: 'The incident doubtless presents itself to the mind of the writers as a parallel to John xix. 34 . . . In both cases the act of piercing with the spear or sword was an exceptional act, which could not have been foreseen from the mode of execution.'[39] In the estimation of Schoedel (and similarly Dehandschutter), however, 'No parallelism with John 19. 34 is intended (we are not even told that the dagger pierced his side as we would expect if John were imitated).'[40] Such sharp disagreement over how to read the *Martyrdom* only increases the difficulty of determining whether the author here alludes to the Fourth Gospel.

Nevertheless, we should not let this disagreement regarding the intent of the author of the *Martyrdom* obscure its effect: the passage brings to mind, for virtually all its scholarly readers, the Johannine episode.

Or is it also a Matthean episode? To the end of Matt. 27. 49, a not-insignificant group of witnesses—ℵ B C L (Γ), 34 minuscule MSS, vg^{mss} mae—add *αλλος δε λαβων λογχην ενυξεν αυτου την πλευραν και εξηλθεν υδωρ και αιμα*, a phrase reminiscent of, but not identical to, John 19. 34 (*ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ*). This phrase is typically dismissed as a harmonizing addition from John 19.[41] But the wording of the phrase is distinctive enough to raise a

[38] Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 253.

[39] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 390; Müller, 'Martyrium', 11; Barnard, 'Defence', 195; Lieu, *Image and Reality*, 65 ('an unmistakable Gospel echo'); cf. Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 312.

[40] Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 72; Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 253. Earlier W. Reuning, *Zur Eklärung des Polykarpmartyriums* (Darmstadt: Wintersche Buchdruckerei, 1917), 20; also W. C. Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom: A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Contexts of Persecution and Martyrdom in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature* (Washington: University Press of America, 1981), 183 n. 34.

[41] So Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft and United Bible Societies, 1994), 59.

question against this consensus. Moreover, this combination of external support is intriguing, especially as none of the minuscule MSS are known for any Alexandrian affinities, and the uniformity of the wording of this phrase in the witnesses supporting it suggests the possibility of a common ancestor. Finally, its placement in the Matthean passion narrative—before the death of Jesus, when the stab of the lance would have been quite painful, rather than after—makes it a 'difficult' reading. In the words of Davies and Allison, 'we are almost moved to think the line original.'[42] Westcott and Hort placed double brackets around the words in question, but 'did not feel justified in removing them from the text'; they note that 'two suppositions alone are compatible with the whole evidence': either the words 'may belong to the genuine text of the extant form of Mt', or they comprise 'a *very early* interpolation'.[43] Either option raises the possibility that the author of the *Martyrdom* knew the phrase from a source (written or oral) other than the Johannine gospel.

In short, while here the possibility of dependence on John is clear, I am disinclined to raise this to the level of probability, particularly in view of the possibility of continuing influence of oral tradition.

Summary

This section of the investigation has focused on a single question: is there any demonstrable evidence that the author of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* has made use of any of the gospels now included in the canonical New Testament? On the basis of the preceding investigation, a clear answer emerges, one that is entirely negative: in not a single instance have we been able to observe more than the possibility of dependence on a specific written gospel. To be sure, there are many verbal and conceptual parallels between the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the canonical gospels, but in none of these many instances does the evidence lead to any stronger conclusion. This does not mean that the writer did not know any of these documents (as Gregory points out, an inability to demonstrate use of a document does not prove non-use or ignorance of a document[44]), merely that we are unable to demonstrate such knowledge on the part of the author. The author of *Martyrdom* clearly knows and is deeply indebted to gospel tradition; the evidence leaves us unable, however, to demonstrate any use of a specific written version of it.

[42] W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew*, 3 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), iii. 627.

[43] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction* [and] *Appendix*, 2nd edn. (London and New York: Macmillan, 1896), 21–2, emphasis added.

[44] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 5.

This conclusion is, admittedly, to a large extent shaped by the methodological approach adopted at the start: rather than assume the existence and availability of a corpus of documents, we looked, following the approach adopted by Gregory, for probative evidence of use of specific written documents. This 'strict', or 'minimalist', approach is required by the history of the canon. Even after the time of Irenaeus (in whose writings there are clear indications of an emerging core canon that includes four specific gospels), one cannot assume that citations or allusions to gospel material necessarily derive from the four canonical gospel narratives. Prior to Irenaeus, to use a less rigorous approach runs the risk of assuming the existence of that for which one is looking.

This negative conclusion to a very precise, targeted question is hardly, of course, the whole story. The absence of explicit citations has not hindered scholarship from drawing attention to the seemingly extensive parallels between the passion narratives as reported in the canonical gospel accounts and the report of the martyrdom of Polycarp of Smyrna.[45] Indeed, so extensive and explicit are these parallels, in the opinion of some, that they have been attributed to the work of a later, theologically motivated redactor who reworked an earlier briefer account by exaggerating existing parallels and introducing others.[46] But even though these proposals should be rejected—as I am persuaded that all the 'gospel parallels' are in fact part of the very warp and woof of the narrative—they serve none the less to spotlight a fundamental feature of the narrative: its desire to present 'a martyrdom in accord with the gospel' (*Mart. Pol.* 1. 1; cf. 19. 1).

