ANCIENT COMPOSITIONAL PRACTICES AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

by

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ABSTRACT

Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem

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This dissertation investigates the ways in which an understanding of the literary

culture(s) of the Greco-Roman world can inform Synoptic source critical discussion.

From a survey of ancient book production, a study of the interplay between orality and

textuality, the identification and analysis of written sources and how they were adapted

by later authors, we are able to catalog a set of compositional methods of ancient writers.

From this, we are able to test the extent to which three "solutions" to the Synoptic

Problem are consistent with the known practices of writers in antiquity.

We conclude that while all three of the theories had certain problems in light of

our catalogue of compositional practices, some had more problems than others. The most

significant problem for the Two-Gospel (Neo-Griesbach) Hypothesis (2GH) continues to

be the picture of Mark as one who "micro-conflates" Matthew and Luke. This imagined

procedure is mechanically unworkable and unattested in ancient literature. In addition,

the sort of literature that Mark is on the 2GH is not supported by an appropriate literary

analogy from the ancient world.

The Farrer-Goulder Theory (FGH) does not suffer the same problems that Mark

does on the 2GH. What Matthew is said to do with Mark is feasible. However, the most

significant hurdle for the FGH is its depiction of Luke's compositional method. The

description of Luke's compositional methods on the FGH is often problematic,

particularly in Michael Goulder's description of Luke's reverse contextualization of Matthew.

Finally, the Two-Document Hypothesis (2DH) has certain problems as well. While Luke's method of adapting Mark and Q – essentially in alternating blocks – is both feasible and consistent with the known practices of writers in antiquity, Matthew's use of Mark and Q potentially creates a different set of problems. In terms of compositional conventions, the 2DH is weakest in the sections in Matthew where he is evidently conflating Mark and Q (i.e., the Mark-Q overlap texts). However, when a reconstructed Q is provided, often Matthew appears to be following either Mark or Q, and may, in fact, be recalling the other by memory. In the end, it appears that the 2DH has the fewest problems in light of the compositional practices of antiquity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Feast of St. Mary Magdalene

ABBREVIATIONS

MODERN WORKS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
NJBC	*The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*
NRSV	*The New Revised Standard Version*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*

OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
ÖTKNT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar Neues Testament
PACA	*Proceedings of the African Classical Associations*
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SCHNT	Studia ad corpus hellenisticum Novi Testamenti
ScrB	*Scripture Bulletin*
SNTA	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TJT	*Toronto Journal of Theology*
TS	Texts and Studies
VCSup	Vigilae christianae: Supplement Series
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZBKNT	Züricher Bibelkommentare Neues Testament
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

ANCIENT AUTHORS AND WORKS

1-2 Amm.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epistula ad Ammaeum i-ii*
Anab.	Arrian, *Anabasis*
Ant.	Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*
Ant. rom.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates romanae*
Ben.	Seneca, *De beneficiis*
Cels.	Origen, *Contra Celsum*
Comp.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum*
De or.	Cicero, *De oratore*
DH	Deuteronomistic History (1-2 Samuel; 1-2 Kings)
Dtr	Deuteronomistic historian
Ep.	Jerome, *Epistulae*
Ep.	Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*
Ep.	Seneca, *Epistulae morales*
Epig.	Martial, *Epigrams*
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (F. Jacoby)
Frag.	Callimachus, *Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments*
Geogr.	Strabo, *Geographica*
Hist. conscr.	Lucian, *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*
Ind.	Arrian, *Indica*
Ind.	Lucian, *Adversus indoctum (The Ignorant Book Collector)*
Inst.	Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*

Inv.	Cicero, *De inventione rhetorica*
J.W.	Josephus, *Jewish War*
LXX	Septuagint
Marc.	Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*
Nat.	Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*
NT	New Testament
P Oxy.	*Oxyrynchus Papyri*
Prob.	Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*
Princ.	Origen, *De principiis*
Pyth.	Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorae*
Rhet. Her.	*Rhetorica ad Herennium*
Tranq.	Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi (On Tranquility of the Mind)*
Vit. Apoll.	Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*
Vit. Const.	Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*

GOSPEL SIGLA AND TERMS

2DH	Two-Document (Two-Source) Hypothesis
2GH	Two-Gospel (Neo-Griesbach) Hypothesis
DvFtr	"Deviation Factor" (= the extent to which Matthew has deviated from the order of Q in his placement of individual Q pericopes)
FGH	Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis
GH	Griesbach Hypothesis
"L"	pre-Lukan source material
"M"	pre-Matthean source material
MAs	"Minor Agreements"
MStat	"Morgenthaler Statistic" (= percentage of verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke in double tradition [Q] pericopes)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. Ancient Compositional Practices and Synoptic Source Criticism:

The Dilemma for Source Critics

The Synoptic Problem remains precisely that: *a problem*. While a few Synoptic

scholars have argued with great confidence that particular solutions to the Synoptic

Problem are "assured findings" and no longer theory but "fact,"[1] the Synoptic Problem

has not been solved. This is not to say that among the various solutions to the problem

that have been suggested there is not a theory or hypothesis that best explains and

accounts for the Synoptic "facts" or data.[2] Indeed, Synoptic scholarship is, for the most

part, divided between three competing "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem: the

Griesbach (or "Two-Gospel") Hypothesis (GH), the Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis (FGH),

and the Two-Document (or "Two-Source") Hypothesis (2DH), with most Synoptic

scholars holding to the latter theory. The over-confidence that characterizes Marxsen and

others for seeing the 2DH as an "assured finding" seems to misunderstand the nature and

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[1] See, for example, Willi Marxsen's comments on the Two-Source Hypothesis: "[The] Two-Sources theory has been so widely accepted by scholars that one feels inclined to abandon the term 'theory' (in the sense of 'hypothesis'). We can in fact regard it as an assured finding..." (*Introduction to the New Testament* [trans. G. Buswell; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968] 118). See also Michael D. Goulder's remarks: "Luke's [or Matthew's] use of Mark is a fact (or a generally accepted one), while Q is a mere postulate." ("Is Q a Juggernaut?" *JBL* 115 [1996]: 670).

[2] Synoptic "facts" or "data" would include patterns of agreement and disagreement in wording and order among the Synoptics.

purpose of (scientific) hypotheses and theories, which, by their nature, are simply

heuristic devices that make sense of the data.[3]

Synoptic scholarship (at least in North America and continental Europe) has, for

the most part, accepted the 2DH as the best "solution" to the Synoptic Problem. This

majority in support of the 2DH, however, by no means indicates that the theory is without

its problems: "most plausible" is hardly synonymous with "problem free." The most

significant problem for advocates of the 2DH continues to be the so-called "Minor

Agreements" (MAs): that is, places in triple-tradition material where Matthew and Luke

agree in wording (in both inclusion and omission of words) against Mark.[4] While there is

some disagreement over the extent and number of the MAs and the relative weight of

"negative" agreements (agreements in omission) and "positive" agreements, the

following explanations have been suggested for this phenomenon by proponents of

Markan priority: Urmarkus, Deutero-Mark, other Markan recensions, later textual

corruption, Mark-Q overlaps, Luke's subsidiary use of Matthew, independent recollection

of a common oral tradition, and simple (redactional) coincidence.[5] Many of the MAs can

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[3] Scientific theories and hypotheses need not be definitively "proved" in order to be accepted. Typically, the better theories (i.e., the more plausible) are the more parsimonious, and more easily and simply explain the data than those theories that are less so.

[4] The MAs are deemed by E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies to be the "Achilles' heel" of the 2DH (*Studying the Synoptic Gospels* [London/Philadelphia: SCM Press/Trinity Press International, 1989] 67).

[5] For a helpful survey of "solutions" to the problem of the MAs, see Frans Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark with a Cumulative List* (BETL 37; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1974) 11-48. See also Timothy B. Friedrichsen, "The Matthew-Luke Agreements against Mark. A Survey of Recent Studies: 1974-1989," in *L'Évangile de Luc-The Gospel of Luke* (ed. F. Neirynck; BETL 32; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1989) 335-392, esp. 335-367; A. Ennulat, *Die "Minor Agreements"* (WUNT 2/62; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1993); Georg Strecker, ed., *Minor Agreements. Symposium Göttingen 1991* (Göttinger theologische Arbeiten 50; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); and S. McLoughlin, "Les accords mineurs Mt-Lc contre Mc et le problème synoptique: vers la théorie des deux sources," in *De Jésus aux évangiles: tradition et rédaction dans le évangiles synoptiques* (ed. I. d. L. Potterie; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1967) 17-40.

be explained simply using one or more of the aforementioned suggestions, with most of

the MAs being truly "minor." Yet, there is a small but significant group of MAs that are

not as easily explained,[6] with many of the suggested explanations for the phenomenon of

the MAs being less than satisfactory.[7] Yet, as Friedrichsen has rightly pointed out,

"disagreement amongst Two-Source theorists about the explanation of particular minor

agreements does not serve as an argument against the [Two-Source] hypothesis."[8]

Other (less serious) problems remain as well. For example, the status of double

tradition pericopes with a low degree of verbal agreement in the Sayings Gospel Q is a

matter of certain debate. Pericopes such as the Great Supper (Matt 22:1-10//Luke 14:16-

24) and the Parable of the Talents (Matt 25:14-30//Luke 19:11-27) which contain a low

degree of verbal agreement have a questionable status in the Q document. Here, the issue

is the likelihood of both high and low degrees of verbal agreement between Matthew and

Luke and whether this phenomenon poses problems to the shape and extent of the

evangelists' source, Q.[9]

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[6] F. Neirynck lists 52 "significant" MAs (*The Minor Agreements in a Horizontal Line Synopsis* [Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1991] 101-102). These include the following: Matt 3:5/Luke 3:3; Matt 3:11/Luke 3:16; Matt 4:23/Luke 4:43; Matt 8:2/Luke 5:12 (2x); Matt 9:2/Luke 5:18 (2x); Matt 9:7/Luke 5:25; Matt 9:8/Luke 5:26; Matt 9:16/Luke 5:36; Matt 9:17/Luke 5:37; Matt 12:1/Luke 6:1; Matt 12:4/Luke 6:4; Matt 12:9/Luke 6:6; Matt 4:25/Luke 6:17; Matt 4:24/Luke 6:18; Matt 10:2/Luke 6:14; Matt 13:10/Luke 8:9; Matt 13:11/Luke 8:19; Matt 8:27/Luke 8:25; Matt 9:18/Luke 8:41; Matt 9:20/Luke 8:44; Matt 10:1/Luke 9:1; Matt 10:7/Luke 9:2; Matt 10:10/Luke 9:3; Matt 14:1/ Luke 9:7; Matt 14:13/ Luke 9:11; Matt 16:16/Luke 9:20; Matt 17:2/Luke 9:29; Matt 17:6/Luke 9:34; Matt 17:5/Luke 9:34; Matt 17:17/Luke 9:41; Matt 17:18/Luke 9:42; Matt 19:29/Luke 18:30; Matt 21:16/Luke 19:39; Matt 21:17/Luke 21:37; Matt 21:23/Luke 20:1; Matt 24:21/Luke 21:23; Matt 26:42/Luke 22:42; Matt 26:50/Luke 22:48; Matt 26:63/Luke 22:67; Matt 26:64/Luke 22:70; Matt 26:64/Luke 22:69; Matt 26:68/Luke 22:64; Matt 26:75/Luke 22:62; Matt 27:40/Luke 23:35; Matt 27:54/Luke 23:47; Matt 27:59/Luke 23:53; Matt 28:1/Luke 23:54; Matt 28:3/Luke 24:4; and, Matt 28:8/Luke 24:9.

[7] See Friedrichsen, "The Matthew-Luke Agreements against Mark," *passim*.

[8] See Friedrichsen, "The Matthew-Luke Agreements against Mark," 391.

[9] For example, see Thomas Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand: Die Zuordnung des Mt/Lk-Stoffes*

Despite the scholarly commitment to solve some of these nagging difficulties that

remain for the various source-critical "solutions," specifically the 2DH, the Synoptic

Problem still remains a problem. There are several reasons for this circumstance. First,

this phenomenon precisely has to do with scholarship's virtually complete silence on the

physical conditions and literary methods of ancient authors and how they might

contribute to understanding the various solutions to the Synoptic Problem and the

questions associated with each theory. For example, Joseph Tyson (an advocate of the

GH) states the following about compositional conventions and the Synoptic Problem:

"What Luke did with his sources may have made perfect sense to him but not to us. Or,

what is more likely, we may not be able to discern the sense that things made to the

ancient author."[10] Tyson's comments exemplify the lack of virtually any concrete

imagination of gospels composition in light of the literary procedures of antiquity. J. K.

Elliott puts this matter rather succinctly, noting the complexity of Synoptic literary

relationships with an eye to the ancient compositional conventions:

> My own work on the synoptic problem is making me increasingly
> sceptical about direct literary copying. Creative authors such as the individual
> evangelists obviously made use of existing traditions and even the outlines,
> framework, ideas and sometimes the words of their predecessors, but I find it
> difficult to accept that Gospel-writer number three for example behaved like a
> scribe, slavishly copying his exemplar. It is difficult to imagine how this creative
> theologian is supposed to have composed his Gospel, working with at least two

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zu Q am Beispiel der Bergpredigt (FRLANT 158; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). Bergemann
argues that this sort of variation in agreement in the double tradition is an important fact mediating multiple
sources for the Double Tradition (Q material). Bergemann concludes that agreement of less than 30%
between Matthew and Luke in the Double Tradition indicates that a pericope should not be assigned to Q.
Rather, he argues that an Aramaic *Grundrede* was available to both Matthew and Luke that contained the
Double Tradition pericopes comprising less than 30% verbal agreement.

[10] J. B. Tyson, "The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal," in *The Two-Source
Hypothesis. A Critical Appraisal* (ed. A. J. Bellinzoni, J. B. Tyson, and W. O. Walker; Macon, GA: Mercer
University Press, 1985) 449.

sources propped up before him on his desk.[11] The logistics of this make it even more difficult if we wish to argue that those early sources would have been written on scrolls! Is this later evangelist to have read from one source copying, occasionally altering or expanding it, before turning to his second source to complete his ideas, as he changes horses in mid-stream time and time again?

My own assessment is coming to see a greater flexibility than that process allows.[12]

Elliott's comments make sense when viewed against the many anachronistic

images of the later evangelist(s) and his (their) literary context(s) and conditions in which

he (they) wrote, which are implicitly or explicitly stated by Synoptic source critics. For

example, writing desks are often imagined as the surface upon which the evangelists

worked.[13] The later evangelist, whether it be Matthew and/or Luke, or Mark, has "in front

of him" his two sources, which he combines into one new written work. This is clearly an

anachronistic conception of the Synoptic evangelists, given the earliest literary

description and artistic depiction of writing desks comes several centuries after the

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[11] I think that Elliott is being a bit sardonic here, well aware of the actual posture of ancient writers and the evident non-existence of writing tables and desks in antiquity. Regarding the posture of scribes, see nn. 9 and 10 below.

[12] J. Keith Elliott, "Non-canonical sayings of Jesus in patristic works and in the New Testament manuscript tradition," in *Philologia Sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (ed. R. Gryson; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1993) 344-345.

[13] See, for example, Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 1:24 (Luke's "table"), 1:197 (Luke has Matthew and Mark "open in front of him" on his table). Cf. also the repeated references by GH advocates to Mark's desk and his two sources "in front of him": W. R. Farmer, "The Two-Gospel Hypothesis: The Statement of the Hypothesis," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels. A Symposium Led By M. É. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck* (ed. David Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1990), 142; and A. J. McNicol, "The Composition of the Synoptic Eschatological Discourse," in Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 182, 197. See also the metaphorical (but potentially misleading) picture of Mark drawn by Burton Mack (*A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988] 322-323): "[Mark's Gospel] was composed at a desk in a scholar's study lined with texts and open to discourse with other intellectuals. In Mark's study were chains of miracle stories, collections of pronouncement stories in various states of elaboration, some form of Q, memos on parables and proof texts, the scriptures, including the prophets, written materials from the Christ cult, and other literature representative of Hellenistic Judaism. It would not be unthinkable that Mark had a copy of the Wisdom of Solomon, or some of the Maccabean literature, or some Samaritan texts, and so on."

writing of the Gospels.[14] More often than not, this picture is the one implicitly in view

when Synoptic source critics imagine the physical conditions and contexts of Gospels

composition.

Second, while Synoptic scholars have paid great attention to certain aspects of the

literary contexts of the Synoptic Gospels, including authorship, occasion, dating, and

community *Sitz im Leben*, little attention has been paid to the compositional methods of

ancient writers that may have been employed by the evangelists in the construction of

their gospels.[15] Similar literary methods of ancient authors are often overlooked by most

Synoptic source critics, with virtually no investigation into the methods of authors and

their sources in antiquity being attempted by source (or redaction) critics. In other words,

while "compositional analyses" of the Gospels seem to abound, typically these analyses

make little attempt to find compositional conventions that are historically analogous to

the production of the Gospels.

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14 See Bruce M. Metzger's discussion of the posture of authors and copyists in antiquity ("When Did Scribes Begin Using Writing Desks?" in *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan and Jewish Christian* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968] 123-137). See also G. M. Parássoglou, "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ: Some Thoughts on the Postures of the Ancient Greeks and Romans When Writing on Papyrus Rolls." *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979): 5-22; and idem, "A Roll upon His Knees," *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985): 273-275. Parássoglou traces the earliest artistic depictions of scribes/writers seated behind writing desk to no earlier than 3rd c. CE, gaining popularity by the 9th c. (see "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ," 15). He then isolates several Greek colophons that indicate the use of a writer's body, including his or her thigh, i.e., writing without the aid of a writing desk. For example, the following comes from a colophon of Homer's *Iliad* dating from the 3rd c. CE: ἐγ[ὼ κορ]ωνίς εἰμι, γραμμάτων φύλαξ ι κάλαμος μ' ἔγραψε, δεξιὰ χεὶρ καὶ γόνυ ("I am the *coronis*, the guardian of scribes. The pen wrote me [as did] the right hand and knee;" see "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ," 19).