But just what is it about Polycarp's martyrdom that is κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον? To that question I now turn.

GOSPEL TRADITION AND THE *MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP*: THE *MARTYRDOM* AS INTERPRETATION OF GOSPEL TRADITION

Martyrdom κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον

The author of the *Martyrdom* clearly wishes to persuade his correspondents in Philomelium that Polycarp's martyrdom was κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (1. 1; cf.

[45] For typical lists consult Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 610–12 (essentially repeated in Barnard, 'Defence,' 194–5); Müller, 'Martyrium', 6–12; Camelot, *Martyre*, 200–2.

[46] E.g., Müller, 'Martyrium' 1–16; H. von Campenhausen, 'Bearbeitungen und Interpolationen des Polykarpmartyriums', SHAW 1957, repr. in *idem*, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1963), 253–301.

19. 1, *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ*). But what, precisely, does it mean for a martyrdom to be 'in accord with the gospel'? As Dehandschutter notes, many interpreters have understood this as indicating that it is a martyrdom that *imitates* the episodes and events in the passion of Jesus, one that *repeats* in its own time the things that happened to Jesus as he went to his death at the hands of the Romans.[47] But this sort of approach, emphasizing as it does the parallels with the gospel tradition as the key to both the meaning of the phrase *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* and the document in which it occurs, goes seriously astray in two significant respects.[48] First, it does not give sufficient weight to the explicit definition of a martyrdom *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* provided by the document; and secondly (as a consequence), it confuses a literary feature of the narrative with the meaning of the narrative.

With regard to the first point, defining a 'martyrdom according to the gospel', we may begin by noticing that in its initial occurrence the phrase 'a martyrdom according to the gospel' (*τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον*) in 1. 1 is practically synonymous with a martyrdom 'according to the will of God' (cf. *τὰ μαρτύρια πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα*) in 2. 1. The close association of these two phrases is strengthened by the correlation of the other instance of the phrase, in 19. 1 (*τὸ μαρτύριον . . . κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον*), with the idea of 'the Lord, who makes the choice from among his own servants' (*τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων*) in 20. 2. One may also note a fundamental point made in 1. 2a: namely, that Polycarp 'waited to be betrayed, just as the Lord did'. That is, Polycarp did not court or pursue arrest (in sharp contrast to Quintus, who went forward on his own—something which 'the gospel does not teach'); instead, 'as the Lord did' (*ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος*), Polycarp waited for his pursuers to come to him.[49] In short,

[47] B. Dehandschutter, 'Le Martyre de Polycarpe et le développement de la conception du martyre au deuxième siècle', in E. A. Livingstone (ed.), *StPatr* 17, 2 (Oxford and New York: Pergamon, 1982), 659–68, at pp. 660–1; also *idem*, 'Century of Research', 505, 512–13. Examples include scholars as different in their approaches as Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 610–12, 2. 3. 365) and H. von Campenhausen (*Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), 82–5, esp. p. 84: Polycarp's martyrdom is 'das ideale Vorbild aller Martyrien, die Passion Jesu selbst, wiederholt habe'); see also Camelot, *Martyre*, 200–1; Victor Saxer, *Bible et Hagiographie: Textes et thèmes bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques des premiers siècles* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1986), 27–9; cf. H. D. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament*, BHT 37 (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1967), 181–2.

[48] One could add a third, lesser respect: the inherent implausibility of many of the alleged 'parallels' (e.g., Polycarp's retreat to a farm not far from town as somehow parallel to Jesus going out to Gethsemane).

[49] Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 619 n. 1) argues that *περιέμενεν γὰρ ἵνα παραδοθῇ* means 'he lingered *about* so as to be *in the way* of his captors', and that the later incident in mind is not ch. 5 (Polycarp fled from town to a country estate) but ch. 7 ('though he could have escaped from there to another place, he refused, saying, "May God's will be done" '), with the true gospel

rather than forcing matters, he allowed events to unfold according to God's will and timing.[50]

A second characteristic of a martyrdom *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* is indicated in 1. 2b: waiting to be betrayed in some way exemplifies 'not looking only to that which concerns ourselves, but also to that which concerns our neighbors'.[51] This concern for others is then characterized in 1. 2c as 'the mark of true and steadfast love', a love that seeks not just the salvation (*σώζεσθαι*) of oneself but of 'all the brothers and sisters as well'. Note further how in 3. 1 Germanicus is praised for defeating the devil by encouraging those condemned with him—that is, by showing concern for others. Perhaps a contrast is intended with Quintus, whose behaviour put at risk not only himself but apparently also those whom he forced to come forward with him (§4).

A third characteristic of a martyrdom *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* is endurance. Though this third point is not mentioned in 1. 2 as are the other two, it is none the less interesting to observe where the 'endurance' language turns up in the narrative:

1. After stating (in 2. 1) that 'blessed and noble' are 'all the martyrdoms that have taken place in accordance with the will of God', the narrative then continues: 'for who could fail to admire their nobility and patient endurance and loyalty to the Master?' (2. 2). Of these three terms, it is 'endurance' (*ὑπομονητικόν*) that is immediately picked up in the narrative: the martyrs 'endured' (*ὑπέμειναν*, 2. 2), wringing pity from the bystanders; they are 'those who endure' (*τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν*, 2. 3); they 'endured' (*ὑπέμειναν*, 2. 4) without denying their faith; and Germanicus encouraged others by his own 'endurance' (*ὑπομονῆς*, 3. 1).
2. In 13. 3, Polycarp asks to be tied rather than nailed to the post, 'for he who enables me to endure (*ὑπομεῖναι*) the fire will also enable me to remain (*ἐπιμεῖναι*) on the pyre'.
3. In 19. 1b–2a, the narrative informs us that Polycarp's martyrdom 'was in accord with the gospel of Christ. By his endurance (*διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς*) he defeated the unrighteous magistrate and so received the crown of immortality...'

parallels being Jesus' going up to Jerusalem for the last time in spite of the warnings of his disciples and thereby placing himself in danger, and his 'lingering in the garden when He knew the fate that awaited Him'. But the reference in §4 to those like Quintus who *προδιδόντας ἑαυτους* indicates that the emphasis in 1. 2 is indeed on the *παραδοθῇ* rather than the *περιέμενεν* (cf. Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom*, 167).

[50] Cf. further 5. 2, the 'it is necessary' (*δεῖ*; also 12. 3); 6. 2, 'that he might fulfill his appointed destiny'; 7. 1, 'May God's will be done'.

[51] On the possible relationship of this phrase to Phil. 2. 4, see the discussion of *Mart. Pol.* 1. 2 in the Appendix below.

In short, at the beginning and end, precisely where the 'martyrdom according to the gospel' is being defined (1. 1–2. 1) or summarized (19), and in between at a critical moment in the narrative (13. 3), it is precisely 'endurance' that is being spotlighted.

To summarize the definition: as set out in the opening paragraphs of the narrative, a martyrdom *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*:

(1) is a matter of divine calling rather than human accomplishment or initiative;
(2) demonstrates a concern for the salvation or well-being of others (a point supported by an allusion to Pauline tradition[52]); and
(3) displays endurance in the midst of suffering.[53]

These characteristics—not the repetition, imitation, or recapitulation of events and details from the passion of Jesus—are the key elements, according to the narrative, of a martyrdom *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*.

To put the matter a bit differently, a gospel-shaped martyrdom is not one that merely recapitulates or imitates events of the passion of Jesus, but rather one that (regardless of whether it parallels any of the events of the passion) reflects a particular approach to (one might even say a theology of) martyrdom: one that reacts rather than initiates (thus permitting the divine will to be accomplished), one that demonstrates the concern for others exemplified by Jesus, and one that is characterized by endurance in the face of trials.

Defining a 'martyrdom according to the gospel' in this manner has an immediate effect on how one understands the parallels between the passion narrative and the martyrdom.

First, negatively, it means that the meaning of a martyrdom in accord with the gospel does not lie in the many alleged parallels (real or otherwise) between it and the passion of Jesus (the meaning, as we have just noted, lies elsewhere).

Second, positively, it suggests that the gospel parallels are simply a feature of the narrative genre.[54] That is, parallels with the gospel narratives are a

[52] None the less, while the phrasing is Pauline (see the discussion of 1. 2 below), the concept itself is not without roots in the gospel narrative; cf. Matt. 20. 28 // Mark 10. 45; Luke 22. 27; John 13. 14–17.

[53] This formulation is my modification of the definition given by Weinrich (*Spirit and Martyrdom*, 168) and adopted by Buschmann (*Das Martyrium*, 83): 'A martyrdom "according to the gospel", therefore, has three essential elements: 1) it is in obedience to a divine call and not a voluntary quest for suffering; 2) it serves to promote faithful endurance on the part of the brethren and thus their salvation; and 3) the martyr himself endures steadfastly his own suffering and death.'

[54] Cf. similarly Dehandschutter, 'Le Martyre', 662. Perhaps the parallels in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* have been emphasized by scholarship more than those in other extant martyrdoms

widely shared feature of early Christian martyriological accounts; there is nothing unique or even particularly distinctive about this feature of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*.[55] It is a mistake, therefore, to elevate a feature of the genre to the level of an interpretive key.

The *Martyrdom* as Interpretation

This recognition that the parallels are a feature of the genre, and not central to the meaning of the text, requires that we reconceptualize the relationship between the *Martyrdom* and the gospel tradition. A claim made by the document at the end of §4 offers a useful starting-point for doing so.