15 Certainly, redaction critics have paid attention to "literary methods" in the senses that are allowed within the redaction-critical method: theology of the evangelist, *Sitz im Leben* of the evangelist, etc. See the recent treatment of "Luke's compositional techniques" by advocates of the GH in A. J. McNicol, D. L. Dungan, and D. Peabody, eds., *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996) 29-35. In the Introduction, the editors make a passing and general comparison of Luke's "compositional techniques" (of his source Matthew) to Lucian of Samosata's prescription for writing history (31-33); this is never developed in later in the book. Redaction (and source) critics have typically ignored the potentially parallel literary methods employed by *other* ancient authors

Finally, there exists a related and equally problematic logical confusion of

hypotheses as descriptions. This is maintained by many source critics from all points of

view, but perhaps is best illustrated by Frans Neirynck, an advocate of the 2DH.[16] While

Neirynck is a cunning and formidable defender of the 2DH, it appears that he views the

theory not as a mere heuristic device that helps one understand Synoptic relationships,

but as a model that depicts what *actually* happened: the authors of Matthew and Luke

both had access to what would become canonical Mark (not an earlier or later edition)

and to the same version of Q. For scholars like Neirynck, a parsimonious and logical

hypothesis subtly becomes a matter of description of what really happened. This is a

fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of source-critical hypotheses, which function

only as heuristic devices that make sense of the data, and do not function as an account of

what actually happened. For these source critics, the problem seems to be (at best) a

different prioritizing of logical considerations, and (at worst) a confusion of logical and

realistic features of a particular model. Hence, the "orthodoxy" of the 2DH is defended to

the point where entertaining the (real) possibility that Matthew and Luke had access to

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who are working with one or more sources.

[16] J. Delobel, a student of Neirynck, describes him as follows: "[Neirynck is a] known and respected defender of a strict but strongly argued two-source theory to explain agreements and differences between Matthew, Mark and Luke. Everyone who attempts to promote or reanimate an alternative hypothesis (proto-Mark; proto-Luke; proto-Matthew; deutero-Mark; Markan posteriority; multiple-source theories) meets Neirynck on his or her way with a refutation which is based on an overall view on all the aspects of the problem, an overall knowledge of the literature concerning the topic and a strong argumentation for Markan priority and Q" ("Professor Neirynck: 1960-1992," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism* [ed. C. Focant; BETL 110; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993] xviii-xix).

Neirynck argues that while one can observe "a considerable amount of variety" within the basic 2DH, and that the 2DH is "a very large house with many dwelling places, or a big family with many family quarrels," "[s]uch a comprehensive two-source theory is certainly not what I [Neirynck] am pleading for." He continues: "It is at least not my opinion that there is an urgent need for important modifications or mitigations of our hypothesis" ("The Two-Source Hypothesis," in Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 4-5).

different copies of both Mark and Q is dismissed. This refusal to entertain various

Markan (and Q) recensional theories does not assist in advancing the imagination of what

actually happened – the quest for the historical literary contexts of the Synoptic

evangelists, if you will – and does not encourage imagination of the possible physical

conditions and literary methods employed by them.[17]

Thus, one can conclude that it appears that Synoptic source critics, for the most

part, either consciously or unconsciously assume that text and manuscript production, and

literacy in the Greco-Roman world, was much like it is today and is realistically depicted

by the various theories on Synoptic literary relationships. Scholars might implicitly

conceive the gospel authors as "cut and paste" editors of their sources, imagining

Matthew or Luke sitting at a writing desk with their (identical) copies of Mark and Q in

front of them, along with their blank papyrus scroll and stylus. This picture is not only a

distortion of the mechanics of ancient book production, but it also misconstrues the

probable literary context in which the Synoptic Gospels were composed.[18]

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[17] While many would quibble with the source-critical solution suggested by Sanders and Davies (*Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, 84-119), their following comments reflect the likely literary contexts of the Synoptic evangelists: "It is entirely reasonable to think of different editions of one or more of the gospels. At the social and economic level at which they were first published and circulated, it is unlikely that they were published professionally. Some books were: a large room of scribes would copy simultaneously while the text was read, and the result would be several copies with only minor variations. But if one of the gospels were copied only once, and the copy passed on, it would be very easy for modifications to be made. Some of these modified versions then might survive and the original perish. They, the theories of Proto- and Deutero-Mark, or of Intermediate Matthew and Mark, are not in the least unlikely, and we may have here the explanation of some of the difficulties of the problem as we meet it today" (113).

[18] See F. G. Downing's comments regarding this and his description of other similarly anachronistic pictures ("Wordprocessing in the Ancient World: The Social Production and Performance of Q, *JSNT* 64 [1996]: 29-48): "[I]t would seem that most historians of Christian origins and early Christian writings operate with a nineteenth century image of the author as individual working in romantic isolation until presenting a finished work for the public to take or reject as issued" (34); the image of the "author" of Q in the minds of most modern Q scholars is "a picture drawn from modern authorial practice, quite without reference to the way words seem to have been processed in the first century..." (42).

In addition, scholarly discussion regarding the Synoptic Problem has not, for the

most part, advanced beyond redaction-critical observations and arguments. Without

question, redaction criticism has proved to be invaluable for identifying the theological

concerns of each evangelist by attempting, as R. H. Stein has argued, "to [first] discover

the qualitative and quantitative uniqueness that distinguishes the evangelists from their

sources," and then to seek "to ascertain the *Sitz im Leben* out of which each evangelist

wrote and the particular purposes for which he wrote his gospel."[19] Rightly, redaction

criticism rose partly in response to the inadequacies of form criticism and its advocates

who implicitly viewed the evangelists not as theologians in their own right but as

"scissors and paste" compilers and mere "stringers of pearls."

In the Synoptic Problem, redaction criticism often (rightly) provides a vehicle for

establishing hypothetical "directions of dependence" in Synoptic source critical

discussions. While verbal similarities among the Synoptics can often establish the

existence of literary relationships, verbal differences between one or more of the

Synoptic authors viewed through the lens of the redaction-critical method aid in

establishing directions of dependence, or, in other words, a source-critical "solution" to

the Synoptic Problem.[20] Often, source-critical arguments are reduced to redaction-critical

discussions, with redaction-criticism being the "final" methodological step in establishing

a theoretical direction of dependence.[21] Yet, like all methods, the redaction-critical

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[19] R. H. Stein, "What is Redaktionsgeschichte?" *JBL* 88 (1969): 54.

[20] The participants in the 1984 Jerusalem Symposium on the Synoptic Problem unanimously
agreed to the following statement: "that a literary, historical and theological explanation of the evangelists'
compositional activity, giving a coherent and reasonable picture of the whole of each Gospel, is the most
important method of argumentation in defense of a source hypothesis" (Dungan, *The Interrelations of the
Gospels*, 609).

method is limited in a variety of ways, including the latent subjectivity in the various

arguments in favor of "plausible" redactional scenarios.[22] While redaction criticism can

prove to be a helpful tool in establishing "directions of dependence" in some source-

critical discussions, it can also prove to be limited since redaction critics (like most

source critics) often do not take seriously the compositional conventions of the ancient

world in their discussion. The term "redaction criticism" can prove to be anachronistic as

well, seeing the evangelists as "redactors" or "editors" of their source material. Here, the

terminology (and perhaps even parts of the method itself) reflects a modern

understanding of editing or redaction, for theological and community reasons, as opposed

to taking seriously the specific ways in which ancient authors dealt with source material,

the procedure of "editing," and more generally, the ancient production of written texts.

In the end, both source criticism and redaction criticism, which are often

methodologically complementary, are also limited in their scope, imagination, and

value.[23] Thus, there is a need for these modern critical methods to be practiced with an

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[21] From the perspective of the GH, see the recent work by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies (in McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse*) where a "compositional [or 'redactional'] analysis of Luke" establishes the apparent likelihood of Luke's use of Matthew.

[22] For example, John S. Kloppenborg has argued the following: "[T]he 'editorial rationalization' of any of the possible solutions [to the Synoptic Problem]...is normally conducted by arguing that gospel A is the source of gospel B because element in y in B can be explained as a plausible borrowing or transformation of x in A where the inverse relationship is not so plausible. It is abundantly clear, however, that such 'plausibility arguments' been adduced for several mutually contradictory direction of borrowing and just as clear that the canons of plausibility differ from critic to critic. This is the level at which most of the S[ynoptic] P[roblem] argument in fact goes on; yet it is also one of the most subjective parts of the entire enterprise. One of the challenges in respect to assessing 'plausibility arguments' is to find ways to discipline one's own ingenuity in generating possible editorial scenarios. The literature is full of proposals to account for editorial adaptations, some modest and some adventuresome," ("Theological and Historical Stakes in Synoptic Problem Research," paper read at the 1997 AAR/SBL Meeting, San Francisco, November 24, 1997, p. 2). Kloppenborg continues, as he describes the present state of the imaginations of Synoptic source critics: "Thus far, *there have been few efforts to control our fertile imaginations by appealing to the kinds of editorial transformations actually attested in the other corpora of literature of a type comparable with the synoptic gospels*" (emphasis added).

[23] As Sherman E. Johnson has argued: "Since we work with written documents, we have to use

eye on the compositional practices of the ancient world in order to compensate for some

of these inadequacies. There are a few exceptions to the trend in Synoptic scholarship of

not engaging the compositional methods of antiquity (see below). However, these few

attempts indicate the otherwise general lack of interest scholars of the Synoptic Problem

to take seriously the importance of understanding the compositional conventions of

antiquity and their bearing on the literary relationships among the Synoptics. One could

easily conclude, then, that what are needed are analyses that continue to attempt to bring

the problems for Synoptic source critics together with the question of ancient

compositional practices.

II. Unique Attempts at Including Ancient Compositional Practices in Synoptic Source-

Critical Discussions

There are a few particular attempts to address this need. T. R. W. Longstaff, in his

published doctoral dissertation,[24] argued that one could begin to catalogue a group of

characteristics of conflation based upon an analysis of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and two

Medieval historians, Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hoveden.[25] Longstaff

applies these characteristics to the Synoptic Problem, and concludes that Mark can be

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literary methods as far as they will take us. Source criticism, form criticism, and redaction criticism have proved to be essential tools for reconstructing the story of Jesus and of primitive Christianity. But there are variables that make many conclusions tentative. We do not know just how a later evangelist would rewrite an earlier gospel. Did he have the convenience of a codex or did he have to unroll a scroll from time to time? And did he always look at a written text or might he sometimes have depended on his memory of it? There is the possibility, too, that at some points he depended on an oral tradition known to him" (*The Griesbach Hypothesis and Redaction Criticism* [SBLMS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991] 41).

[24] *Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study of the Synoptic Problem* (SBLDS 28; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

understood as a conflator of Matthew and Luke, an author who evidences the same

characteristics as found in Tatian and in the Medieval historians.[26] As Longstaff's work is

essentially an apology for the GH, engagement with the argument has been rather

limited.[27] In addition, Longstaff's effort is limited to cataloguing a list of characteristics

of conflation, which is at best a very restricted picture of the literary contexts of (ancient)

authors. It also assumes without argument that Medieval characteristics of conflation are

much the same as those employed by Greco-Roman authors. Yet, Longstaff's work is

significant in that he sought to investigate how an analysis of a few ancient and medieval

authors can inform discussion on the Synoptic Problem.

Another recent attempt at understanding the Synoptic Problem in light of ancient

compositional practices is Downing's article entitled "Compositional Conventions and

the Synoptic Problem."[28] By analyzing the compositional practices of writers

contemporary with the Synoptic authors, including Plutarch, Livy, Josephus, and Lucian,

Downing concludes that the 2DH is the most plausible "solution" to the Synoptic

Problem in light of the conventions of ancient Greek authors. By looking at these few

authors, Downing can argue that it is the 2DH – not the Griesbach or Goulder theories –

that is supported by the known compositional conventions of writers in antiquity.

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[25] Longstaff lists these seven characteristics of conflation on pp. 106-113.

[26] For further discussion of Longstaff's "characteristics," see also Longstaff, "The Minor Agreements: An Examination of the Basic Argument," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 184-192; see also the critique by B. H. Throckmorton ("Mark and Roger of Hovedon," *CBQ* 39 [1977]: 103-106), and Longstaff's subsequent rejoinder ("Mark and Roger of Hovedon: A Response," *CBQ* 41 [1979]: 118-120).

[27] See Throckmorton, "Mark and Roger of Hovedon;" E. V. McKnight, "Review of T. R. W. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?*" *JBL* 98 (1979): 143-145; and, C. M. Tuckett, "Conflated Texts," in *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (SNTSMS 44; Cambridge: University Press, 1983) 41-51.

[28] *JBL* 107 (1988): 69-85.

Downing aptly summarizes the lacuna of and need for understanding the Synoptic

Problem in light of ancient compositional tendencies, keeping in mind both the literary

contexts and the physical settings of the Evangelists: "[T]he long debate on the sources of

the Synoptic Gospels seems to have been conducted without paying much attention to

this issue of whether any indications of 'sensible' compositional procedures in the first

century C.E. are available."[29] While Downing is certainly correct in his observation, his

work only begins to fill this lacuna, and is limited only to a few ancient biographers and

their treatment of their sources.[30] In addition, Downing's argumentation is often

polemical, functioning again as an apology, this time for the 2DH.

Migaku Sato's work on Q has led him to suggest the possibility that the Sayings

Gospel originally circulated as a "notebook" or "loose-leaf book."[31] Since Sato sees Q as

a slowly growing document from the stage of "individual sayings" to the final stage of a

"sayings collection," he argues that the medium of a "notebook" is more likely the form

that Q took rather than the traditional understanding of a scroll. Sato concludes that "Q

came into existence from notebooks, possibly parchment, which were successively

collected into a loosely bound fascicle that was always amenable to further additions."[32]

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[29] Downing, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem," 70.

[30] For additional discussion of ancient methods of composition and the Synoptic Problem, see Downing, "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' Antiquities and the Synoptic Problem (I)," *JSNT* 8 (1980): 46-65; and, *idem,* "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' Antiquities and the Synoptic Problem (II)," *JSNT* 9 (1980): 29-48.

[31]"The Shape of the Q-Source," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994) 178-179. See Sato's fuller treatment of his theory in *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2/29; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988) 62-65.

[32] Sato, "The Shape of the Q-Source," 179.

While Sato is one of a few Q scholars who suggests a possible medium for the Q

document, his comments, although very brief, provide a excellent example of a scholar

who is thinking in terms of compositional mechanics in the discussion of a Synoptic

Problem issue. Sato's analysis, though, is very limited, restricted to a treatment of Q in its

potential medium. As intriguing as Sato's suggestion is, it does not begin to deal with the

literary contexts and compositional conventions of Matthew and Luke as authors who are

independently combining their two (written) sources. In addition, it appears that Sato

invokes the notebook model to rationalize his view of Q as a growing collection. Sato

does not investigate how notebooks were used in antiquity, whether the additions to his

notebook correspond with the pages, or whether Q would even fit in the notebook

medium[33] (see Chapter Six below for a full discussion and critique of Sato's notebook

theory).

The classicist George Kennedy attempted to bridge the divide between classical

source criticism and Synoptic source criticism in his 1978 article entitled "Classical and

Christian Source Criticism."[34] Because the NT is a collection of Greek documents

contemporary with similar Greco-Roman literature,[35] Kennedy argues that the "principles

and practices of source criticism or information about methods or composition in one

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[33] See the critique of James M. Robinson, "Die Logienquelle: Weisheit oder Prophetie? Anfragen an Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie*," *EvT* 53 (1993): 367-389.

[34] "Classical and Christian Source Criticism," in *The Relationships Among the Gospels: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (ed. W. O. Walker; San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press, 1978) 125-156. In the same volume, see the further comments in R. H. Fuller, "Classics and the Gospels: the Seminar," 173-192, and Wayne Meeks, "Hypomnēmata from an Untamed Sceptic: A Response to George Kennedy," 157-172.

[35] Kennedy argues that the "New Testament could not have been written at a time of greater literacy, education, or understanding" ("Classical and Christian Source Criticism," 127).

tradition might be of some use in the study of the other."[36] Kennedy takes seriously the

patristic testimony of Papias and Eusebius, and argues that the key to understanding

Synoptic literary relationships is based in the procedure observed by Kennedy in

generically similar classical literature. This process emphasizes a strong oral stage of the

tradition, followed by an intermediary stage of ὑπομνημάτα, or notes and informal

treatises, which is then followed by a literary stage in the process:

> The experience of classicists seems to suggest that memory or oral teaching,
> especially if the teaching was heard repeatedly, could be retained with
> considerable integrity over an extended period of time, even though oral teaching
> was often converted into running notes [ὑπομνημάτα] by students and those
> notes were sometimes checked by the original speaker. Of course, both processes
> might take place: first oral transmission over a period of time, then note-
> taking....After oral transmission and note-taking, a third stage would be the
> publication of a systematic or more literary work.[37]

Kennedy is well aware of the limits of his model (and all other source-critical

"solutions") functioning as a heuristic.[38] At best, a few source critics have paid sporadic

attention to Kennedy's suggestions.[39] His approach is unique in many ways, particularly

since he comes to the discussion as a trained classicist (unlike most other Gospels

scholars).

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[36] Kennedy, "Classical and Christian Source Criticism," 126.

[37] Kennedy, "Classical and Christian Source Criticism," 152-153.

[38]"The inability of New Testament scholars over a period of two hundred years to agree on the history of the composition of the gospels, despite a general agreement that there are signs of a literary relationship, suggests that the true relationship may be very complex" (Kennedy, "Classical and Christian Source Criticism," 153).

[39] See, for example, Helmut Merkel, "Die Überlieferungen der alten Kirche über das Verhältnis der Evangeliun," in Dungan, *Interrelations of the Gospels*, 567, 571, 578; and Neirynck, "Note on Patristic Testimonies," in Dungan, *Interrelations of the Gospels*, 605.

Prior to the above recent treatments, in the seminal work edited by William

Sanday, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*,[40] one finds the earliest twentieth century

treatment of compositional conventions and the Synoptic Problem. Sanday's own

contribution to the collection of essays deals, in part, specifically with compositional

conventions and the MAs, and more generally, the Synoptic Problem. In his article

entitled "The Conditions under which the Gospels Were Written, in Their Bearing upon

Some Difficulties of the Synoptic Problem,"[41] Sanday takes seriously the idea that the

writing of books and reproduction of written material in the Greco-Roman world can

have important implications for Synoptic Problem studies. He states: "[Understanding the

physical conditions of ancient book production] enables us...to realize more exactly the

process involved in the construction of a narrative on the basis of older materials."[42]

Sanday focuses on the "external conditions" under which the Synoptic evangelists

composed their Gospels exclusively in terms of the reproduction of texts, the problem of

the MAs, and Luke's omission of Mark 6:45-8:26. Variations between the Gospels may

be accounted for as the "looseness of reproduction" that characterizes the ancient world.[43]

The phenomena of the MAs and Luke's omission of Mark 6:45-8:26 can simply be

attributed to a variety of recensions of Mark available in the latter part of the first

century. Or, even the problem of Luke's omission of Mark 6:45-8:26 may have to do

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[40] Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

[41] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 2-26.

[42] "The Conditions under which the Gospels Were Written," 18.

[43] Sanday, "The Conditions under which the Gospels Were Written," 18-19.

with Luke's frugality, given the cost of papyrus in antiquity.[44] As groundbreaking and

unique as Sanday's discussion is, it is limited to those topics mentioned above and only to

a few pages. It also predates many of the significant papyrological and manuscript

discoveries of the twentieth century.

Clearly, all of the above attempts are limited in a variety of ways, and do not

endeavor to comprehensively address both the compositional conditions and literary

methods of antiquity in relation to the Synoptic Gospels. At present, there is a renewed

interest among classical scholars in book production and literacy during antiquity. The

wealth of epigraphical and papyrological discoveries over the past few decades has

caused a boom in analyses of writers, books and readers in the ancient Greco-Roman

world.[45] This interest is just becoming recognized by a few NT scholars.[46] With the

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[44] Sanday, The Conditions under which the Gospels Were Written," 19-26.

[45] See, for example, Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago/London: American Library Association/The British Library, 1991); Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Egbert Bakker and Ahuvia Kahane, eds., *Written Voices, Spoken Signs: Tradition, Performance, and the Epic Text* (Center For Hellenic Studies Colloquia; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf, eds., *Literacy and power in the ancient world*. (Cambridge: University Press, 1994); Raffaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); T. Dorandi, "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut: Arbeitsweise und Autographie bei den antiken Schriftstellern," *ZPE* 87 (1991): 11-33; Françoise Gasparri, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'écriture* (Reference Works for the Study of Mediaeval Civilization; Paris: Brepols, 1994); William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1989); Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (London: HarperCollins, 1996); Myles McDonnell, "Writing, copying, and autograph manuscripts in ancient Rome," *Classical Quarterly* 46 (1996): 469-491; R. Starr, The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World. *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987): 213-223; Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture; Cambridge: University Press, 1989); *idem, Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge: University Press, 1992); Ian Worthington, ed., *Voice into Text: Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece* (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum 157; Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1996).

[46] See, for example, Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995). See also the work done by David Trobisch, regarding Paul and ancient letter collections: *Die Entstehung der Paulusbriefsammlung: Studien zu den Anfangen christlicher Publizistik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) and *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994). In addition, see Loveday Alexander, "Ancient Book Production and the Circulation of the Gospels," in *The Gospels for All*

advent of "socio-rhetorical" analyses,[47] for example, NT scholarship is currently

witnessing various methods that take seriously the active interplay between "orality" and

"textuality" in both the possible influence classical rhetoric had on the writers of the NT

and the rhetorical nature of the individual writings of the NT. Yet beyond the current

trends in "socio-rhetorical" analyses, NT scholarship still has, for the most part, not

engaged in detailed analyses of the ways in which writers and readers worked with the

written text.

Hence, Downing's words are still relevant: "[M]ore work in this area would be

very welcome."[48] For as Birger Gerhardsson has argued: "At the stage of the creation of

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Christians (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 71-111; D. E. Aune, *The New Testament in
Its Literary Environment* (Library of Early Christianity 8; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987); and, Lucretia
B. Yaghijian, "Ancient Reading," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. R.
Rohrbaugh. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996).

In response to Gamble, James M. Robinson argues the following: "Just as the history of Israel and
Early Christianity has learned throughout the century how indispensable down-to-earth familiarity with
field archeology is to historical reconstruction, just so we need to come to grips, rather literally, with the
physical *realia* of the texts we study" ("Review of Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early
Church,*" unpublished manuscript from the 1996 AAR/SBL Meeting, 16).

[47] See, for example, the following works by Vernon K. Robbins: *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-
Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); "The Woman Who Touched Jesus'
Garment: Socio-Rhetorical Analysis of the Synoptic Accounts," *NTS* 33 (1987): 502-515; "Writing as a
Rhetorical Act in Plutarch and the Gospels," in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in
Honor of George A. Kennedy* (ed. D. F. Watson; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 142-168; "Oral, Rhetorical,
and Literary Cultures: A Response," in *Orality and Textuality in Early Christian Literature* (ed. J. Dewey;
Semeia 65; Atlanta: Scholars Press) 75-91; *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical
Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1996); *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse:
Rhetoric, Society and Ideology*. (London/New York: Routledge, 1996); and, "Rhetorical Composition and
Sources in the Gospel of Thomas," in *SBL 1997 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press. 1997, 86-114);
see also Burton L. Mack and Vernon K. Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* (Foundations &
Facets; Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1989; and, Burton L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament*
(Guides to Biblical Scholarship; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

[48] "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem," 85 n 45.

In April of 1984, scholars convened in Jerusalem for a symposium on the Synoptic Problem.
Three main proponent groups were represented: advocates of the Two-Source Hypothesis (2DH), the Two-
Gospel (or Griesbach) Hypothesis, and the Multiple-Stage Hypothesis (M.-É. Boismard). Many papers
were presented and exchanged (published in Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*) with all
participants agreeing to a specific agenda for future research into the Synoptic Problem (see Dungan, *The
Interrelations of the Gospels*, 609-610) This agenda included many items commonly known to Synoptic
scholars, from arguments from order to the significance of doublets to the principles of synopsis
construction. Yet missing from this list was any reference to the mechanics and compositional conventions

the large written Gospels we have to ask how the Gospels were produced, technically

speaking. ... If we cannot form a concrete conception of the process of compiling the

Gospels we have reasons to surmise that something is wrong with our solution of the

synoptic question and of many other related topics."[49]

III. Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem

As stated above, these specific (and limited) voices in any discussion regarding

ancient writing practices and the Synoptic Problem indicate the general inattention or

lack of recognition on the part of Synoptic scholars in dealing seriously with the

compositional conventions and specific literary methods of antiquity and their bearing on

the literary relationships among the Synoptics.[50] In addressing this problem, this

dissertation will attempt the following. First, I will describe a range of compositional

practices attested in antiquity, including book production, compositional techniques, the

impact of literacy rates on the written word, and the methods of textual reproduction and

conflation. Second, I will attempt to relate those compositional practices to concrete

descriptions and problems associated with the composition of the Synoptic Gospels found

in three solutions to the Synoptic Problem – the Two-Gospel (Neo-Griesbach)

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of authors from antiquity. There were several agenda items related to compositional conventions and the Synoptic Problem, including the following: "6. Whether the compositional activity of the evangelists was influenced by the genre(s) of the Gospels;" "10. The process of handing on tradition;" "12. The socio-historical setting of each Gospel." Unfortunately, the conventions of writing in antiquity and their bearing on the Synoptic Problem were passed over as an agenda item for future research.

[49] Birger Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," in Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 533-534.

[50] Downing describes this phenomenon as "a dominant tendency among scholars discussing the synoptic gospels" that ignores "the pragmatics of first century compositional methods" (1995, 15).

Hypothesis, the Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis, and the Two-Document Hypothesis. This task will be accomplished specifically through a detailed analysis of ancient compositional practices as observed through the study of a variety of ancient manuscripts, copies, versions and recensions, all comparable in some way to the Synoptic Gospels. These will include Greek and Latin writers who would have been literary contemporaries of the Synoptic evangelists.

What is needed is a detailed cataloguing and description of the methods employed by ancient writers. First, I will focus on the conditions under which ancient authors worked and deal with the characteristics of ancient book production, beginning with the mechanics of actual writing, including writing materials, writing posture, and the extent of literacy. In addition, I will then focus on how ancient authors treated written sources. Various examples from antiquity will be investigated, including (but not limited to) 2 Macabbees, Josephus, Arrian of Nicomedia, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus. From these primary sources, one will be able to observe a variety of characteristics of ancient authors' treatment of their sources. Third, I will summarize the various characteristics observed in my analysis of the compositional conventions and conditions of antiquity in the concluding chapter of this section.

In light of the cataloguing of ancient compositional practices, I will test the validity of the above-mentioned three "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem in light of the observable methods of writers in antiquity. Particular attention will be paid to the lingering problems for each theory and whether an understanding of the compositional methods of the Greco-Roman literary world help in mitigating these problems. In

addition, specific Synoptic texts will be used as test cases for each theory in light of the previous catalogued compositional practices. As a result, this dissertation will close with a brief summary of the entire discussion, as well as some conclusions regarding the viability of each of the three "solutions" in light of ancient compositional conventions.[51]

The aim of this dissertation is to take advantage of the renewed and growing interest among Greco-Roman scholars of taking seriously ancient book production and circulation along with the social locations of writers and readers. In the end, it is hoped that this work will cause the imaginations of source critics to be exercised more flexibly and realistically, in a manner that corresponds well to the ways in which writers and readers worked in the ancient world. This will enable one to have a clearer and less anachronistic picture of how the Gospel writers may have composed their texts.

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[51] It is recognized that this dissertation cannot actually describe the compositional practices of the Synoptic evangelists; it can only surmise what they probably were, given what one does know about compositional practices in general.

CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO WRITING, BOOKS AND READERS

IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

I. Introduction

There is little question that taking seriously the ways in which writers worked in

the Greco-Roman world is a necessity if one is to study adequately and investigate the

texts from antiquity.[1] Unfortunately, most Synoptic source critical discussions take place

without reference to the literary cultures of antiquity. Clearly, most Synoptic source

critics (at least in North America and continental Europe) presuppose the "Two-

Document" hypothesis (2DH), where Matthew and Luke used, independently of each

other, Mark's Gospel and the hypothetical sayings document Q. Yet these same critics

often imagine the evangelists working in literary environments more characteristic to the

twentieth century than of the first century. For example, the evangelists are often

imagined seated in chairs behind writing desks by many critics.[2] These same authors are

deemed "redactors" or editors of their source material, part of an imagined literary culture

in which writers are presupposed to have an ample supply of and easy access to writing

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[1] An earlier version of this chapter was presented to the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Theological Library Association, Leesburg, VA: Robert Derrenbacker, "Writing, Books and Readers in the Ancient World" in *Summary of Proceedings: Fifty-second Annual Conference of the American Theological Library Association* (M. Tacke, ed.; Evanston, IL: ATLA, 1998) 205-229.

[2] See, for example, M. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 24 (Luke's "table"), 197 (Luke has Matthew and Mark "open in front of him" on his table). Cf. also the repeated references by Griesbach Hypothesis advocates to Mark's desk and his two sources "in front of him:" W. R. Farmer, in *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 142; and A. J. McNicol, in *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 182, 197.

materials, perched behind a large writing table where the author can work without

interruption and distraction.[3] This may be an accurate depiction of contemporary literary

culture in the modern West, but it is far from legitimate in its description of the ways in

which writers and readers worked in antiquity. While there have been a few voices in

Synoptic Problem discussions, most conversations in this area of first century manuscript

production are conducted with a general inattention and lack of recognition in seriously

dealing with the compositional conventions and specific literary methods of antiquity and

their bearing on the literary relationships among the Synoptics, as was demonstrated in

the previous chapter.[4]

In attempting to correct (mis)perceptions of ancient literary cultures, this chapter

will begin to describe the literary cultures of Greco-Roman antiquity, including literacy,

ancient book production and compositional techniques. Thus, it is the aim of this chapter

today to take advantage of the renewed and burgeoning interest among historians in

ancient book production and the circulation of texts along with the social locations of

writers and readers. This is accomplished in tandem with the fresh but significant

attention given to Greco-Roman literacy by a few NT and classical scholars, in order to

cause the imaginations of modern readers of ancient texts to be exercised more flexibly

and realistically, in a manner that corresponds well to the ways in which writers and

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[3]For example, F. G. Downing argues that many Synoptic source critics (particularly those he deems "Q aficionados") are "wedded to a model of composition redolent of a nineteenth or twentieth century scholar's book-lined study, with generous space, endless supplies of paper, scissors and paste (or even a computerised word-processor!) - and extensive solitude" ("Wordprocessing in the Ancient World: The Social Production and Performance of Q," Paper read at the 1995 AAR/SBL, at Philadelphia, PA; a revision of this paper was subsequently published: "Wordprocessing in the Ancient World: The Social Production and Performance of Q," JSNT 64 [1996]: 29-48).

[4]Downing describes this phenomenon as "a dominant tendency among scholars discussing the synoptic gospels" that ignores "the pragmatics of first century compositional methods" ("Wordprocessing,"

readers worked in the ancient world. By recognizing our perceptions (and

misperceptions) of ancient writers and readers, and the "conceptual lenses" through

which we view them, I hope at the conclusion of this chapter to be able to have a clearer

and less anachronistic picture of how ancient writers, specifically from the first few

centuries CE, may have composed their texts, and how these texts were read prior to

moving to a detailed description of the compositional conventions of writers from

antiquity.[5]

II. Literacy and Literary Cultures in the Greco-Roman World

To speak of the Greco-Roman world as an ancient "literary" culture is, perhaps,

both cryptic and somewhat misleading. The term "literary" might imply that the ancient

world was one where literacy was widespread and the written text functioned as a

preferred means of communication. This assumption ignores both the varying degrees

and nature of literacy and function of both *orality* and *aurality* in their interplay with

textuality. In addition, to speak of a single literary "culture" unnecessarily (and perhaps

anachronistically) reduces a variety of "cultures" into one expression for the sake of

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[5]See the following relevant observations regarding ancient reading by L. B. Yaghjian (from "Ancient Reading," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation*, 207:

"In our Western, industrialized, and literacy-driven cultural context, reading is a fundamental and inalienable right, along with 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Our public education system introduces most Americans to reading skills by the time they are six years of age, and learners are taught to read visually, silently, and by themselves. Inexpensive printing costs keep books accessible, plentiful, and portable. Accustomed as we are to reading on trains and airplanes, on stationary bicy[c]les and in bed, we might find nothing unusual about a first-century CE government official reading in his carriage on his way home from a religious pilgrimage. But what did 'reading' mean in the ancient world?

"If we are to 'understand' reading in the cultural world of the NT, we must first take off the conceptual lenses through which we habitually read, and begin to read with our ears as well as our eyes. Second, we much change our societal image of reading from a private rendezvous with the printed page to

heurism. These assumptions diminish the multi-faceted nature of ancient "literary culture," and diminish many into one monolithic representation of the ancient literary world.

Yet, one is obligated to first begin to identify the "literary" culture(s) of the ancient world if and before one is to speak to the compositional methods of ancient authors and the physical conditions under which they wrote. This task should address the following three items: first, the nature and extent of ancient literacy; second, rhetoric as representative of the sophisticated interplay between the oral and textual spheres; and third, identifying the "writing" cultures in antiquity in terms of both writing materials and conditions and socio-economic locations.

The question of the extent and nature of ancient literacy is an obvious starting point in this discussion since these issues have direct bearing to any subsequent discussion regarding writing methods and materials. Much has been written regarding literacy in the Greco-Roman world, with the most recent and comprehensive treatments from W. V. Harris[6], Rosalind Thomas[7] and others.[8] The question of ancient literacy is difficult for a number of reasons. First, explicit references to ancient literacy that would aid in understanding ancient literacy from a statistical standpoint are essentially absent from authors in antiquity. Hence, the historian must rely on inference and indirect information. Second, the nature of literacy is difficult to define. When a historian speaks

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a public broadcast of oral and/or written communication."

[6]*Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989).

[7]*Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge: University Press, 1992).

[8]See, e.g., M. Beard, ed., *Literacy in the Roman World* (Journal of Roman Archeology Supplement Series 3; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archeology, 1991); and, Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf,

of "literacy," is that person speaking of a maximum *functional* literacy where individuals

in antiquity were skilled enough to write compositionally and prosaically, or minimally in

terms of one's ability only to sign one's name or recognize brief phrases or words? Third,

there is the problem of varying geography and socio-economic locations that can produce

modulating rates of literacy. All of these factors make the determination of the extent and

nature of literacy in antiquity a difficult task.

The mere existence of written words, whether it be as literary texts or inscriptions,

indicates that there were at least some individuals in antiquity who were "literate" to a

certain degree, including (of course) a text's or inscription's author and its readers. This

conclusion is both obvious and elementary. The difficulty lies in determining the extent

and type(s) of literacy in the ancient world. The modern historian has no ancient

statistical evidence on which to rely in drawing some conclusions regarding the extent of

literacy. All one has is chance information that may or may not be helpful, and is often

inconclusive. Hence, it is not difficult to imagine the lack of scholarly consensus behind

most modern discussions regarding ancient literacy. According to Harris, ancient "mass"

literacy was most readily seen in urban centers, at a rate of no more than 10 to 20

percent.[9] However, this "literate" minority was likely a varied mix of literary abilities

from the most basic signatory literacy to the ability to read short phrases or messages to a

functional or "craft" literacy to possessing the skills required to read or write a papyrus

manuscript.[10] Additionally, rates of literacy could be directly connected to one's ability to

read a particular language. This is especially significant when one thinks in terms of the

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eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World.*

[9]Harris, *Ancient Literacy,* passim.

culture of scribes or copyists of ancient texts. A scribe's ability to speak, not just read, the particular language of the text he/she is copying directly effects his/her ability to reproduce it accurately.[11] Hence, the term "literacy" is both complex and hetergeneous in antiquity. Despite this apparent difficulty, Raffaella Cribiore provides the following helpful taxonomy that is consistent with the multi-faceted nature of literary competencies: "(1) writing as handwriting, the physical act of tracing characters or words; (2) writing as copying as taking dictation, the recording of others' words; (3) writing as crafting lexical, syntactical, and rhetorical units of discourse into meaningful patterns; (4) writing as authoring, or producing an independent and original text for a specific audience and purpose."[12] Thus, it is entirely appropriate to put a multi-faceted face on the term "literacy."[13]

In the Roman world, certain individuals were classified as ἀγράμματοι, which is commonly translated "illiterate."[14] The disciples Peter and John are described in this fashion in Acts 4:13.[15] Likewise, in a number of Egyptian papyri from Oxyrhynchus,

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[10]Cf. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 869.

[11]Apparently, scribal activity was not necessarily limited to scribes "literate" in the language of their exemplar. See Herbert C. Youtie, "'Because they do not know letters,'" *ZPE* 19 (1975): 101-108.

[12]R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 10. See also the similar description in Janet Emig, "Writing, composition, and rhetoric," in *Language and Literacy from an Educational Perspective. I: Language Studies. II: In Schools* (ed. Neil Mercer; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1988), 210-233.

[13]Yaghjian ("Ancient Reading," 208-209) has developed a helpful and multi-faceted taxonomy for ancient literacy: "Auraliterate reading," the practice of "hearing something read, or reading received aurally by 'readers' ears;'" "Oraliterate reading," the "oral recitation or recall of a memorized text (or story from a text);" "Oculiterate reading," the "linguistic decoding (by eye) from a written text, performed by readers who can decode written letters;" and, "Scribaliterate reading," the "reading for technical, professional, or religious purposes on behalf of a particular interpretive community or 'school.'"