There the narrative specifically states that in regard to the model offered by Quintus—that of forcing the matter by going forward on one's own initiative—'the gospel does not so teach' (§4, *οὐκ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*). To state that the 'gospel does not teach' *X* would imply that it does teach something else—presumably the pattern of behaviour modelled by Polycarp. But with respect to the gospel narratives (at least as they are preserved in the canonical gospels), it is difficult to find any (even semi-explicit) 'teaching' upon which to base the central claim of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*: namely, that the first, and primary, aspect of a martyrdom according to the gospel is to 'wait to be betrayed'. It is certainly possible to infer this from the narrative—for example, while Judas was executing his plot with the Jewish leaders, Jesus went about his own business, and his followers should do likewise—but it nowhere approaches the level of explicit or obvious 'teaching'.

The realization that one cannot identify a text or passage that 'teaches' the main point which the *Martyrdom* seeks to inculcate offers an important clue to understanding the relationship between the *Martyrdom* and the passion narrative: it is the fruit of an act of interpretation. In an incident that the gospel tradition *narrates*—namely, Jesus' betrayal and arrest in Gethsemane—the author of the *Martyrdom* discerns a foundational principle: namely, that a martyrdom according to the gospel is one in which the potential martyr *waits to be betrayed*, 'just as the Lord' (1. 2). In the polemical

because it 'bedeutet den Anfang einer Literaturgattung' (H. W. Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1938), 134).

[55] Cf. H. Delehaye, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels: Bollandistes, 1921, 2nd edn. 1966), 20–2, esp. 21 ('Toute l'antiquité est pénétrée de cette pensée que le martyr souffre avec le Sauveur et reproduit sa passion en lui. On la retrouve un peu plus tard dans la lettre des Églises de Vienne et de Lyon, dans Hégésippe à propos de Jacques le Juste, dans la Passion de Perpétue et Félicité, et dans beaucoup d'autres textes'); earlier (and with more detail), Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 612–13. For the accounts see H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

context of a debate about the proper understanding of martyrdom, the narrative identifies a specific and seemingly circumstantial element of the gospel tradition and elevates it to the status of a fundamental guideline. This manner of treating the passion narrative is not a matter of simple imitation: it involves reflection and interpretation. The author does not simply repeat the narrative as received, but instead offers a 'reading' of it (if one may be permitted to speak of a 'reading' of what may have been an oral account!) to support a particular understanding of martyrdom.

Recognizing the hermeneutical intent of the author frees us to think about the significance and function of these 'parallels' in their own right within the context of the narrative about Polycarp. Instead of viewing them as attempts, sometimes simplistic, awkward, or overreaching, to draw attention to (or even create, if necessary) parallels between the experience of Polycarp and the passion of Jesus, they can now be analysed with respect to their function and effect, first within the narrative and second within the larger politico-social context in which the narrative was written.

When we do so, we find that many of the incidents which may 'parallel' the gospel narratives serve much more fully the author's goal of establishing the character of Polycarp: first, as a charismatic and prophetic bishop who models in his approach to martyrdom obedience to the divine will, and second, as a figure who embodies many of the heroic and/or athletic virtues and characteristics idealized by Graeco-Roman culture. In comparison to these fundamental concerns, the bulk of the 'gospel parallels', while not insignificant as such, are secondary features of a narrative whose central emphases fall elsewhere.

I conclude this section by offering a few quick sketches of what it might look like to interpret some of the supposed 'parallels' (or, in one case, a 'non-parallel') in their own right within the narrative. Though only sketches, they are suggestive of the possibilities that the different approach to the matter proposed here might open up.

1. The observation in *Mart. Pol.* 6. 2a (discussed above) that 'it was really impossible for him to remain hidden, since the very persons who betrayed him were people of his own household' (*οἰκεῖοι*) is often understood as a parallel to Matt. 10. 36 ('and a man's foes will be those of his own household', *οἰκιακοί*), and thus an instance where the martyrdom of Polycarp is allegedly *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*.

But to focus only on this aspect draws attention away from the significance of this particular sentence in the author's narrative. The assertion that 'it was really impossible for him to remain hidden' (6. 2a) functions apologetically to explain why Polycarp did not, as Matt. 10. 23 advises, continue to flee his pursuers, especially as he had the opportunity to do so (cf. 7. 1, 'he still could have escaped'). The narrator has a tricky problem here: he wants to demonstrate that Polycarp's martyrdom was indeed in accord with the gospel, in that Polycarp 'waited to be betrayed' (in sharp contrast to Quintus), but at this particular point Polycarp's actions seem *not* to accord with the teaching of Matt. 10. 23, or the example of Jesus as portrayed in John 7. 1; 8. 59; 10. 39. Stressing the 'inevitability' of capture enables the author to downplay this point by highlighting Polycarp's submission to the divine will (7. 1, 'may God's will be done').