[14]Cf. Xenophon, *Mem*. 4.2.20; Epictetus 2.2.22; *BGU* [Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin] 118; 152; *P Oxy*. 71; 133; 134; 137; 139; Plato, *Timaeus* 23B; Philodemus *Rhet*. 1.141; Philo, *Every Good Man is Free* 51.

there is evidence for the employment of professional scribes by ἀγράμματοι for the

purposes of executing business contracts, since the ἀγράμματοι were, in fact, illiterate.[16]

Philo, too, refers to a class of people in the ancient world who were "illiterate," who are

one of several groups unable to be "in general on an equal footing in discussion with the

musical, the literary and the artistic."[17]

The extent of literacy was often partly determined by the availability (or lack

thereof) of writing materials. Access to such items varied according to geographic

location and the purchasing power of individuals. Harris understatedly argues that in

general, "convenient writing materials cannot have been as casually omnipresent as they

are in our lives."[18] Non-epigraphic literary media in antiquity included the familiar and

traditional wax or wooden tablets, papyrus and parchment, along with ostraca, broken

fragments of pottery that could be used for tax-receipts, school lessons, and lists. While

identifying the relative cost of such media with any precision is difficult, we do have

clues from ancient sources as to the costs. A papyrus letter from the second century CE

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[15]*NRSV:* "uneducated."

[16]*P Oxy.* 71 (ca. 303 CE): Petition addressed to prefect Clodius Culcianus, by Aurelius Demetrius who is defrauded by a debtor because Demetrius is "illiterate" (ἀγράμματον): "When therefore I asked him for the money [owed to me] while Heron was strategus, he attempted, owing to my being illiterate, to commit a fraud to my detriment" (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* vol. 1 [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898], 134); *P Oxy.* 133 (ca. 550 CE): Receipt and promissory note for an advance of seed corn; signed by Aurelius Heraclides, "scribe of the village of Takona, signed for them [village officials of Takona] at their request, as they were illiterate (ἀγράμματον)." (Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* 208); *P Oxy.* 134 (ca. 569 CE): Receipt for one gold solidus to Flavius Apion, given by John, chief of the stone-masons: "Isatos signed on his [John's] behalf, as he is illiterate [ἀγράμματον]." (Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* 210); *P Oxy.* 137 (ca. 584 CE): Receipt for an axle of a waterwheel for irrigation, given by Aurelius Ptollion to Flavius Apion: "Papnouthios signed on his [Ptollion's] behalf, as he is illiterate (ἀγράμματον)." (Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* 218); *P Oxy.* 139 (ca. 612 CE): Contract between Aurelius Menas, the head-watchman, and Flavius Apion, where Menas promises to remain honest: "John signed on his [Menas'] behalf, as he is illiterate (ἀγράμματον)," (Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* 223)

[17]Philo, *Prob.* 51 (Colson, LCL).

[18]*Ancient Literacy,* 195-196.

mentions the purchase of eight manuscripts for 100 drachmas, approximately the wages

for a 100 days work for the average Egyptian laborer.[19] *P Oxy.* 1654 mentions that a

single sheet of papyrus might cost two obols, roughly a third of the average daily wage

for the same Egyptian laborer.[20] The extensive reuse and recycling of both papyrus and

parchment points as well to their apparently expensive cost. Palimpsests, scrolls or

codices that have been erased or have had earlier writings scraped away, are commonly

found among ancient manuscripts, indicating the extensive practice of recycling writing

materials.[21] Similarly, the occasional opisthograph (a document with writing on both

sides of the page or roll) might also suggest the general costliness of parchment and

papyrus.[22] In addition, the popularity of wax tablets, designed to be reused yet lacking

many of the features of parchment or papyrus points, at least indirectly, to the significant

expense one could incur in purchasing papyrus and parchment. One of the more lavish

literary events from late Roman antiquity took place in the fourth century CE, when the

emperor Constantine commissioned the production of 50 parchment manuscripts of the

Bible, requiring the skins from at least 2,500 sheep or goats. The historian Eusebius tells

us that these copies were "to be written on fine parchment in a legible manner, and in a

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[19]*P.Petaus* 30. See Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 53. A Greek *drachma* was valued at six obols, a rough monetary equivalent to the Roman silver *denarius*.

[20]According to Harris (*Ancient Literacy*, 195) an average first century CE Egyptian laborer could make up to six obols a day.

[21]This practice was commonly used with parchment rather than papyrus, since papyrus did not hold up well to the washing away of previous writing (cf. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 59 n. 16). A good example of this phenomenon in NT literature is seen in Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C), a fifth century parchment palimpsest.

[22]If the *verso* side of a papyrus sheet was used in addition to the *recto*, it would often be rotated 90° in order to allow for the same ease of writing a scribe would have with the *recto*. See Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 60-62.

convenient portable form, by professional scribes thoroughly accomplished in their art."[23]

Harry Gamble, in his very helpful book, concludes that "Constantine obviously wanted

books of the first quality, professionally produced, and in no way inferior to the finest

volumes of non-Christian literature, and he knew and furnished the resources of money

and talent to get them."[24] Finally, book collecting and the production of lavishly

decorated books was often a sign of wealth and status, sometimes seen as an opulent and

unnecessary practice.[25] Thus, Harris is likely correct in the following conclusion: "the

bland assumption of scholars that social class made virtually no difference to one's

ability to find writing materials is ill-founded."[26]

Likewise, literacy could be directly connected to the levels and extent of

education. While both elementary and secondary education was typically reserved for

upper class males, so too was a person's ability to read and write. Generally, women were

not part of the educational process, including those attached to upper-class households.

Since education could often take place in the public sphere, a realm usually reserved for

the males of antiquity, females were typically consigned to the private sphere of the

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[23]Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 4.36, as quoted by B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (2nd ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 7.

[24]*Books and Readers*, 79-80.

[25]See, for example, Lucian, *Ind.* 4, 7, 15, 19; Seneca, *Tranq.* 9.4-7. Jerome condemns the extravagant decoration of books in the following invective: "Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted into lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels, while Christ lies at the door naked and dying" (*Ep.* 22.32, as quoted by Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 4 n. 1).

[26]*Ancient Literacy*, 195. For a somewhat different view, see R. Thomas, "Literacy," *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed.; Oxford: University Press, 1996), 868-869. She argues that literacy frequently was not limited to society's élite but included those with the ability to read and write in the lower classes, which is quite different than Harris' earlier conclusion that literacy was predominately an ability enjoyed by the upper classes. Thomas' evidence includes Aristophanes' reference to a semi-literate sausage salesperson. In addition, ancient literary evidence suggests that slaves were involved in the production and reading of manuscripts. Thus, Thomas concludes that literacy is not necessarily a sign of social

household, and therefore outside of the public sphere of education. There were, of course,

many exceptions to this general trend, the most interesting of which is the training of

slaves for scribal activities.[27] While literacy was a benefit enjoyed by a minority of

individuals in the Greco-Roman world, it was not exclusively a privilege enjoyed by the

wealthy and powerful, it could be also found among the lower classes. Classics scholars

debate the extent to which education (and thus literacy) was limited to the upper classes.

Some argue that the Roman education strategy was a "two-track" system, where, while

privileged classes would have complete access to "liberal schools," children of lower

classes were allowed to learn "craft" literacy in an elementary educational context.[28]

Regardless, it is safe to conclude that typically privileged males would have access to a

quality education, either in a public classroom or through the private employment of

pedagogues and grammarians.

One of the ironies of ancient literacy is the extent to which those at the top of the

social hierarchy would often go to avoid writing.[29] Professional scribes were frequently

employed by government officials or wealthy business people to write letters or draft

business correspondences for their affluent employers. While on occasion government

officials possessed only signatory literacy,[30] more often than not these officials would

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advancement.

[27]See, for example, A. D. Booth, "The Schooling of Slaves in First-Century Rome," *TAPA* 109 (1979): 11-19.

[28]See A. D. Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire," *Florilegium* 1 (1979): 1-14; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 14-15.

[29]As Roger S. Bagnall argues: "One might almost say that there was a direct correlation between social standing that guaranteed literacy and the means to avoid writing. But this should not be taken to mean that men of this standing did not do a fair amount of writing all the same" (*Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, 25).

[30]See *P. Petaus* 121 (P. Köln inv. 328), a papyrus used by Petaüs, the village secretary of

employ scribes and secretaries to compose letters, with these officials frequently adding a closing greeting in their own hand.[31] While the apostle Paul's social status is a matter of some debate, he too had scribes and secretaries at his disposal for the writing of his letters in the mid-first century CE, often adding a greeting in his own hand.[32] Within the private sphere of the household, the situation was typically not much different. While it is likely that most males within privileged households were literate, much of the day-to-day administration of the household "paperwork" was undertaken by the household support staff.[33] Thus, while one's ability to read and write could often transcend social locations, it would usually do so if those lower classed literate individuals were employed by public officials or attached to a privileged household.

Despite the anecdotal, seemingly random and often ambiguous nature of the literary evidence in support of the extent of literacy, the following picture can be cautiously drawn regarding literacy in the Roman world: Literacy could be varied and extremely limited, usually (but never exclusively) among the privileged members of society who could afford both an education and writing materials. Thus, the scarcity of literacy required most members of Greco-Roman society to compensate for their illiteracy, regardless of their social location in that culture. Precisely how individuals would compensate for widespread illiteracy has (partially) been the focus of current studies of ancient rhetoric and the interplay between the oral and literary spheres in

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Ptolemais Hormou, to practice his signature, which he could only sign with some difficulty.

[31]See, for example, P.Panop.Beatty.

[32]Paul concludes 1 Corinthians and Galatians with greetings "in (his) own hand" (1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; cf. also 2 Thes 3:17 and Col 4:18). In addition, Paul's employed scribe, Tertius, concludes Paul's letter to the Romans with a greeting as well: "I Tertius, the writer of this letter, greet you in the Lord" (16:22).

antiquity. Take Vernon Robbins, a specialist in ancient rhetoric and a pioneer of the so-called "socio-rhetorical" method in NT studies, as an example. Robbins argues that most contemporary scholars wrongly presuppose "a polarity between oral culture and scribal culture for its context of analysis."[34] In Robbins' mind, Werner Kelber's influential 1983 work, *The Oral and Written Gospel*,[35] is most responsible for promoting this "chasm" between oral and literary cultures. Consequently, using the example of the Synoptic Problem, Robbins argues that most Synoptic source critics imagine "a rhetorically disengaged scribal culture as the context for the production of the New Testament Gospels."[36]

Robbins suggests a helpful alternative. Instead of embracing two seemingly incompatible oral and scribal cultures, Robbins argues for a "rhetorical culture" that "dominated Mediterranean society during the first part of the common era," characterized

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[33]Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, 24-25.

[34]"Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition and Pre-Gospel Traditions: A New Approach," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism* (ed. C. Focant; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993) 116. See Robbins' other treatments of orality and literacy within the framework of a "socio-rhetorical" method: *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); "The Woman Who Touched Jesus' Garment: Socio-Rhetorical Analysis of the Synoptic Accounts." *NTS* 33 (1987): 502-515; "Writing as a Rhetorical Act in Plutarch and the Gospels," in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (ed. D. F. Watson. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 142-168; "Oral, Rhetorical, and Literary Cultures: A Response," in *Orality and Textuality in Early Christian Literature* (*Semeia* 65; ed. J. Dewey; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 75-91; *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1996); *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996); "Rhetorical Composition and Sources in the Gospel of Thomas," in *SBL 1997 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 86-114.

[35]*The Oral and Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983). A good and recent critical evaluation of Kelber's work is L. W. Hurtado, "Greco-Roman Textuality and the Gospel of Mark: A Critical Assessment of Werner Kelber's *The Oral and Written Gospel*," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 7 (1997): 91-106. See also John Halverson, "Oral and Written Gospel: A Critique of Werner Kelber," *NTS* 40 (1994): 180-195.

[36]"Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition," 116.

by a "lively interaction between oral and written composition."[37] For Robbins, the ancient rhetorical literature of the *Progymnasmata* best illustrates this "rhetorical" culture which "is aware of written documents, uses written and oral language interactively, and composes both orally and scribally in a rhetorical manner."[38] Thus, Robbins suggests the following basic taxonomy: an "oral" culture, which "has no written literature in view;" a "scribal" culture, which "focuses on 'copying' and 'editing' either oral statements or written texts;" and finally, the already defined "rhetorical" culture.[39]

With this taxonomy in mind and with an eye to the Synoptic Problem, Robbins argues the following: Over the past 200 years of modern Synoptic source-critical discussion, most scholars have assumed that the evangelists were working within a "scribal" culture where scribes "move their eyes back and forth from manuscript to manuscript as they copy word for word, intentionally modifying wording only for editorial purposes."[40] Robbins' suggestion that the evangelists were not working in the popularly assumed (but seldom explored) "scribal" culture but rather a "rhetorical" culture has some merit. Those (like Kelber) who posit a "chasm" between the oral and literary worlds of antiquity fail to recognize the paradox in ancient Christian literature between a movement that was predominately illiterate but textually focused, beginning with the very early production, transmission and dissemination of Christian texts.[41] This

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[37]"Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition," 116.

[38]"Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition," 118.

[39]"Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition," 118. Robbins adds the following as well: reading, literary, print and hypertext cultures ("Oral, Rhetorical, and Literary Cultures: A Response," 75-91).

[40]"Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition," 116.

[41]One might argue that the artificial "chasm" between source and form critical discussions is partly

is a paradoxical world of early Christianity that might be deemed as an "illiterate literary

culture,"[42] which is immersed in a rhetorical culture that is interested in the interplay

between oral and scribal cultures. It is likely in this rhetorical culture, for example, where

the Gospels and other early Christian texts were composed. Thus, Gamble can correctly

conclude the following:

> [A]lthough the oral and the written remained different modes [or media], they
> were far closer and interactive in antiquity than today, and a too sharp theoretical
> differentiation [as with Kelber, for example] misconceives the situation. The
> cultivation of oral tradition does not itself imply either an absence of or a
> prejudice against written material.[43]

Hence, it seems helpful for this discussion to understand the culture of the writers during

the Greco-Roman period as a "rhetorical" culture, one that embraces the active interplay

between the oral and textual spheres, and one that provides a context for understanding

their compositional methods and physical conditions under which they worked.

Understanding the culture of antiquity as a "rhetorical" culture points to one of

the many ironies of Greco-Roman literary world. Despite the low rates of literacy and

education, most people could not avoid the "literature" of antiquity. The literary culture

of antiquity, with its active interplay between the literary and oral spheres, encompassed

all areas of life, from daily business dealings to the religious.[44] While the ownership and

collecting of literature was reserved for the élite in society, most could not avoid contact

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responsible for this phenomenon.

[42]Gamble (*Books and Readers*, 11) defines a "literary culture" as one where texts were used and produced (which is different from commenting on the "literary qualities" of texts).

[43]Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 30.

[44]"Because oral and written contexts intersected in Mediterranean antiquity, cultural literacy, or 'knowing the tradition,' did not depend on technical literacy, or 'knowing letters,' even the social practice of reading embraced both of these" (Yaghjian, "Ancient Reading," 208).

with writing.[45] The need for record keeping, the issuing of receipts for business

transactions, and the transcription of business contracts kept most people, especially

those in urban centers, in daily contact with written texts, regardless of their ability to

read and write. Voluntary associations, *collegia*, and trade guilds, members of which

were found in every stratum of ancient society, often used written texts for the

codification and chronicling of each particular organization's membership requirements

and regulations.[46] The religious realm played an important role as well within literary

cultures. Rhetorical critics have attempted to demonstrate, for example, that most, if not

all, NT documents were originally designed to be read publicly and communally.[47] The

letters of Paul or the Gospels for example all appear to be have been written with their

oral performance in mind.[48] This is the irony of Greco-Roman literary cultures, that

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[45]So Bagnall argues: "Hardly anyone, except infants who died before being recorded, would escape some involvement with the comprehensive network of private and governmental documentation, and even the poorest families were likely to own something written. But many people would have only a second-hand acquaintance with the world of writing, depending on others to write things for them where necessary and to keep them informed about things that affected them. The power of this second-hand relationship should not be underestimated, however, for it concerned aspects of life of vital importance to their physical and economic security or even survival" (*Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, 15).

[46]See Richard S. Ascough, *What Are They Saying about the Formation of the Pauline Churches?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), esp. 74-75.

[47]NT documents are "oral to the core, both in their creation and in their performance" (P. J. Achtemeier, "*Omne verbum sonat:* The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109 [1990]: 19). For a good introduction to the method of rhetorical analysis of the NT, see B. L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, and G. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1984).

[48]It appears that most readers in antiquity would normally read a written text aloud, even if he or she was alone. Cf. Augustine (*Conf.* 6.3.3) who is perplexed upon seeing Ambrose reading silently. Gamble (*Books and Readers*, 203-204) argues that phenomenon of "continuous script" (*scripta continua*, i.e., texts without punctuation or divisions between words, sentences, and paragraphs) naturally caused readers to read aloud: "The best way to decipher a text written in this way was phonetic" (204). See also Raymond J. Starr, "Reading Aloud: *Lectores* and Roman Reading," *CJ* 86 (1991): 337-343. A. K. Gavrilov, "Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity," *Classical Quarterly* 47 (1997): 56-73; and, M. F. Burnyeat, "Postscript on Silent Reading," *Classical Quarterly* 47 (1997): 74-76.

despite widespread illiteracy, encountering the written text was, for most, a regular and frequent event.

III. The Production of the Greco-Roman Book

The Media and Materials of Writers in Antiquity

Without a doubt, the last 100 years have seen some of the greatest manuscript discoveries in history. Our understanding of the writers and readers in the ancient Mediterranean world advanced light years with the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, the Dead Sea Scrolls, along with the Nag Hammadi material. Not only have we learned much about the Greco-Roman world, intertestamental Judaism and early Christianity, but our knowledge of manuscript production has increased as well.

When one is discussing the writings from the Greco-Roman world, it is important to pay attention to both the materials and media of ancient documents. Certainly, a discussion of the materials of ancient manuscripts is integral to any discussion of the texts of Roman society, as is the various textual media employed in the ancient world. As Gamble argues regarding ancient media: "The failure to consider the extent to which the physical medium of the written word contributes to its meaning – how its outward aspects inform the way a text is approached and read – perpetuates a largely abstract, often unhistorical, and even anachronistic conception of early Christian literature."[49] Hence, to fail to take seriously the various media as which ancient texts and their written sources circulated is potentially to misunderstand and misrepresent any discussion of them. More

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[49]Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 42.

specifically, when one ignores the potential media employed by the Synoptic evangelists,
one runs the risk of skewing source-critical discussions in an unrealistic or anachronistic
direction.

Essentially, there are two basic types of media in antiquity, to which I have
already alluded: the scroll or "book-roll" and the codex, which is closest to our modern
book medium. Both could be constructed of either papyrus or parchment. Papyrus was
produced from the pith of the papyrus plant that grew along the Nile River in Egypt. This
pith was pounded into flat strips that were, in turn, laid vertically and horizontally,
pressed together and adhered naturally through the resin of the plant that served as a
glue.[50] Parchment, on the other hand, was fashioned from the skin of either sheep or
goats. The skin would be scraped, washed, smoothed with pumice, and finally dressed in
chalk or lime.[51] Since one animal could yield two folio sheets, an edition of the NT, for
example, would require 50 or 60 animals.