2. Both Jesus and Polycarp are reported to have accurately predicted the manner of their death, the one by crucifixion and the other by fire; the key passage is *Mart. Pol.* 5. 2, 'It is necessary that I be burned alive' (discussed above). So here there is a firm parallel between the gospel tradition and the *Martyrdom*.

The gospel parallel, however, should not be permitted to overshadow the function and importance of this prediction in the *Martyrdom*, which has more to do with the narrative's characterization of Polycarp than the establishment of one more parallel between him and Jesus. Notice that when the fulfilment of the prophecy in 5. 2 is later reported in 12. 3, the narrator goes out of his way to emphasize that Polycarp spoke 'prophetically' (προφητικῶς) on that earlier occasion—thus establishing the basis for the important claim that will be made in 16. 2: namely, that Polycarp proved to be a 'prophetic teacher in our own time . . . for every word which came from his mouth was accomplished'. Any parallel to the gospel tradition is at best secondary to the author's goal of characterizing Polycarp as the model catholic bishop.[56]

3. A third example may be drawn from a 'non-parallel': the manner in which Polycarp goes to his execution. In a sharp contrast, Polycarp does not recapitulate the pre-execution suffering of Jesus and many other martyrs (including, apparently, all the others martyred in Smyrna at that time); indeed, he goes to his death virtually unmarked at all.[57] Also, unlike some other martyrs whose outstretched arms mimicked the cross,[58] Polycarp is neither nailed nor stretched out; instead, he is tied to a stake. In this latter instance, the contrast serves the author's agenda: in this particular case, to reinforce the *difference* between the suffering Christ and his disciples (cf. 17. 2–3).

4. In *Mart. Pol.* 7. 2, when Polycarp's pursuers (fully 'armed . . . as though chasing after an armed rebel') finally arrive late at night at the farm where Polycarp is staying, the old man 'immediately ordered that a table be set for

[56] If one reads καθολικης with bspE (mL read αγιας).

[57] He suffers only an accidental bruise to his shin as he is made to dismount from Herod's carriage (8. 3).

[58] E.g., Blandina, one of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne (Euseb. *HE* 5. 1. 41).

them to eat and drink as much as they wished at that hour'. This meal is not, as is sometimes claimed, a parallel to the 'last supper';[59] instead, we see Polycarp filling the function of a gracious and generous host, solicitous of the well-being of his 'guests'. Thus not only does Polycarp fulfil secular social expectations and models of an ideal host,[60] but he also thereby shames those who pursued him—so much so that 'many regretted that they had come after such a godly old man' (7. 3). Thus they become, almost against their will, witnesses to the godly character of Polycarp. If there is a gospel parallel involved here, the centurion's declaration as Jesus died (Matt. 27. 54 // Mark 15. 39 // Luke 23. 47) would seem to be the more likely one. In any case, this particular scene involves no superficial parallel to the gospel tradition, but rather plays a key role in the narrative's developing characterization of Polycarp.

5. As a final example, let us consider the cumulative effect of a number of seemingly unrelated incidents in the story:

In 7. 1, Polycarp's pursuers are able to capture him only because *he* chooses to stop running ('Though he still could have escaped from there to another place, he refused, saying, "May God's will be done".').

In 7. 2, he orders a table to be set for the newly arrived 'guests' (that is, his pursuers) as *he* fills the role of the gracious host, the social superior extending hospitality to visitors.

In 8. 1, the entourage departs for town with their prisoner only after *he* has finished praying for an extended length of time: effectively he, not they, determines when events unfold.[61]

In 8. 2–3, it is Polycarp who exhibits dispassionate self-control, in contrast to Herod and Nicetes, the designated representatives of imperial power, who embarrass themselves by their manner of questioning, their failure to persuade him, and their lack of self-control.

In 9. 2–12. 1, at the hearing in the arena (that symbol of Roman power and control), it is the proconsul who behaves in a womanly fashion by threatening, pleading, insisting;[62] it is Polycarp who again demonstrates self-mastery and

[59] So Müller ('Martyrium', 9): 'Es ist die Parallele zum Abendmahl und zur Einsetzung der Eucharistie.'

[60] Moreover, it should not be missed that by emphasizing Polycarp's commitment to prayer (cf. 7. 3; 8. 1; also 14), the narrator presents Polycarp as fulfilling another characteristic of idealized Graeco-Roman heroes.

[61] Cf. Lieu, who (reading the text in light of John 17, however) observes, 'As there, the effect is to stress that Polycarp, like Jesus, is not the victim of events but is in control both of them and of himself' (*Image and Reality*, 71).

[62] L. S. Cobb, ' "Be A Man": The Rhetoric and Politics of Masculinity in Early Christian Martyrologies', paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, Denver, Colo., 19 Nov. 2001.

philosophical detachment, who by his steadfastness effectively controls the direction and outcome of the hearing. It is Polycarp who delivers the closest thing there is to a verdict in this narrative, when he brings the hearing to a climax (and effectively to a close) by declaring boldy, *Χριστιανός εἰμι*.

In 13. 2–15. 1, it is Polycarp who with quiet dignity undresses himself before the stake; who instructs the executioners in proper procedure (tied but not nailed); who compels them to wait to start the fire until he has finished praying.

Who's in charge here? In a situation intended to display Roman power and authority, to remind everyone who is in control, the author of the *Martyrdom* presents a subversive narrative that mocks Roman pretensions. Rome's agents—the *διωγμῖται*, Herod, the proconsul—only think they are in charge. In the world of the narrative, they all bend to the will of a determined 86-year-old bishop, who himself is merely an obedient instrument of the divine will of the Christian God (cf. 2. 1; 1. 2). The declaration in §21 (regardless of whether it is supplementary or secondary[63]) catches the point clearly: Polycarp 'was arrested by Herod, when Philip of Tralles was high priest during the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, but while Jesus Christ was reigning as king forever'.

The several instances in this last example typically are not details that are seen as 'gospel parallels'; indeed, in some respects the comportment and unmarked appearance of Polycarp stand in sharp contrast to the mocked and beaten Jesus. Yet, taken together, they comprise a strong parallel to John 19. 11 (where Jesus answers Pilate, 'You would have no power over me unless it had been given you from above'): God, not Rome, is really in control. This is the level at which the passion narratives shape the narrative of Polycarp's martyrdom.

Summary

These few examples have tried to demonstrate some of the implications of my main point, to which it is time to return. The relationship of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* to the passion narratives of the gospel tradition is more complex than at first appears. The *Martyrdom* does not merely (or simplistically) imitate or repeat the gospel; it interprets it. For the author of the *Martyrdom*, the passion narrative is not a guide or map or movie script for retracing the steps of Jesus from Gethsemane to Golgotha. The more significant parallels

[63] For the former view cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 1. 626–38; for the latter, Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 77–8.

between the passion narratives and the *Martyrdom* are to be found at a deeper level, where the passion narrative serves as a 'master paradigm' in terms of modelling a foundational theological perspective or even world-view. The document offers a not-unsophisticated example of a contemporizing 'reading' of an authoritative narrative. We should therefore add the name of Marcianus[64] of Smyrna (20. 1) to our list of those who in the second century struggled to maintain a faithful understanding (from their perspective, at least) of the gospel narratives by interpreting them for, and in a different and rapidly-changing, socio-political and theological context.

APPENDIX: THE REST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE *MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP*

The gospels having been covered above, the same focal question will now be directed to the rest of the New Testament: *is there any demonstrable evidence that the author of the* Martyrdom of Polycarp *has made use of any of the other texts now included in the canonical New Testament?* The same procedures and methodologies that were followed for the gospels will be employed here. As before, there is no attempt to list all possible parallels between the rest of the New Testament and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, since Dehandschutter has compiled a very detailed list of verbal similarities or parallels.[65] Proceeding through the *Martyrdom* in the order of its text, this survey will focus on those instances which seem most likely (or which have been claimed to be so) to offer probative evidence of the knowledge or use of *specific* texts or documents.

Mart. Pol. Inscr.

Saxer claims that the stereotypical salutation with which the address concludes ('may mercy and peace, and love of God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied', *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη*) 'contient une citation de l'Epître de Jude' (*ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ*

64 Or is it 'Marcion'? *Marcianum* L] *Μαρκιωνος* m; *Μαρκου* bpsa. Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 398–9), followed by Holmes (*Apostolic Fathers*, 242–3) adopt the reading of the Latin, whereas Dehandschutter (*Martyrium Polycarpi*, 126, 187–9) and now Buschmann (*Das Martyrium*, 356–7) make a persuasive case for reading 'Marcion'.

65 See Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 241–54; also Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*.

ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη).[66] Equally similar, however, are a number of other texts, including 1 Tim. 1. 2 and 2 Tim. 1. 2 (*χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*), *1 Clem.* prescript. (*χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη*), and Pol. *Phil.* prescript. (*ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη*). In short, Jude 2 is only one of a number of texts to which the author may be alluding.

Mart. Pol. 1. 2

In *Mart. Pol.* 1. 2 the phrase 'not looking only to that which concerns ourselves, but also to that which concerns our neighbors' (*μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς πέλας*) is often said to be a quotation of Phil. 2. 4 (*μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἑτέρων ἕκαστοι*).[67] But the conceptual link between the two texts is stronger than the verbal link. The closest connection between the two texts is the presence of *σκοπέω*, which in early Christian literature is largely a Pauline term (Phil. 2. 4, 3. 17; Rom. 16. 17; 2 Cor. 4. 18; Gal. 6. 1; elsewhere Luke 11. 35; *1 Clem.* 51. 1). For the plural *τά* in Philippians, *Martyrdom* has the singular *τό* (as in 1 Cor. 10. 24, 33), and the use of *πέλας* in *Martyrdom* is the only instance in either the New Testament or the Apostolic Fathers. Furthermore, the conceptual link is not limited to Phil. 2. 4, but is shared with 1 Cor. 10. 23 and 10. 33, the latter of which expresses, like the concluding sentence of 1. 2, the concern that others might be saved (note the occurrence of the passive of *σῴζω* in both). In short, we quite likely have here a definite allusion, but one which cannot be linked confidently to a specific text or document.[68]