The predominant medium used by writers in the first century CE was the scroll or
book-roll. Many references to this can be found in antiquity, including several in the
NT.[52] According to Gamble, papyrus or parchment scrolls could conceivably be of any
length, but were limited to an average of 3.5 meters.[53] Thus, Callimachus (ca. 310/305-ca.

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[50]See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 3-4.

[51]See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 4-5.

[52]See, for example, the uses of βιβλίον and βίβλος in the NT: Matt 19:7; Mark 10:4; Luke 4:17
(twice), 20; John 20:30; 21:25; Gal 3:10; 2 Tim 4:13; Heb 9:19; 10:7; Rev 1:11; 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; 6:14;
10:8; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12 (thrice); 21:27; 22:7, 9, 10, 18 (twice), 19 (twice); Matt 1:1; Mark 12:26; Luke 3:4;
20:42; Acts 1:20; 7:42; 19:19; Phil 4:3; Rev 3:5; 20:15.

[53]*Books and Readers*, 45.

240 BCE) once argued, "A large book [is] a large evil."[54] Therefore, the greatest literary

"evils" of antiquity would have been Thucydides and Homer, whose works in scroll form

would have measured 90 and 45 meters respectively.[55] Virtually all of the time, the lines

and columns of written text would appear on one side of the scroll. But on occasion,

when resources were limited, a scribe or writer might write on both sides of the material

in opisthographic fashion, with each side of the roll containing a different literary work.[56]

In addition, a "book roll" or scroll allowed the reader *continuous* or *sequential* access (as

opposed to *random* access) to a particular document, with its design being most

conducive to start-to-finish reading. Thus, reading from a scroll, let alone writing on one,

was quite an operation that demanded great care and coordination.[57]

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[54]Callimachus, *Frag*. 465.pref.; translated by D. Diringer, *The Hand-Produced Book* (London: Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications, 1953) 132.

[55]Cf. Diringer, *The Hand-Produced Book*, 127-129.

[56] For example, see *P Oxy*. 657/P.S.I. 1292 (Hebrews written on one side with an epitome of Livy on the other); and, *P Oxy*. 1075 (Revelation on one side, Exodus on the other).

[57]"The ancient reader of Greek [scrolls] was inconvenienced in several ways. Holding the scroll open as one read and simultaneously rerolling the scroll in one's left had, required exceptional coordination. Looking up an exact quotation in a different scroll was totally discouraging. If the scroll fell to the floor, retrieving it was a nuisance, much worse if it ripped. Unless the reader was familiar with the text, the absence of word spacing and punctuation slowed comprehension. When the reader found the scroll with the end of the story first, he or she had to reroll it before having the pleasure of reading the book. No wonder that when readers finished the scroll, they [typically] did not rewind it for the next person!" (Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* [Chicago/London: American Library Association, 1991], 153).

In addition, working with a scroll could be hazardous to one's health. The younger Pliny (61/62-113 CE) relates the account of Verginius Rufus who, at age 83, broke his hip while slipping during an attempt to "gather up" a scroll that had fallen on a newly polished floor: He [Verginius Rufus] had reached the age of eighty-three, living in close retirement and deeply respected by us all, and his health was good, apart from a trembling of the hands, not enough to trouble him. Only death when it came was slow and painful, though we can only admire the way he faced it. He was rehearsing the delivery of his address of thanks to the Emperor [Nerva] for his election to his third consulship, when he had occasion to take up a heavy book, the weight of which made it fall out of his hands, as he was an old man and standing at the time. He bent down to pick [lit. 'gather' (*colligitque*)] it up, and lost his footing on the slippery polished floor, so that he fell and fractured his hip. This was so badly set, and because of his age it never mended properly" Pliny the Younger, *Ep*. 2.1.5 (Radice, LCL).

Like the scroll, the codex could be fashioned out of parchment or papyrus. Sheets

of papyrus or parchment could be folded, stacked and sewn along the fold, making a

"quire," similar to a modern pamphlet or booklet. Multiple quires could be bound

together, making larger books.[58] Unlike the scroll, the codex was constructed in a way

that gave the reader *random* access to a particular manuscript. In addition, codices were

typically opisthographs, making efficient use of the writing surface. While the scroll was

the popular medium of writers and scribes in the first few centuries of the Common Era,

the codex was also utilized. Writing in the first century CE, the poet Martial (ca. 40-103/4

CE), while not using the specific term "codex," makes reference to "codex-like"

manuscripts on several occasions, commending his readers to carry a "pocket-sized"

version of his poetry that could be held in one hand (unlike the scroll):

> You, who wish my poems should be everywhere with you, and look to have them
> as companions on a long journey, buy these which the parchment confines in
> small pages (*quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis*). Assign your book-boxes to
> the great; this copy of me one hand can grasp. (*Epig.* 1.2 [Bailey, LCL])

Codices composed of either papyrus or animal skin came in a variety of sizes

intended for a variety of functions. Like Martial, Quintilian (b. ca. 35 CE) makes

reference to parchment notebooks in the late first century, deemed *membranae*.[59] This

perhaps is what the author of 2 Tim 4:13 has in mind in his request of Timothy to bring to

him his cloak, books (τὰ βιβλία), "and above all the μεμβράνας," often translated as

"parchments." As notebooks, codices often took the form of a "practice" medium or one

intended for initial drafts of various publications. As a predecessor to the codex, the wax

tablet was the ancient equivalent of chalk and hand-held slate black-board. Wax tablets

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[58]See Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 66-69, for a depiction of codex construction.

could be bound together or be held individually by a student, scribe or author. The wax

could be reused, with the handwriting "erased" through the smoothing out of the wax.

Most often, wax tablets were used for note taking. Quintilian mentions that while note-

taking was faster using a wax tablet as opposed to a parchment or papyrus text, since the

scribe or student needed to continually be returning his or her stylus to the ink pot for

"refilling," the wax tablets were less legible than parchment notebooks.[60] In addition, wax

tablets could be bound together, making a crude loose-leaf "ring" binder, of usually two

to four boards (i.e., a four to eight page book), or even nine boards.[61]

Eventually, perhaps as early as the second century CE, the codex moved from

being a mere "notebook" to an acceptable medium for the "final" editions or drafts of

written works. As is commonly known, the codex, as popularized by early Christian

writers, eventually won out as the preferred medium for writers and scribes in antiquity.

The codex offered many features that were not found in the "book roll," including

random access (as with a modern audio compact disk as compared to a cassette tape),

modest cost savings (Gamble estimates a rough savings of nearly 25% over the scroll[62]),

and ease of use (if small enough, a codex could be held in one hand, or easily held in two

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[59]*Inst.* 10.3.31-32.

[60]*Inst.* 10.3.31ff; cf. Martial *Epig.* 14.5.1.

[61]Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books*, 165.

[62]*Books and Readers*, 55. See also T. C. Skeat, "The length of the standard papyrus roll and the cost-advantage of the codex," *ZPE* 45 (1982): 169-175.

Against the idea that the codex was a modestly cheaper medium than the scroll, Jennifer Sheridan has argued that papyrus codices were produced *from* a roll of (blank) papyrus sheets glued together, cut into folio sheets of equal length to created the quires needed for a codex. In other words, creating a codex involved at least two extra steps in manufacture not found in the production of the scroll – 1) cutting of folio sheets from an already glued papyrus roll, and 2) stacking, folding, sewing, and trimming these sheets to create a quire. As such, the cost of a (papyrus) codex would have been greater than the scroll, given these two additional steps in manufacture ("Christians and Documentary Codices," an unpublished paper read at the 1998 AAR/SBL in Orlando, FL, at the "Papyrology and Early Christian Backgrounds Consultation,"

or on one's lap). The codex's efficiency (size, ease of use and random access) is but one

explanation of its rise in popularity, particularly among early Christian writers.

There have been other (controversial) attempts explaining the evolution of the

codex and the rather speedy movement in Christian literature away from the scroll to the

codex as the preferred medium of writing,[63] some of which are significant to this present

study on the literary origins of the Gospel texts.[64] Colin Roberts, both individually and in

his collaboration with T. C. Skeat, suggests that there are two theories that might account

for the development of the (Christian) codex. First, the so-called "Markan Hypothesis,"

in which Roberts argues that the codex quickly became the preferred medium as a result

of the authority given to an early to mid-first century parchment notebook. This notebook

was used by (John) Mark (the person presupposed by Roberts to be the author of the

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November 24, 1998).

[63]E.g., Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 49-66; David Trobisch, *Die Entstehung der Paulusbriefsammlung;* idem, *Paul's Letter Collection;* Colin H. Roberts, *The Codex* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege Amen House, 1953); idem, "Books in the Graeco-Roman World and in the New Testament," in *Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), 1:48-66; idem, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983); T. C. Skeat, "Early Christian Book-Production: Papyri and Manuscripts," in *Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), 2:54-79; E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977); S. R. Llewelyn, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, Volume 7. A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri published in 1982-83* (Macquarie: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1994), 249-256.

[64] See the following table provided by Llewelyn ("The Development of the Codex," 251), who adapts it from the information given by Roberts and Skeat in *The Birth of the Codex*, 37:

Greek Literary and Scientific "Books" by Form and Century

Century	Codices	Rolls	Ratio
I	1	252	1:252
I-II	4	203	1:51
II	14	857	1:61
II-III	17	349	1:21
III	93	406	1:4
III-IV	50	54	1:1
IV	99	36	3:1
IV-V	68	7	10:1
V	88	11	8:1

second gospel) to transcribe the disciple Peter's reminiscences, eventually making its way

to Alexandria. There, it is transformed into a parchment codex as canonical Mark. The

Gospel's abrupt shorter ending (Mark 16) can be explained as evidence for missing

sheets from an early codex copy of Mark.

Second, the so-called "Antioch Hypothesis" has been suggested as another

alternative by Roberts and Skeat. They argue that a group of early Jewish-Christians

living in Antioch adapted the form of the "papyrus tablet" mentioned in the Rabbinic *m.*

Kelim 24.7 (אפיפורין) as a preferred medium for transcribing the sayings of Jesus. These

tablets eventually were expanded to include narrative material and then evolved into a

gospel in the form of a codex. Both of these theories, as provocative as they may be, have

not been widely held and have received some criticism.[65] Roberts' Markan theory

particularly lacks explanatory force. Mark may have originated as a notebook, but could

have easily (and quickly) circulated as a scroll. Besides, the abrupt ending of Mark could

be as easily explained imagining Mark in a scroll format, with the outer part of the roll

containing a longer ending of Mark eventually breaking off from the rest of the scroll.

Llewelyn describes two alternative theories to the ones posited by Roberts and

Skeat. The socio-economic model maintains that the less-costly codex was adopted by

early Christians for economic reasons since the majority of whom were from the lower

classes of Roman society. This theory is dismissed by Llewelyn in his agreement with

Roberts and Skeat that "the delineation between social class and preference of writing

format is a false simplication."[66] In addition, as we observed above, contact with

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[65]See Llewelyn ("The Development of the Codex," 252) for his criticisms of Roberts' Markan Hypothesis; and, the critical remarks of J. van Haelst ("Les origines du codex," *Les débuts du codex* [A. Blanchard, ed.; Turnhout: Brepols, 1989] 31) against the Roberts-Skeat Antioch Hypothesis.

literature and writing was something that all in society would experience, despite socio-economic status.[67]

The so-called "Roman Hypothesis," advocated by van Haelst as an alternative to Roberts and Skeat,[68] posits that the spread in popularity of the early Christian codex can be seen for three reasons (curiously offered without much supporting evidence). First, since gospel texts were popular and widely used liturgical "manuals" as opposed to "works of literature," the codex medium was more conducive to the pragmatic nature of the early gospels. Second, as the gospels were distinct from other contemporary literature (e.g., the classics), they were not subject to the same restrictions as other popular literature. Third, the hierarchy and geographic breadth of the early Church contributed to the rapid adaptation of the codex as the preferred medium for early Christian literature. For Llewelyn, as provocative as van Haelst's theory may be, it remains unsatisfactory primarily for its lack of verifying information in support of his three assertions.[69]

Thus, Llewelyn offers the most current treatment of the spread of the early Christian codex that synthesizes and interacts with previous attempts at resolving this problem. While Llewelyn is content to agree with previous treatments of the Christian codex (e.g., Roberts and Skeat, van Haelst) as to the Roman origins of early codices, he does not think that it should follow that "one should [then] look to Rome and the Roman church in particular to account for subsequent Christian practice."[70] Second, there is the

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[66]Llewelyn, "The Development of the Codex," 253. Cf. Robert and Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex,* 68-70.

[67] Again, see the argument made above by Jennifer Sheridan.

[68]"Les origines du codex," 13-35.

[69] Llewelyn, "The Development of the Codex," 253-254.

real possibility that the rise in popularity of the codex is not a uniquely Christian

phenomenon, but one that may merely reflect the coincidental timing of the primitive

Christian literary tradition of the late first and early second centuries concurrent with the

general shift towards the codex already taking place elsewhere in the Greco-Roman

world. Third, the early Christian adaptation of the codex meant that the early church

"appears to have opted for an inferior quality of production," from the informal and

unrefined scripts often characteristic of early Christian codices to the popular use of the

single column format.[71] Fourth, Llewelyn takes issue with the common assumption that it

was the distinct nature of the gospel texts (as opposed to other early Christian writings)

that "could have given the necessary occasion or impetus to the adoption of the codex

format."[72] Citing the reference to μεμβράνας in 2 Tim 4:13 and Adolph Deissmann's

assumption that Paul collected copies of his letters in notebooks,[73] Llewelyn rightly

argues that one needs to broaden the purview of this discussion if one is going to

adequately treat the topic of the rise in popularity of the codex within the early Christian

literary culture.[74]

This discussion of the codex serves as a reminder of the often lengthy and

complex evolutionary process that literature underwent in antiquity. One of the

anachronisms of our twentieth century literary culture is the variety of presuppositions

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[70]Llewelyn, "The Development of the Codex," 254.

[71]Llewelyn, "The Development of the Codex," 254.

[72]Llewelyn, "The Development of the Codex," 254.

[73] Adolph Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 236-241.

[74]Llewelyn, "The Development of the Codex," 255-256. See also Trobisch's work on Paul's letter collection and the development of the codex (*Die Entstehung der Paulusbriefsammlung; Paul's Letter*

regarding the many earlier recensions behind "published" works in antiquity. For

example, take the NT Gospels: It is likely that the Gospels (and their sources) underwent

many stages of composition and performance, perhaps to a small and private group of

colleagues and friends of the authors, before the documents' were "publicly" circulated

as "published" literature. In addition, understanding the various potential media of the

Gospels and their sources better informs our discussion of the Synoptic Problem in light

of the compositional conditions and methods of authors in antiquity. Clearly, the

preferred medium for writers in the first century appears to be the scroll or book roll. Yet

for example, is it likely that Matthew's source Q is in some form of a codex, which has

the advantage of random access, since, as most contemporary Q scholars argue, Luke

better preserves Q's order than Matthew? Was Luke's version of Mark in scroll form

since he follows it very closely, more so than Matthew, whose version of Mark may have

been in codex form? It is quite clear that the question of medium is very relevant to any

discussion of Synoptic sources. However, this question has been rarely posed by source-

critics interested in the (pre-)history of ancient texts, both canonical and classical. These

source-critical questions that stem from the discussion of ancient media and the Synoptic

Problem will be discussed more fully in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.[75]

The Posture of Writers and Scribes in Antiquity

Modern writers are very familiar with desks as writing and working surfaces,

usually standing thirty inches or so off the ground. The picture of this working

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Collection: Tracing the Origins).

[75] It should be noted that here I begin by assuming as a default position that NT authors used scrolls as their preferred medium for writing. However, as will be shown in Chapter Six, an alternative medium (i.e., the codex) will turn out to be a necessary assumption for the 2DH.

environment is one where a writer spreads his/her work out on desks or writing tables and

work in an environment of controlled chaos as letters, essays and articles are composed

on paper or computer, surrounded by stacks of books, notes, and journals. Yet ancient

writers and scribes did not work this way. We know from both artistic depictions of

ancient authors, and a few literary sources, that writing desks did not come into use until

sometime after the fourth century CE, finally gaining popularity by the eighth and ninth

centuries CE.[76] The posture of scribes and writers in antiquity was either squatting, with

one's tunic stretched over one's knees creating a crude but efficient writing surface, or

seated, on a stool or a bench with the writing surface (usually a scroll) propped up on one

knee, which could be supported by a stool. Occasionally, a writer might stand if he or she

is working with a small codex that could be supported in one hand.

In addition, there are a few pieces of literary evidence that support the non-

existence of writing tables and desks. There are several Ancient and Byzantine colophons

which discuss the participation of the writer's knees in the production of texts. For

example, a third century CE colophon from a copy of Homer's *Illiad* reads as follows: "I

am the *coronis*, the guardian of scribes. The pen wrote me, [as did] the right hand and

knee."[77] In light of this phenomenon, Parássaglou writes the following regarding scribal

posture in antiquity and the cumbersome nature of scrolls: "Writing on a papyrus roll

placed on one's lap was indubitably a difficult task and, regardless of the expertise that

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[76] These various depictions are discussed in some detail in Bruce Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" 123-137.

[77] See G. M. Parássaglou, "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ: Some Thoughts on the Postures of the Ancient Greeks and Romans When Writing on Papyrus Rolls."

many of the ancient scribes may have reached..., must have placed serious limitations on what could be achieved...".[78]

By now, the implications to our understanding of the physical conditions under which the ancient writers worked should be manifest. As we saw in the previous chapter, many source critics anachronistically imagine that ancient writers worked in an environment similar to our own literary culture. For example, all the main "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem have proponents who are guilty of picturing the evangelists, not accurately as writers working without a writing desk, but as authors seated behind spacious (and sometimes elaborate) writing surfaces.

Using the example of Synoptic literary relationships, how, then, are we to imagine the procedure of the later evangelists, Matthew and Luke on the 2DH for example, bringing together at least two written sources, Mark and Q? It is difficult enough to imagine and recreate a plausible scenario for Matthew and Luke weaving together Mark and Q which they have "in front of them" on a desk-like surface. Yet it becomes very difficult to imagine this conventional picture when Matthew and Luke are likely working without the benefit of a writing table or desk! The various "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem as suggested by Synoptic source critics need to take this into account in their various explanations of the data. It is also a question that this research will address in the subsequent analysis of a variety of Synoptic source-critical "solutions" in Part Two of this dissertation.

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[78]"ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ," 20.

The Production and "Publication" of the Ancient Book

The modern literary historian is restricted in his or her reconstruction of the

literary world in antiquity by the evidence from primary works. This evidence can be

generally categorized as either explicit or implicit. The explicit evidence is obviously the

more easily discernible, and will thus demand the focus of the rest of this presentation.

This explicit evidence is found where Greco-Roman writers provide clues into the ways

in which authors worked with sources, the ways in which texts evolved through the

process of editing, the techniques for reading, and the methods and materials of ancient

manuscript production. The implicit evidence, on the other hand, is subtler and is less

easily discovered and nuanced. At this point, the literary historian is limited by making

observations about the texts themselves, be it the tacit ways in which an author treats his

source material or the reasons why an author edits his written works in the fashion that he

does. This process of analysis of the "implicit" evidence is obviously fraught with

problems, the least of which are the typically abstract and often seemingly indeterminate

conclusions that are drawn through an analysis of the data. Because of this apparent

reality, and for the limitations of time, it seems appropriate to concentrate on the explicit

data found in some Greco-Roman writers.

The production of texts in antiquity was a very involved and at times lengthy

process, with the public distribution or "publication" of a text being the final stage in the

procedure from the writer's point of view and the surrendering of control of a particular

text by its author. T. Dorandi asks the following questions: "Wie schrieben die Alten ihre

Werke? Wie war die Arbeitsweise der antiken Schriftsteller?"[79] Dorandi, through a

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[79]T. Dorandi, "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut," 11.

careful analysis of variety of papyri and references to writing in antiquity, answers these

questions by concluding that Greco-Roman authors typically observed the following

procedure. First, the author would be engaged in the "working out of rough drafts" ("der

Ausarbeitung von Konzepten"), perhaps preceded by a collection of excerpts, consisting

of "short notices" ("kurzen Notizen"), which may have been written on wax or wooden

tablets (*pugillares*). During this intial stage, the author may have been involved in the

making of ὑπομνηματικά, functioning as a "provisional version" ("der provisorischen

Fassung") of a book, "whereby the raw material was chiefly revised and ordered, but

having not yet received the last stylistic refinement" ("...wobei das Rohmaterial

größtenteils überarbeitet und geordnet war, aber noch nicht die letzte stilistische

Verfeinerung erhalten hatte").[80] This first stage, argues Dorandi, is followed by a second

stage of the "final editing" ("die endgültige Redaktion"), where the "clean copy" ("die

Reinschrift des Werkes") of the work (ὑπόμνημα, σύνταγμα, etc.) introduced the

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[80]T. Dorandi, "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut," 32. The primary evidence for this procedure comes from Dorandi's study of Philodemus of Gadara (d. ca. 40 BCE), particularly in *P.Herc.* 1021 – an opsithographic first version of the so-called "Academicorum philosophorum index Herculanensis" (see T. Dorandi, ed., *La storia dei filosofi (PHerc. 1021 e 164)* [Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1991]). From this analysis, Dorandi describes Philodemus' procedure as follows ("Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut," 16-17):

1. "Philodem liest die Quellentexte, versieht die Stellen, die er exzerpieren wollte, mit Zeichen. Das gilt zumindest für die längeren Abschnitte; kürzere wird er wohl selbst einem *notorius* diktiert haben."
2. "In einigen Fällen, freilich nicht so häufig wird er dabei auch auf *pugillares* oder Wachs – bzw. Holztäfelchen zurückgegriffen haben."
3. "Philodem diktiert dem Schreiber die Übergangsstücke und die Einleitung sowie die von ihm selbst formulierten Partien."
4. "Ein Schreiber arbeitet die erste Fassung des Werkes aus, das Konzept (PHerc. 1021). Schon in dieser Phase werden einige längere Stücke auf dem *uerso* untergebracht."
5. "Hinzufügen, Ergänzungen und Korrekturen verschiedenen Ausmaßes finden an den Rändern und an leeren Stellen auf dem *recto* oder dem *uerso* Platz Ergänzung dessen, was vorher zusammengestellt worden war."
6. "Der so ergänzte Text wird schließlich als Reinschrift umgeschrieben bzw. diktiert, nachdem Philodem einige seiner Abschnitte durchgesehen und verbessert und die Form bereinigt hat."

Dorandi also develops his description of the various stages in production of ancient texts based on Pliny the Younger's report of his uncle's procedure in producing written texts (see discussion below).

actual "publication" (ἔκδοσις, meaning the authorial release to the public, a risky

endeavor since ancient society had no concept of "copyright" in the modern sense).[81] The

term ἔκδοσις (the verbal form ἐκδίδωμι), literally meaning "that which is given away,"

is used by a variety of ancient authors to describe the "final" draft of a written work, one

that is released to the public, and thus released from the author's control. For example,

Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the ἐκδοῦναι of a particular treatise, synonymous

with "giving [this] treatise to the world."[82] The younger Pliny makes use of the Latin

equivalent *editio* on several occasions. In his letter to Maturus Arrianus, he mentions the

potential publication (*editione*) of a speech performed for and corrected by several of his

colleagues since this has been his practice with previous books that "have already [been]

sent out into the world [that] are still said to find readers although they have lost the

charm of novelty."[83] In his advice to Octavius Rufus, Pliny describes the benefits of

"publication" (*editione*) as "the admiration and applause...and the hushed stillness." He

advises Octavius Rufus that "a great reward awaits you, and you must stop denying your

work its due by your interminable hesitation [in getting published]; for whenever this

goes too far there is a danger that it will be given another name – idleness, indolence, or

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[81]T. Dorandi, "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut," 32-33. B. H. Streeter, perhaps the most influential advocate of Markan priority and Q in the first half of the twentieth century, states the following regarding copyright and ancient methods of adapting source material: "The conception of 'copyright' – a consequence of the invention of printing – has entirely changed the conditions under which it is legitimate for authors to make use of previous writers. Ancient historians frequently reproduce almost verbatim considerable portions of the work of their predecessors" (*The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* [London: Macmillan, 1924], 151).

[82]Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *1-2 Amm.* 1.10 (Cary, LCL). See also Iamblichus' use of the term in *Pyth.* 23.104.

[83]*Ep.* 1.2.5-6 (Radice, LCL). Pliny continues in the same section: "Of course the booksellers may be flattering me [in the sales of my previously published books]; well, let them, as long as their deception makes me think well of my own work."

possibly timidity."[84] Finally, note Seneca's comments regarding the common "blessings"

bestowed on all through the act of publication, coupled with the author's loss of control

of a text in doing so: "Certain blessings are offered to all. Cities are founded as much for

the bad as for the good; works of genius (*monumenta ingeniorum*), even if they will fall

into the hands of the unworthy, are published for everybody (*publicavit editio*)..."[85]

Gamble argues that a "public reading" of a particular text by its author was

typically the initial and necessary step in the public dissemination or "publication" of

written material.[86] A cursory survey of ancient authors seems to support this assertion. In

the above quote from Pliny to his colleague, Octavius Rufus, links publication with

public performance.[87] It appears that this "final" stage was preceded by the distribution of

several drafts that were made of works intended for public readings, first privately shared

to friends or colleagues of the author similar to the contemporary procedure employed by

refereed journals. See, for example, the comments by the younger Pliny on his technique:

> I do not regret my practice [of reading my work aloud, i.e., pre-publication public
> "performance"]; experience has taught me its great advantages, and I am so far
> from being deterred by the idle comments of the people you quote that I should
> like you to suggest something else I can do. Nothing can satisfy my desire for
> perfection; I can never forget the importance of putting anything into the hands of
> the public, and I am positive that any work must be revised more than once and
> read to a number of people if it is intended to give permanent and universal
> satisfaction. (*Ep.* 7.17 [Radice, LCL])

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[84]*Ep.* 2.10.6-8 (Radice, LCL). See also *Ep.* 3.15.1-5.

[85]Seneca, *Ben.* 4.28.4 (Basore, LCL).

[86]*Books and Readers*, 84.

[87]"I picture to myself the crowds, the admiration and applause which await you [upon publication], and the hushed stillness – for I personally like this as much as applause when I am speaking or reading, as long as it indicates a keen attentiveness and eagerness to hear what follow" (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 2.10.7 [Radice, LCL]).

In addition, it is worthwhile noting Pliny's additional comments on his "pre-publication" performances and corrections of his works:

> First of all, I go through my work myself; next, I read it to two or three friends and send it to others for comment. If I have any doubts about their criticisms, I go over them again with one or two people, and finally I read the work to a larger audience; and that is the moment, believe me, when I make my severest corrections, for my anxiety makes me concentrate all the more carefully. Respect for an audience, modesty and anxiety are the best critics. (*Ep.* 7.17 [Radice, LCL])

And also a quotation regarding Pliny's practice of exchanging pre-publication work with his colleague, Cornelius Tacitus:

> I have read your book, and marked as carefully as I could the passages which I think should be altered or removed, for if it is my custom to tell the truth, you are always willing to hear it; no one accepts criticism so readily as those who best deserve praise. Now I am awaiting the return of my book from you, with your comments: a fair exchange which we both enjoy. I am delighted to think that if posterity takes any interest in us the tale will everywhere be told of the harmony, frankness, and loyalty of our lifelong relationship. It will seem both rare and remarkable that two men of much the same age and position, and both enjoying a certain amount of literary reputation (I can't say much about you when it refers to me too), should have encouraged each other's literary work. (*Ep.* 7.20 [Radice, LCL])

These initial copies, although they were in early draft form, were often transcribed under the careful supervision of the author. Presumably, then, on the open market, "authorized" versions of texts were more prestigious than "unauthorized" editions, and in turn commanded a higher market value.[88]

Thus, to speak of "copyright" or the sanctity of one's "intellectual property" in their modern senses is wholly anachronistic. The free use of previously "published" sources by ancient authors is a testimony to this reality. A cursory comparison of the Synoptic Gospels one to another will quickly yield the conclusion that the modern

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[88]Avrin, *Scribes, Script, and Books*, 155-156.

concept of "copyright" was non-existent in antiquity, at least in the minds of the later

evangelists (Matthew and Luke on the 2DH). For verbatim or near-verbatim reproduction

of Mark by Matthew and Luke is common throughout the two Gospels, without any

recognition of their sources. Luke comes the closest in his prologue in his allusion to his

general method and a possible broad reference to the "genres" of his sources. Yet, of

course, his sources remain anonymous.[89] It is this reality that causes Gamble to write that

"[t]he ancient world knew nothing resembling the modern copyright, whereby an author

or an author's agent holds claim to the work, exercises control over its reproduction and

use, and is in principle capable of realizing a profit from the disposition of the text as a

piece of authorial property."[90] This lack of any notion of the modern sense of "copyright"

was often the impetus for publication, when an author wanted to "ensure that a correct

copy of the work circulated [publicly], rather than a distorted, pirated edition."[91]

Nevertheless with publication, there was a surrendering of control of a manuscript on the

part of the author to the free market. See, for example, Origen's (185-254 CE) comments

regarding the publication and "unofficial" transcription and distribution of his *De

Principiis*:

> Truly in the presence of God the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, I
> adjure and beseech everyone who may either transcribe or read these books, by
> his belief in the kingdom to come, by the mystery of the resurrection from the
> dead, and by that everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels, that, as he
> would not possess for an eternal inheritance that place where there is weeping and

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[89]Luke 1:1-4: "Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word, I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed" (*NRSV*).

[90]*Books and Readers*, 83.

[91]Avrin, *Scribes, Script, and Books*, 155.

gnashing of teeth and where their fire is not quenched and their spirit does not die, he add nothing to what is written and take nothing away from it, and make no insertion or alteration, but that he compare his transcription with the copies from which he made it and make the emendations according to the letter and supply the punctuation, and not allow his manuscript to be incorrect or without punctuation, lest the difficulty of ascertaining the sense from the absence of the punctuation of the copy should cause greater difficulties to the reader.[92]

Finally, because the compositional procedure involved a variety of recensional

stages and many drafts, written works sometimes prematurely escaped the control of the

author. Occasionally, earlier or incomplete editions made it into the public market

without the approval of an author, hence the author would have to counter with a revised

(and thus authorized) edition for publication. It is worth noting Tertullian's (ca. 160-225

CE) comments regarding earlier recensions of his work against Marcion:

> The first edition (*primum opusculum*), too hastily produced, I later withdrew substituting a fuller treatment (*pleniore compositione*). This too, before enough copies had been produced (*nondum exemplarus suffectam*), was stolen by one who was at the time a brother but later became an apostate, and who copied excerpts very incorrectly and made them available to many people (*qui forte descripserat quaedam mendosissime et exhibuit frequentiae*). Thus emendation was required. This occasion persuaded me to make some additions. Thus this composition, a third following a second, and instead of a third from now on the first, needs to begin by reporting the demise of the work it replaces in order that no one may be confused if in one place or another he comes across varying forms of it.[93]

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[92]Origen, *Princ.* pref., as translated by Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 124.

[93]*Marc.*, 1.1, as translated by Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 118-119.

The Use of Sources in the Production of Ancient Texts

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (b. 30 BCE) argues that the "science of composition"

functions, in part, "to judge whether any modification is required in the material used—I

mean subtraction, addition or alteration—and to carry out such changes with a proper view

to their future purpose."[94] This ancient "science" of composition was characterized partly

by the frequent and extensive free adaptation of written source material, often freely

copying sections of sources verbatim without credit. Infrequently, but occasionally,

Greco-Roman historians and biographers make mention of their sources, their methods of

selection of this source material, along with their purposes in writing.[95] For example,

Arrian (b. 85-90 CE) makes mention of his two sources, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, in his

preface to his *Anabasis* of Alexander. His method, which will be analyzed in greater

detail in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, is described as follows:

> Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have both
> given the same accounts of Alexander son of Philip, it is my practice to record
> what they say as completely true, but where they differ, to select the version I
> regard as more trustworthy and also better worth telling. In fact other writers have
> given a variety of accounts of Alexander, nor is there any other figure of whom
> there are more historians who are more contradictory of each other, but in my
> view Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more trustworthy in their narrative, since
> Aristobulus took part in king Alexander's expedition, and Ptolemy not only did
> the same, but as he himself was a king, mendacity would have been more
> dishonourable for him than for anyone else; again, both wrote when Alexander
> was dead and neither was under any constraint or hope of gain to make him set
> down anything but what actually happened. However, I have also recorded some
> statements made in other accounts of others, when I thought them worth mention
> and not entirely untrustworthy, but only as tales told of Alexander. Anyone who is
> surprised that with so many historians already in the field it should have occurred
> to me too to compose this history should express his surprise only after perusing
> all their works and then reading mine. (*Anab.* 1 [Brunt, LCL])

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[94]*Comp.* 6 (Cary, LCL).

[95] In the subsequent two chapters of this dissertation, I will be analyzing in considerable detail the methods employed by ancient authors in their adaptation of source material.

Likewise, Cassius Dio (ca. 40-111 CE) states that while he has "read pretty nearly

everything about them [the Romans] that has been written by anybody, I have not

included it all in my history, but only what I have seen fit to select."[96] In similar fashion,

Dionysius of Halicarnassus argues that authors need to exercise great care in "compiling

their narratives" since "the histories of renowned cities and of men who have held

supreme power should [not] be written in an offhand or negligent manner."[97] Thus,

ancient historians and biographers could exercise great care for their literary productions

since history, according to Lucian, "is not one of those things that can be put in hand

without effort and can be put together lazily, but is something which needs, if anything

does in literature, a great deal of thought if it is to be what Thucydides calls 'a possession

for evermore.'"[98]

The author of 2 Maccabees states that his work is an "attempt to condense

(ἐπιτεμεῖν)" the five volume work by the otherwise unknown Jason of Cyrene into a

"single book." This epitomizer of 2 Maccabees continues: "For us who have undertaken

the toil of abbreviating (ἐπιτομῆς), it is no light matter but calls for sweat and loss of

sleep, just as it is not easy for one who prepares a banquet and seeks the benefit of

others" (2 Macc 2:26-27a). This method of compiling and epitomizing, which will be

discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this dissertation, is further described:

> Nevertheless, to secure the gratitude of many we will gladly endure the
> uncomfortable toil, leaving the responsibility for exact details to the compiler,
> while devoting our effort to arriving at the outlines (τοῖς ὑπογραμμοῖς [lit. "the

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[96] Cassius Dio, *Ant. Rom.*, 1.2 (Cary, LCL).

[97] *Ant. Rom.* 1.1.3-4 (Cary, LCL).

[98] Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 5 (Kilburn, LCL).

patterns/models to be copied"]) of the condensation (ἐπιτομῆς). For as the
master builder of a new house must be concerned with the whole construction,
while the one who undertakes its painting and decoration has to consider only
what is suitable for its adornment, such in my judgment is the case with us. It is
the duty of the original historian to occupy the ground, to discuss matters from
every side, and to take trouble with details, but the one who recasts the narrative
should be allowed to strive for brevity of expression and to forego exhaustive
treatment. (2 Macc 2:27b-31 [*NRSV*])

In his biography of the Pythagorean philosopher and mystic Apollonius,

Philostratus (ca. late 2nd-early 3rd c. CE) describes his sources and the method of their

compilation as follows:

> And I have gathered my information partly from the many cities where he
> [Apollonius] was loved, and partly from the temples whose long-neglected and
> decayed rites he restored, and partly from the accounts left of him by others and
> partly from his own letters....
> There was a man, Damis, by no means stupid, who formerly dwelt in the
> ancient city of Nineveh. He resorted to Apollonius in order to study wisdom, and
> having shared, by his own account, his wanderings abroad, wrote an account of
> them. And he records his opinions and discourses and all his prophecies. And a
> certain kinsman of Damis drew the attention of the empress Julia to the
> documents containing these memoirs hitherto unknown. Now I belonged to the
> circle of the empress, for she was a devoted admirer of all rhetorical exercises;
> and she commanded me to recast and edit (μεταγράψαι) these essays, at the
> same time paying more attention to the style and diction of them; for the man of
> Nineveh had told his story clearly enough, yet somewhat awkwardly. And I also
> read the book of Maximus of Aegae, which comprised all the life of Apollonius in
> Aegae; and furthermore a will was composed by Apollonius, from which one can
> learn how rapturous and inspired a sage he really was. For we must not pay
> attention anyhow to Moeragenes, who composed four books about Apollonius,
> and yet was ignorant of many of the circumstances of his life. That then I
> combined these scattered sources together and took trouble over my composition,
> I have said; but let my work, I pray, redound to the honour of the man who is the
> subject of my compilation, and also be of use to those who love learning. For
> assuredly they will here learn things of which as yet they are ignorant. (*Vit. Apoll.*
> 1.2-3 [Conybeare, LCL])

To summarize, Philostratus' sources include "liturgical" oral tradition, written

sources (including earlier "accounts"), and his own letters. One of Philostratus' main

written sources is Damis, a former student and biographer of Apollonius, who is

responsible for recording the opinions, discourses and prophecies of Apollonius.