Mart. Pol. 2. 3a

A *TLG* search of 3 BCE–CE 2 for the phrase 'eyes of the heart' produces only Eph. 1. 18 (*τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας*), *1 Clem.* 36. 2 (*οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας*) and 59. 3 (*τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας*), *Corpus Herm.* 4. 11 (*τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς*) and 7. 1 (*τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς καρδίας*), and *Mart. Pol.* 2. 3 (*τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς*). Hagner thinks it is 'very probable' that *1 Clem.* 59. 3 is dependent on Eph. 1. 18.[69] Either one—or neither—could be the source of *Mart. Pol.* 2. 3. The phrase is probably allusive, but we have no way of identifying a specific source or target of the allusion.

66 Saxer, *Bible et Hagiographie*, 27; cf. Metzger, *Canon*, 121 ('an expansion of the salutation of Jude 2').

67 E.g., F. X. Funk, K. Bihlmeyer, and W. Schneemelcher (eds.), *Die Apostolischen Väter*, 3rd edn. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1970), 121; Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 226–7 (regrettably).

68 Cf. similarly Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 242; Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 50.

69 D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, NovTSup 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 223–4 (he mentions but does not discuss 36. 2).

Mart. Pol. 2. 3b

Here we encounter what Dehandschutter terms 'de meest directe verwijzing naar een nieuwtestamentische tekst' to be found in *Martyrdom*.[70] The text and its most relevant parallels read as follows.[71]

1 Cor. 2. 9: *καθὼς γέγραπται· ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ/ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.*[72]

1 Clem. 34. 8*: λέγει γάρ·* *ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν.*[73]

Mart. Pol. 2. 3: . . . *τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθά, ἃ οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου,*[74]

2 Clem. 11. 7: *λημψόμεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἃς οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.*

The problem of the identity of Paul's source in 1 Cor. 2. 9 is well known.[75] *1 Clem.* 34. 8 is probably dependent on 1 Cor. 2. 9.[76] What about *Mart. Pol.* 2. 3? That *Martyrdom* and *1 Clement* both have a participial form of *ὑπομείνω* suggests a link in that direction; on the other hand, the statement in *Martyrdom* that the Lord has shown these things to the martyrs could echo Paul's declaration in 1 Cor. 2. 10, 'but to us God revealed' (*ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεός*).[77] Against both these texts stands the reversed order 'ear . . . eye' in *Martyrdom*, which it shares with *2 Clement*; against all three is the distinctive *οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε* construction in *Martyrdom*. The author of the martyrdom is almost certainly citing or alluding to a saying well known to his

[70] Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 243; cf. *idem*, 'Century of Research', 507.

[71] For other parallels—the statement occurs widely in Jewish and early Christian literature, including the *Gospel of Thomas* 17—see Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 106 n. 94; Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom*, 184 n. 40.

[72] Re the variation: *α* p^{46} ℵ D F G 33,1739 *rel* ClemAlex] *οσα* p^{11vid} A B C^{vid} *pc* Didymus.

[73] This is the text of *Alexandrinus*; the variations in the other witnesses (C L S ClemAlex) are all in the direction of 1 Cor. 2. 9.

[74] Minor textual variations in some witnesses (see Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 113, for details) are all in the direction of 1 Cor. 2. 9.

[75] See Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, Mich., and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), 249–52.

[76] Hagner, *Use*, 76, 204–8; A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der früchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1979), 187–8; cf. *idem*, *Die Clemensbriefe*, HNT 17 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 107.

[77] So T. Zahn, G*eschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, i (Erlangen and Leipzig, 1889), 790–1 (as cited by Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 243 n. 638). Differently Massaux (*Influence*, ii. 50): 'no element of the text and context leads to 1 Cor. 2:9.'

readers, but the source of the saying (or text to which he is alluding) is clearly indeterminable.

Mart. Pol. 7. 1b

For the possibility that the reference in 7. 1b to 'the will of God' is an allusion to Acts 21. 14, see the discussion of this passage in the analysis of gospel parallels above.

Mart. Pol. 9. 1

For possible references to Acts 18. 9–10 and 23. 11, see the discussion of this passage in the analysis of gospel parallels above.

Mart. Pol. 10. 2

In response to a request from the proconsul, Polycarp is reported to have replied: 'You I might have considered worthy of a reply, *for we have been taught to pay proper respect to rulers and authorities appointed by God*, as is fitting, as long as it does us no harm' (δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ θεοῦ τε ταγμέναις τιμὴν ... ἀπονέμειν). Lightfoot proposes that 'the reference in δεδιδάγμεθα is especially to Rom. xiii. 1 sq, I Pet. ii. 13 sq', while Metzger suggests that the passage 'seems to be a recollection' of Rom 13:1, 7 and Titus 3:1'.[78] The relevant texts run as follows: Rom. 13. 1: ἐξουσίαις ... ὑποτασσέσθω. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπό θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσιν; 13. 7: τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμήν; Titus 3. 1: ἀρχαῖς ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, πειθαρχεῖν; 1 Pet. 2. 13–14: ὑποτάγητε ... εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν. Any link to 1 Pet. 2 is clearly a conceptual one only. The reference to ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις (the only instance in the Apostolic Fathers) could echo Titus 3 (where the large majority of MSS read the καί), while the strongest verbal link is to Rom. 13 (esp. ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι and τιμήν). The discordant element is the absence of the verb common to Rom. 13, Titus 3, and 1 Pet. 2, ὑποτάσσω; instead, *Martyrdom* has ἀπονέμειν, a relatively uncommon term (cf. 1 Pet. 3. 7; *1 Clem.* 1. 3; Ign. *Magn.* 3. 1; Justin, *Dial.* 103. 4; 130. 4). It seems reasonable to see *Mart. Pol.* 10. 2 as part of a tradition or stream of teaching arising out of texts like Romans, Titus, and perhaps 1 Peter; but whether this came to the author via textual or oral transmission is a more uncertain judgement. The possibility of a link to Romans is evident; there is not, however, sufficient evidence to indicate probability of textual dependence.

[78] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 2. 3. 381; Metzger, *Canon*, 121; cf. Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 250.

Mart. Pol. 14. 1

The phrase *κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ* (14. 1, cf. 19. 2) occurs also at Rev. 11. 17; 15. 3; and 16. 7, while in 4. 8 and 21. 22 the nominative replaces the vocative (cf. also 1. 8 and 19. 6). The shorter *κύριος παντοκράτωρ* occurs in an allusion to 2 Sam. 7. 8, LXX, in 2 Cor. 6. 18, and (*ὁ*) *παντοκράτωρ Θεός* (in various cases) in *1 Clement* (inscr.; 2. 3; 32. 4; 62. 2). Buschmann notes that the phrase is the common stuff of Jewish prayer,[79] while Massaux notes the possibility of liturgical influence on this part of the *Martyrdom*.[80] It is indeed possible that the *Martyrdom* is here dependent on Revelation,[81] but it is equally possible that both Revelation and the *Martyrdom* reflect a common tradition, influence, or source.

Mart. Pol. 17. 2

Metzger suggests that 'the phrase "Christ . . . the blameless One for sinners" ' in 17. 2 'may be reminiscent of' 1 Pet. 3. 18; Dehandschutter adds 1 Pet. 1. 19.[82] The connection, however, is more conceptual than verbal, and is insufficient to serve as probative evidence of a knowledge of 1 Peter.

Summary

Here, as in the discussion of the gospels earlier, a clear answer emerges to the question of whether there is any *demonstrable* evidence that the author of the *Martyrdom* has made use of any of the non-gospel material now included in the canonical New Testament. In not a single instance have we been able to observe more than the possibility of dependence on a specific written text. The kind of evidence one finds, for example, in the report about the martyrs in Lyons and Vienne—for example, a twelve-word verbally exact match to Phil. 2. 6[83]—is simply not to be found in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. To be sure, there are many verbal and conceptual parallels between the *Martyrdom* and the documents in question, but in none of these many instances does the evidence lead to any stronger conclusion than mere possibility. This does not mean that the writer did not know any of these documents (Gregory's point is worth repeating: an inability to demonstrate use of a document does not prove non-use or ignorance of a document[84]), merely that we are unable to demonstrate such knowledge on the part of the author.

[79] Buschmann, *Das Martyrium*, 274; see 273–4 n. 111 for a full list of parallels (many Septuagintal). Cf. also David Aune, *Revelation*, i, Word Bible Commentary 52a (Dallas: Word, 1997), 306; ii, Word Bible Commentary 52b (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 642.

[80] Massaux, *Influence*, ii. 50.

[81] So Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 358.

[82] Metzger, *Canon*, 121; Dehandschutter, *Martyrium*, 254.

[83] Euseb., *HE* 5. 2. 2 (. . . *μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ὥστε* . . .).

[84] Gregory, *Reception of Luke*, 5.

Once again, this negative conclusion to a very precise and targeted question is hardly the whole story. If, for example, one were to ask whether it is probable that the church in Smyrna possessed copies of at least some of the documents now found in the canonical New Testament, the evidence supplied by the letter that the congregation's bishop wrote some years earlier to the church in Philippi suggests that the answer would be an assured 'yes'.[85] It is not possible, however, to confirm that hypothesis on the basis of evidence supplied by the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*.

[85] See the discussion in Ch. 8 of companion volume of the use of the New Testament in Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*.

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