Philostratus is commissioned by Julia Domna, the second wife of emperor Septimius

Severus (193-211 CE), to "recast and edit" Damis' essays on Apollonius. In addition to

Damis, Philostratus also made use of the written works of the otherwise unknown

Maximus of Aegae and a will composed by Apollonius himself. In his work on

Apollonius, Philostratus "combined these scattered sources together" into a single

"compilation."

Thus, ancient literary culture is characterized, in part, by the frequent use of

written sources on the part of later writers. So too existed the phenomenon of *not* utilizing

known sources on the same subject matter, at least according to Philostratus.

Unfortunately, more often than not, these ancient authors make no explicit mention of

their sources. While we are grateful to Arrian for his "citation" of his two sources and

method of composition, his clarification is more the exception than the rule. (A fuller

treatment of the explicit references in ancient writers to their sources and methods for

using those sources can be found in the next chapter.)

IV. Implications of this Chapter

There are several initial implications to our understanding of the production of

texts in the Greco-Roman world. In the area of both classical and Synoptic source

criticism, clearly current theories on the identification of anterior sources and the ways in

which they are used need to be constantly tested with the observable data found through

an analysis of ancient literary cultures. Specifically, in terms of the Synoptic Problem, it

is valuable to keep in mind the following: First, clearly the production of the Gospel texts was likely an involved and complex procedure, at the very least involving several drafts or recensions. There is no reason to assume that the production of the Gospels was any different than the conventional production of texts in antiquity.

Second, the 2GH, FGH, and 2DH as heuristic devices in their explanation of the Synoptic data, suggest that the later evangelists had access to *identical* copies of their sources (i.e., on the 2GH, Mark and Luke had identical copies of Matthew; on the FGH, Matthew and Luke had identical copies of Mark; and on the 2DH, Matthew and Luke had identical copies of Mark and Q). Certainly this is possible, but not likely, in light of the complicated and involved process of ancient book production. For example, wherever Matthew and Luke were composing their Gospels, they were likely not geographically in proximity to one another, and almost certainly unfamiliar with each other's work, as the 2DH suggests. Matthew's and Luke's independence (and likely ecclesiastical and geographic distance from each other) requires advocates of the 2DH to posit that several (at least two), perhaps many, versions of Mark and Q were in circulation. It is certainly possible, perhaps even likely, that Matthew's and Luke's versions of Mark differed then from our canonical version, perhaps differing from each other as well. Hence, multiple recensional theories of the sources for the later evangelists are likely the more probable explanations of the data than the above-mentioned simple "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem.

There are several other implications that one can draw from this study. First, understanding the literary cultures of antiquity is, in many ways, merely a sub-category within the more general area of social history. Biblical studies, especially NT studies, is

in the midst of a flourishing interest in the social history of the people, cultures and texts

of the Bible. Any basic exegetical method now must take seriously the findings of social

historians. Thus, when one understands the literary culture of the Roman world one is

reminded of the complexity and occasional difficulty of the production of ancient texts.

Taking seriously the literary cultures in which ancient texts were composed and

performed is, in many respects, the place to begin proper historical investigations of these

texts.

In addition, understanding the literary cultures of antiquity serves as a reminder of

the vital importance of considering the greater socio-cultural climate in which ancient

texts were produced, particularly given the prohibitive cost of writing materials, and the

tremendously limited breadth of literacy and education in the Roman world. This allows

the modern reader of ancient texts to take seriously their historical nature and context. In

terms of the Synoptic Problem, then, this present study is essentially broadening the

purview of Synoptic source-criticism to include the conclusions of the social-historical

research of analyses of the literary cultures of the Greco-Roman world.

Finally, we are also reminded that while all extant texts are fixed points in history,

not all are "final" literary products. In other words, one should not read a "published"

final draft of a text without attention paid to a text's literary history and the socio-cultural

climate in which it evolved, avoiding an over-emphasis on the final product that once

graced the book shelves of the Greco-Roman world. All texts in antiquity have a literary

history and complex development prior to their "publication." This could include

multiple recensions, "pre-publication" performance of early drafts, and the use of written

sources. And just how ancient writers used source materials in their compositions is the

focus of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

GRECO-ROMAN REFERENCES TO SOURCES

AND METHODS OF ADAPTATION

I. Introduction

In their practice of the text-critical method, text critics use a variety of criteria in their attempt to establish the "original" text of the New Testament. These criteria are both external (an analysis of a particular manuscript's text type, date and geographic distribution) and internal. The internal criteria are, of course, the established principles by which variant readings are analyzed in order to detect both the deliberate and accidental activity of scribes. These internal criteria include preferences for the more difficult reading (*lectio difficilior*), the shorter reading (*lectio brevior*), the non-harmonistic reading, the reading that conforms with the style and theology of the author, and the reading that best explains the genesis of all other variants. It is through the implementation of these criteria that a text critic establishes the "original" reading of a particular text with a particular text-critical problem. It is the task of employing these internal criteria of text criticism in order to begin to establish text-critical "directions of dependence." One is able particularly to see this in the internal criterion employed in every text-critical problem, that is, the best (i.e., most "original") reading is able to best explain the origins and existence of all others ("the best explains the rest"). Clearly in the

use of this criterion, one is attempting to verify directions of dependence by establishing

the "original" reading in a given text-critical problem and its progeny.

The method of this present dissertation is, in many respects, similar to the

employment of the various criteria, particularly the internal criteria, in the practice of text

criticism. Essentially, its aim is to establish a set of criteria, or more accurately,

compositional conventions or "tendencies." These conventions will be guidelines that aid

in the description of the compositional and scribal methods of writers in antiquity,

particularly in terms of the use of source materials by ancient authors. Hence, it may be

appropriate to speak of these as "literary" or "compositional" tendencies. It is this set of

tendencies that in part should aid in establishing "directions of dependence" in source-

critical analyses. It is the establishment of this set of tendencies that is the focus of this

chapter and the next (Chapter Three: "An Analysis of Ancient Texts and the Adaptation

of their Extant Sources"). However, like the internal criteria of text criticism (at least

from the perspective of the so-called "Reasoned Eclectic Method"), these "compositional

tendencies" cannot and should not be used exclusively and universally.[1] These tendencies

need to be seen as simply augmenting the already established methods of source

criticism.[2]

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[1] "This [Reasoned Eclectic] method acknowledges the reality that no single criterion or invariable combination of criteria will bring resolution in all cases of textual variation, so it applies evenly and without prejudice any and all canons [of criteria] – external and internal – that are appropriate to a given instance, and then seeks an answer based on the balance of probabilities among the applicable criteria." So states E. J. Epp, "Textual Criticism (NT)," *ABD* 6:432-433.

[2] For example, redaction criticism can aid in establishing "directions of dependence." However, the lack of consensus in terms of method that characterizes source-critical discussions is both curious and perplexing. See the relatively short list (four items) of methodological points where the participants in the 1984 Jerusalem Synoptic Problem Symposium could all agree, and compare it to the fifteen items where there was not unanimous agreements between them (in Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 609-610).

II. Greco-Roman References to Sources and Methods of Adaptation

Ancient authors regularly made use of written source material. This adaptation of

source material could be copied verbatim or freely paraphrased; it could be expanded or

condensed by the later author; it could be adapted with or without an acknowledgement

of the identity of the source(s). While this phenomenon is a given in most discussions of

the compositional history of ancient texts, the problem lies in identifying the methods and

sources used by ancient writers. This precisely has to do with the paucity of explicit

references to the identity of sources and the methods of their adaptation. Thankfully,

there are several places where ancient writers have made explicit reference to their

written sources and the methods employed by them in their adaptation. In this chapter, I

will analyze several texts where authors make mention of their sources and their methods

of adaptation. While instances of this sort of description of sources and methods of

adaptation are more the exception than the rule in Greco-Roman writings, this material is

typically located in the prefatory remarks of ancient authors.

The literary cultures of the Greco-Roman world had no conception of "copyright"

and "intellectual property" in the modern, Western sense of the terms. Since the two great

pioneers in Greek historical writing, Thucydides and Herodotus, did not specifically

mention their sources by name in their prefaces, later Greek historians, who often model

their historical writings after these two earlier writers, typically do not do this either.[3]

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[3]See Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1* (SNTSMS 78; Cambridge: University Press, 1993) 34: "Written sources...were not mentioned by either of the fifth-century giants [Thucydides and Herodotus], and, probably for that reason, are rarely named in the prefaces of the Greek historians, even though most later historians in fact

Several of these later Greek historians do, however, describe the "value of care, trouble, expense and travel in the collection of material" in their prefatory remarks.[4] I will focus on these prefatory remarks on sources (and the infrequent mention of their methods of adaptation) in what follows below.

Specifically, I will focus on ancient prefaces found in the following: Arrian, a biographer of Alexander the Great; the Roman historians, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Cassius Dio; the prefatory comments by the author of 2 Maccabees; and, Philostratus, a biographer of the Pythagorean sage Apollonius. These five authors are part of a Greek literary tradition described by Philip A. Stadter as one where "Greek writers turned to their classical heritage as to a treasury from which they could draw gold and jewels which they could remold or reset in the new designs required to express their own thoughts."[5]

Finally, a note regarding the purview of this analysis in this present chapter. It is not the aim of this chapter or the next to present an exhaustive treatment of primary source material. This endeavor would, of course, be too lengthy and exhausting in itself. What I do intend to accomplish in these next two chapters is discuss a "representative sample" of ancient texts where one can observe explicit and implicit techniques of adaptation of source material.

Before looking specifically at these texts, it is important to note that ancient writers were involved in the expansion of source material, its alteration, and its

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relied heavily on written sources."

[4] Alexander, *The Preface of Luke's Gospel*, 33. Alexander lists the following Greek historians in support her description: Didorus Siculus (1.4.1.), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. rom.* 1.1.2), and Josephus (*J.W.* 1.16).

abbreviation. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ca. 30 BCE) states that "the science of [literary]

composition (τῆς συνθετικῆς ἐπιστήμης)" functions in part "to judge whether any

modification is required in the [source] material used – I mean subtraction, addition or

alteration – and to carry out such changes with a proper view of their future purpose."[6] To

repeat what has been argued in the Introduction: To speak of ancient writers in general

and the Evangelists in particular as "redactors" or "editors" of source material might

seem to diminish their authorial activity and describe in anachronistic fashion ancient

authors in terms of modern Western "editors" of texts, be they books, newspapers or

magazines. Stadter argues that Greco-Roman writers, particularly those of the second

century CE "felt heavily the weight of their heritage, and their prose is marked by a

mixture of imitation and rejection, tradition and originality...."[7] Hence, for Stadter, the

"selection and omissions of incidents is an essential part of the historian's skill."[8] This, it

seems, is an appropriate description of the literary context in which one finds the

Synoptic evangelists.

Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander

We can thank Arrian of Nicomedia (b. 85-90 CE) for being one of just a few

ancient writers who mention their sources by name and the method and purpose in

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[5] Philip A. Stadter, "Arrian's Extended Preface," *Illinois Classical Studies* 6 (1981): 151.

[6] *Comp.* 6 (Cary, LCL).

[7] Philip A. Stadter, "Xenophon in Arrian's *Cynegeticus," GRBS* 17 (1976): 157.

[8] Stadter, "Arrian's Extended Preface," 165. While the debate as to the specific genre of the Gospels still rages, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will be assuming that the Gospels are (modified) biographies, similar to, but distinct from, the category of history.

adapting those sources.[9] In his preface to his *Anabasis of Alexander*, Arrian states the

following concerning his sources and his methods for adapting them:

> Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have both
> given the same accounts (συνέγραψαν) of Alexander son of Philip, it is my
> practice to record (ἀναγράφω) what they say as completely true, but where they
> differ, to select the version I regard as more trustworthy (πιστότερα) and also
> better worth telling (ἀξιαφηγητόερα). In fact other writers have given a variety
> of accounts of Alexander, nor is there any other figure of whom there are more
> historians who are more contradictory of each other, but in my view Ptolemy and
> Aristobulus are more trustworthy in their narrative, since Aristobulus took part in
> king Alexander's expedition, and Ptolemy not only did the same, but as he
> himself was a king, mendacity would have been more dishonourable for him than
> for anyone else; again, both wrote when Alexander was dead and neither was
> under any constraint or hope of gain to make him set down anything but what
> actually happened. However, I have also recorded some statements made in other
> accounts (ξυγγεγραμμένα) of others, when I thought them worth mention and
> not entirely untrustworthy, but only as tales (λεγόμενα) told of Alexander.
> Anyone who is surprised that with so many historians already in the field it should
> have occurred to me too to compose this history should express his surprise only
> after perusing all their works and then reading mine.[10]

The source-critical similarities between Arrian and his adaptation of two sources

(unfortunately no longer extant) and the Synoptic Gospels are striking, making Arrian's

Anabasis an appropriate analogy for Synoptic source critics. At certain points in the three

main competing Synoptic source-critical theories (i.e., the 2GH, FGH, and 2DH), there is

the activity of a later evangelist combining (or, perhaps more specifically, conflating) two

sources (i.e., Mark on the 2GH, Luke on the FGH, and both Matthew and Luke on the

2DH). Thus, Arrian's *Anabasis* may potentially provide an appropriate ancient literary

analogy to at least some of the main "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem.

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[9] "Arrian's book was a self-confessed reworking of extant material, selected and arranged
according to his own predilections. It acts as a filter. The relatively vast spectrum of literature in his day
was trimmed by deliberate limitation of sources, and those chosen sources were selectively deployed to
present the picture which Arrian thought did most justice to his hero." So states A. B. Bosworth, *From
Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 16.

[10] Arrian, *Anab.* 1.preface (Brunt, LCL); the Loeb Greek text of Arrian comes from A. G. Roos,
ed., *Quae exstant omnia*, 2 vols. (rev. G. Wirth; Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1967-1968).

Arrian's method, as detailed in his preface, is both open-ended and apparently simple. Where his two sources (Ptolemy and Aristobulus, both eyewitnesses) agree in their telling of Alexander's expedition, Arrian is content "to record (ἀναγράφω) what they say as completely true." Where they disagree, Arrian states that he "select[s] the version" he "regard[s] as more trustworthy and also better worth telling." Arrian notes in his preface that other historical accounts of Alexander are characterized by rampant disagreement in the details of Alexander's life. Despite this phenomenon, Arrian is content with the reliability of his two main sources given their royal connection with Alexander and their potential subsequent shame that could be brought through false literary depictions of Alexander. Arrian also remarks that he has included other material from (less?) reliable sources (*legomena*).[11] It is, however, the two historians, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, that Arrian "chiefly follows" (μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἕπομαι).[12]

It is clear that in Arrian's prefatory remarks his method in adapting his source material is directly related to his purposes for writing. Other reasons for writing his account of Alexander's expeditions are detailed elsewhere in his work. For example, Arrian argues there is a "great gap" in the previous accounts of Alexander's exploits (1.12.2). In light of this he continues:

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[11] The Greek term λεγόμενα may be translated as "sayings" or "things that were (are) said." For example, Josephus uses the term to refer to "sayings" or "things said" (*Ant.* 13.303). In the LXX, the term refers to both oral and written words: a royal "command" (Esth 3:3; 8:14), "inscribed words" (4 Mac 17:8), and an "expression" or "reading" (Sir pref.21, 26). Thus, as the term is used in this chapter, it refers to "sayings," which may or may not have been written.

[12] See the following: "As for the method by which Alexander bridged the Indus, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus, the authors whom I chiefly follow (οἷς μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἕπομαι), describe it [λέγουσιν]; nor can I myself make a reasonable conjecture, whether the passage was bridged by boats... or whether a continuous bridge was built across the stream" (5.7.1 [Brunt, LCL]). "The entire number of ships, according to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, whom I chiefly follow (ᾦ μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἕπομαι), was eight ships of thirty oars..." (6.2.4 [Brunt, LCL]). Cf. also 7.15.6.

[N]o other single man performed such remarkable deeds, whether in number or magnitude, among either Greeks or barbarians. That, I declare, is why I myself have embarked on this history (ξυγγραφήν), not judging myself unworthy to make Alexander's deeds known to men. Whoever I may be, this I know in my favour; I need not write my name, for it is not at all unknown among men, nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held in my own land; this I do set on paper, that country, family, and offices I find and have found from my youth in these tales. That is why I think myself not unworthy of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject Alexander was among the masters of warfare.[13]

Thus, Arrian's history of Alexander's military exploits is written in order to provide a credible account of these events using two sources that are distinct from previous histories of Alexander in their apparent reliability for Arrian.[14]

Clearly, Arrian did not uncritically accept his source material. These accounts of Alexander's campaigns were in need of updating and correction through their adaptation in Arrian's work. In summarizing Arrian's method, Bosworth states that Arrian "did not accept what they [his sources] said without criticism, but he was for the most part confident that provided an honest, unbiased view of events. Stories from other sources [*legomena* = 'sayings'] could be added if they were intrinsically interesting and remotely plausible, but as a general rule he confined himself to two sources."[15]

An example of where Arrian remarks on the reliability of his sources is found in his discussion of Alexander's meeting of diplomats from around the Mediterranean world after the death of his close confidant, Hephaestion (d. 324 BCE). Arrian reports the following:

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[13] 1.12.4-5 (Brunt, LCL). See also the conclusion of the *Anabasis*, 7.30.

[14] Ironically, Arrian's criticism of earlier unreliable treatments of Alexander and his adaptation of two previous histories does not prevent him from making factual errors himself. See Philip A. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) 70-72, for a more detailed treatment of Arrian's "errors."

[15] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 39.

Aristus and Asclepiades among the historians of Alexander say that even the Romans sent envoys, and that when Alexander met their embassy he prognosticated something of their future power on observing their orderliness, industry and freedom, and at the same time investigating their constitution. This I recorded as neither true nor wholly incredible, except that no Roman ever referred to this embassy sent to Alexander, nor did the historians of Alexander whom I prefer to follow, Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus. (*Anab*. 7.15.5-6 [Brunt, LCL])

As stated in his preface, Arrian does make use of other sources in addition to

Ptolemy and Aristobulus. These are particularly places where Arrian, according to

Stadter, will "supplement both accounts with *legomena* [i.e., 'sayings'], since those were

occasions, according to the methodology expressed in the preface, which Arrian found

especially worthy of narration, even when they did not have the authority of both his

major sources."[16] While not the focus of this chapter, it is worth noting a few of the

places where Arrian clearly is making use of his *legomena*. Typically, the *legomena* are

introduced in order to provide more precise details and to fill in any gaps in Arrian's

narrative, which *legomena* are often introduced with λέγεται or λόγος κατέχει ("it is

said...;" "we are told...").[17] In addition, the general nature of these *legomena* appears to

be anecdotal – "It is said..." or "I have heard..." – perhaps indicating the potential status

of these sayings as oral tradition. Finally, it should be said that these *legomena*

consistently add additional (or contrary) narrative detail to Arrian's chief sources. In

other words, it appears that the *legomena* never contain specific sayings of Alexander.

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[16] Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia*, 72.

[17] See the occurrences of the following terms in Arrian's *Anabasis*: λεγόμενα (2x): 1.pref.3; 7.27.3; λέγεται (18x): 1.12.10; 2.7.8; 3.5.7; 4.11.9; 5.2.3; 5.5.3; 6.22.8; 7.2.1; 7.2.3; 7.4.3; 7.5.3; 7.13.1; 7.15.4; 7.19.2 (2x); 7.20.10; 7.22.2; 7.24.4; λόγος κατέχει (10x): 1.11.6; 1.11.8; 4.9.9; 4.13.2; 4.20.1; 6.11.3; 6.11.4; 6.14.2; 7.16.4; 7.20.5.

Stadter remarks that the *legomena* tend to be clustered together in order to

supplement Arrian's main sources in their exemplary presentation of Alexander.[18] Stadter

concludes the following regarding Arrian's method of using *legomena* in the midst of

adapting material from his primary sources, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, particularly in his

description of Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (1.11.6-8):

> It is apparent from Arrian's use of *legomena* that this view of the heroic role of
> Alexander at the Hellespont was not present in Ptolemy or Aristobulus. Not
> content with their accounts, Arrian introduced into his narrative from other writers
> such elements as he thought "worthy of narration," in this case those which would
> enhance the heroic image of his protagonist and place his own history among the
> noblest representatives of Greek literature.[19]

In this section in particular (1.11.1-1.12.1), there is a clustering of *legomena* that

are woven into the narrative sources used by Arrian, functioning in part to "enhance" the

heroic character of Alexander. Below, the underlined text is the apparent content of

legomena, with the actual *legomena* in bold face:

Figure 1: *Legomena* in Arrian, *Anab.* 1.11.1-3a; 1.11.6-1.12.1 (Brunt, LCL)	
After completing these operations, Alexander returned to Macedonia, where he offered the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and celebrated the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses. Meanwhile, it was reported that the statue of Orpheus, son of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the sees interpreted this variously, but Aristander of Telmissus encouraged Alexander by saying that it meant that makers of epics and choric songs and writers of odes would be hard at	Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδο|νίαν· καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελάου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια· **οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Θρακὸς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἱδρῶσαι ξυνεχῶς· καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον τῶν μάντεων. Ἀρίστανδρος δέ, ἀνὴρ Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν** Ἀλέξανδρον· δηλοῦσθαι γάρ, ὅτι

[18] Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia*, 74. For example, seven citations of *legomena* occur between 1.11.1 and 1.12.1.

[19] Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia*, 76.

work on poetry and hymns honouring Alexander and his exploits. In early spring he marched to Hellespont, leaving Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipater...(1.11.1-3a)	ποιηταῖς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ ᾠδὴν ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ᾄδειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. ῞Αμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ῞Ελληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας...
...Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus to Abydos of the cavalry and most of the infantry; they crossed [the Hellespont] in a hundred and sixty triremes and in a good number of cargo boats. According to the prevalent story Alexander made from Elaeus for the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself when he crossed, sacrificing a bull to Posidon and the Nereids in the midst of the Hellespont strait, and pouring into the sea a drink offering from a golden bowl. They also say that he was the first to disembark on Asian soil armed cap-à-pie, that he set up altars where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles, and that he then went up to Troy, and sacrificed to the Trojan Athena, dedicated his full armour in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war, which, it is said, the hypaspists henceforth used to carry before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures (so runs the story), praying Priam not to vent his anger on the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion. When Alexander reached Troy Menoetius the pilot crowned him with a golden wreath and then Chares the Athenian arrived from Sigeum with others, Greeks or natives of the place ...Some say that Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, while Hephaestion, others say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; an Alexander, so the story goes, blessed	...Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν ἵππον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ ἐς ῞Αβυδον· καὶ διέβησαν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξήκοντα πλοίοις δὲ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς στρογγύλοις. Ἀλέξανδρονδὲ ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατᾶραι ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτόν τε κυβερνῶντα τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν διαβάλλειν καί, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάξαντα ταῦρον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηίσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης ἐς τὸν πόντον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νεὼς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη τῆς Ἀσίας Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους. ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς ῞Ιλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεών, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὅπλων ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ἔργου σῳζόμενα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. θῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμου γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθῆκεν. Ἀνιόντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐς ῞Ιλιον Μενοίτιός τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ

<u>Achilles for having Homer to proclaim his</u> <u>fame to posterity.</u> (1.11.6-1.12.1)	Σιγείου ἐλθὼν καί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι· ..... <u>οἱ δέ, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως</u> <u>ἆρα τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν·</u> Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ εὐδαιμόνισεν ἆρα, ὡς λόγος, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀχιλλέα....

In these sections, we see that the *legomena* supplement the narrative material, coming at

the end of each narrative unit. In addition, sometimes at least two, sometimes more,

legomena will be clustered together. The function of the *legomena* is clearly to heighten

and enhance the depiction of Alexander as a devoutly religious hero, something Arrian's

narrative sources cannot accomplish on their own without the *legomena*.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Roman Antiquities

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose comments are mentioned above regarding the

"science of composition," also describes in his prefatory remarks in *Roman Antiquities*

the care which a historian should use in the adaptation of source material. Dionysius

argues that ancient historians should "provide themselves with the proper equipment for

the treatment of their subject (παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὴν

ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀφορμὰς)."[20] He continues:

> Those... who, while making choice of the best subjects, are careless and
> indolent in compiling their narratives out of such reports as chance to come to
> their ears gain no praise by reason of that choice; for we do not deem it fitting that
> the histories of renowned cities and of men who have held supreme power should
> be written in an offhand or negligent manner. As I believe these considerations to
> be necessary and of the first importance to historians and as I have taken great
> care to observe them both, I have felt unwilling either to omit mention of them or

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[20] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 1.1.2 (Cary, LCL). A. J. Toynbee (*Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heraclius* [London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1924]) translates this passage as follows: the historian "should devote the utmost care and industry to the task of providing himself with the *proper sources* for his own composition" (emphasis added).

to give it any other place than in the preface of my work. (*Rom. ant.* 1.1.4 [Cary, LCL])

Later on in his prefatory comments, Dionysius describes his sources (some by name) and (vaguely) his method of adapting this material:

> Having thus given the reasons for my choice of subject, I wish now to say something concerning the sources I used while preparing for my task. For it is possible that those who have already read Hieronymus, Timaeus, Polybius, or any other historians whom I just now mentioned as having slurred over their work, since they will not have found in those authors many things mentioned by me, will suspect me of inventing them and will demand to know how I came by the knowledge of these particulars. Lest anyone, therefore, should entertain such an opinion of me, it is best that I should state in advance what narratives and records I have used as sources. I arrived in Italy at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war [ca. 27 BCE], in the middle of the one hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad; and having from that time to this present day, a period of twenty-two years, lived at Rome, learned the language of the Romans and acquainted myself with their writings, I have devoted myself to matters bearing upon my subject. Some information I received orally from men of the greatest learning, with whom I associated; and other data I gathered from histories written by the approved Roman authors – Porcius Cato, Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the Aelii, Gellii and Calpurnii, and many others of note; with these works, which are like the Greek annalistic accounts, as a basis, I set about the writing of my history. (*Rom. ant.* 1.7.2-4 [Cary, LCL])

In Dionysius' comments, one gets the sense of the efforts involved in producing a lengthy and exhaustive history. Dionysius' "research" brought him to Rome (presumably from Halicarnassus), where he learned Latin (Dionysius wrote exclusively in Greek) and "acquainted" himself with Roman writings. His sources for his historical writings generally fall into two categories: 1) oral tradition, from "men of the greatest learning;" and, 2) histories composed by "the approved Roman authors," the historical writings of whom are apparently no longer extant. Yet, it is the choice of these sources that is very important to Dionysius, for, as Alexander has argued, the "importance of having proper sources of information, and of verifying and testing the information received from

tradition or from hearsay, was recognized in Greek historiography at least from the time

of Herodotus."[21]

Cassius Dio

In similar fashion to his predecessor Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the Roman

historian Cassius Dio (ca. 150-235 CE) states that he has searched exhaustively all

historical works on the Romans known to him. From that search, he includes only what

he has "seen fit to select," a process of which he later informs the reader (see below).

Second, Dio states that despite his "fine style," he hopes readers will not question the

"truthfulness of the narrative:"

> Although I have read pretty nearly everything about them [the Romans] that has
> been written by anybody, I have not included it all in my history, but only what I
> have seen fit to select. I trust, moreover, that if I have used a fine style, so far as
> the subject matter permitted, no one will on this account question the truthfulness
> of the narrative, as has happened in the case of some writers; for I have
> endeavoured to be equally exact in both these respects, so far as possible. I will
> begin at the point where I have obtained the clearest accounts of what is reported
> (λεγομένων) to have taken place in this land which we inhabit. (Cassius Dio,
> 1.2-3 [Cary, LCL])

Later on in his work, Dio describes the lengthy process of writing his 80 book

history. For ten years, Dio "collected" (συνέλεξα) information on the Roman empire

from its inception to the death of the emperor Severus in 211 CE. This period is then

followed by a twelve year period for composition (συνέγραψα). When read alongside

of the preface, the Dio's decade of "collection" of material was characterized by an

extensive reading of all written accounts of the history of the Roman empire available to

him. During this time, it is likely that Dio took notes, perhaps in the form of

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[21] Alexander, *The Preface of Luke's Gospel*, 32.

ὑπομνήματα, and then assembled them over a period of a dozen years in a written

form:

> After this [the death of emperor Commodus in 192 CE] there occurred most violent wars and civil strife. I was inspired to write an account of these struggles by the following incident. I had written and published (γράψας ἐδημοσίευσα) a little book about the dreams and portents which gave [Emporer] Severus [193-211 CE] reason to hope for the imperial power; and he, after reading the copy I sent him, wrote me a long and complimentary acknowledgement. This letter I received about nightfall, and soon after fell asleep; and in my dreams the Divine Power commanded me to write history. Thus it was that I came to write the narrative with which I am at this moment concerned. And inasmuch as it won the high approval, not only of others, but, in particular, of Severus himself, I then conceived a desire to compile a record of everything else that concerned the Romans. Therefore, I decided to leave the first treatise no longer as a separate composition, but to incorporate it in this present history, in order that in a single work I might write down and leave behind me a record of everything from the beginning down to the point that shall seem best to Fortune. This goddess gives me strength to continue my history when I become timid and disposed to shrink from it; when I grow weary and would resign the task, she wins me back by sending dreams; she inspires me with fair hopes that future time will permit my history to survive and never dim its lustre; she, it seems, has fallen to my lot as guardian of the course of my life, and therefore I have dedicated myself to her. I spent ten years in collecting (συνέλεξα) all the achievements of the Romans from the beginning down to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in composing (συνέγραψα) my work. As for subsequent events, they also shall be recorded, down to whatever point it shall be permitted me. (Cassius Dio, 73.23 [Cary, LCL])

Fergus Millar, in his commentary on Dio's history, argues that Dio's method

might be described as follows:

> Ten years were spent in the taking of notes from previous historians. The purpose of this stage was to assemble (συλλέγειν) a mass of material in a raw state ready for reworking in a literary style. It can be reasonably assumed that these notes were taken down on *membranae* or *chartae* and assembled in order; the basic work condensing a long text would most probably be done by the author himself – only in the final stage might he dictate his corrected version to a slave for a fair copy to be taken.[22]

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[22] Fergus Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 32.

This method that Millar gleans from Cassius Dio is consistent with the two-stage process

suggested by Dorandi, as detailed in the previous chapter[23]:

1. The "working out of rough drafts" where the author, in part, collects excerpts and

   transcribes them on wax or wooden tablets. Here, the author may complete a

   "provisional version" of the work in the ordering and revising of the raw material.

2. The "final editing" where the "clean copy" of the work introduced the actual

   "publication."[24]

Elsewhere in his history, Cassius Dio alludes to his compositional method and his

sources. In the midst of his discussion of the emperor Augustus, Dio injects the

following:

> [I]n my own narrative of later events, so far as they need to be mentioned,
> everything that I shall say will be in accordance with the reports (φράσω[ν]) that
> have been given out, whether it be really the truth or otherwise. In addition to
> these reports, however, my own opinion will be given, as far as possible,
> whenever I have been able, from the abundant evidence which I have gathered
> from my reading, from hearsay (ἤκουσα), and from what I have seen, to form a
> judgement that differs from the common report. (Cassius Dio, 53.19.6 [Cary,
> LCL])

Here, Dio mentions the types of sources he uses: the "common report," i.e., previous

standard historical writings; "hearsay;" and, what Dio himself has observed.

Interestingly, Dio states that his work will be "in accordance" with other historical

writings contemporary to him, despite the potential problems with their veracity.

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[23] Dorandi, Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut." 32-33. See Chapter Two.

[24] Interestingly, regarding "publication," Millar notes the following: "[I]t cannot be assumed without evidence that any ancient literary work which has come down to us was 'published' at all, in the sense of a simultaneous distribution of identical copies," (A Study of Cassius Dio, 30).

The Epitomizer's Preface in 2 Maccabees

The author of 2 Maccabees refers to his work as a "condensation" (2:28) of a five

volume work by Jason of Cyrene, an otherwise unknown historian whose historical work,

which is adapted by the epitomizer, is no longer extant.[25] Yet, in the midst of this work of

condensation, the epitomizer's hand is clearly evident in a number of places. The

conclusion (15:37-19) is clearly from the epitomizer:

> [37]This, then, is how matters turned out with Nicanor, and from that time the city
> has been in the possession of the Hebrews. So I will here end my story. [38]If it is
> well told and to the point, that is what I myself desired; if it is poorly done and
> mediocre, that was the best I could do. [39]For just as it is harmful to drink wine
> alone, or, again, to drink water alone, while wine mixed with water is sweet and
> delicious and enhances one's enjoyment, so also the style of the story delights the
> ears of those who read the work. And here will be the end. (*NRSV*)

In addition, the comments in 6:12-17 probably originate with the epitomizer:

> [12]Now I urge those who read this book not to be depressed by such calamities, but
> to recognize that these punishments were designed not to destroy but to discipline
> our people. [13]In fact, it is a sign of great kindness not to let the impious alone for
> long, but to punish them immediately. [14]For in the case of the other nations the
> Lord waits patiently to punish them until they have reached the full measure of
> their sins; but he does not deal in this way with us, [15]in order that he may not take
> vengeance on us afterward when our sins have reached their height. [16]Therefore
> he never withdraws his mercy from us. Although he disciplines us with
> calamities, he does not forsake his own people. [17]Let what we have said serve as a
> reminder; we must go on briefly with the story.[26] (*NRSV*)

Yet the most significant and relevant comments that the epitomizer makes may be

found in the writer's prefatory remarks (2:19-32) made after the two letters (1:1-9; 1:10-

2:18) that begin 2 Maccabees:

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[25] Most commentators on 2 Maccabees refer to its anonymous author as the "epitomizer" or
"epitomator."

[26] In addition, 4:17 and 5:17-20 may originate with the epitomizer as well. See John J. Collins,
Daniel, 1-2 Maccabees (Old Testament Message 15; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981) 260.

[19]The story of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers, and the purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar, [20]and further the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and his son Eupator, [21]and the appearances that came from heaven to those who fought bravely for Judaism, so that though few in number they seized the whole land and pursued the barbarian hordes, [22]and regained possession of the temple famous throughout the world, and liberated the city, and re-established the laws that were about to be abolished, while the Lord with great kindness became gracious to them — [23]all this, which has been set forth by Jason of Cyrene[27] in five volumes, we shall attempt to condense into a single book (δι' ἑνὸς συντάγματος ἐπιτεμεῖν). [24]For considering the flood of statistics involved and the difficulty there is for those who wish to enter upon the narratives of history because of the mass of material, [25]we have aimed to please those who wish to read, to make it easy for those who are inclined to memorize, and to profit all readers. [26]For us who have undertaken the toil of abbreviating (ἐπιτομῆς), it is no light matter but calls for sweat and loss of sleep, [27]just as it is not easy for one who prepares a banquet and seeks the benefit of others. Nevertheless, to secure the gratitude of many we will gladly endure the uncomfortable toil, [28]leaving the responsibility for exact details to the [original] compiler (συγγραφεῖ), while devoting our effort to arriving at the outlines of the condensation (τοῖς ὑπογραμμοῖς τῆς ἐπιτομῆς). [29]For as the master builder of a new house must be concerned with the whole construction, while the one who undertakes its painting and decoration has to consider only what is suitable for its adornment (διακόσμησιν), such in my judgment is the case with us. [30]It is the duty of the original historian (τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρχηγέτῃ) to occupy the ground, to discuss matters from every side, and to take trouble with details, [31]but the one who recasts the narrative (τῷ τὴν μετάφρασιν ποιουμένῳ) should be allowed to strive for brevity of expression (σύντομον τῆς λέξεως) and to forego exhaustive treatment. [32]At this point therefore let us begin our narrative (διηγήσεως[28]), without adding any more to what has already been said; for it would be foolish to lengthen the preface while cutting short the history itself. (NRSV)

Thus, one may draw the following conclusions by way of summary. First, the epitomizer clearly states his purpose in writing in vv 24-25. The epitome is aimed "to please those who wish to read" about the events in life of Judas Maccabeus, the historical narratives of whom are characterized by a "flood of statistics" and a "mass of materials." In this condensation, the epitomizer's written production is geared to a broad and popular

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[27] This "Jason of Cyrene" should not be confused with the character Jason in 2 Maccabees, the brother of Onias who dishonestly and corruptly ascended to the seat of high priest after the death of Seleucus. See 2 Macc 4:7-29 and 5:1-14.

[28] Cf. 2 Macc 6:17.

readership, making it easy "for those who are inclined to memorize and to profit all readers."

Second, as an abridger of material, the epitomizer is not concerned with the "exact details," for this is a matter for which the original "compiler" is responsible (v 28). Rather, the epitomizer's purpose in 2 Maccabees is to arrive at the "outlines of condensation" (v 28) much in the same way a decorator of a house is concerned not with the "whole construction" of the house, but only with "what is suitable for its adornment" (v 29). Here, perhaps, the epitomizer is referring to his own efforts at "adorning" the story of Judas Maccabeus. Thus, argues the epitomizer, the one "who recasts the narrative" (lit., "the one making the paraphrase") should be granted the freedom to "strive for brevity of expression and to forego exhaustive treatment" (v 31).

Excursus: The Literary Convention of Epitome in the Greco-Roman World[29]

Epitomizing written works was a common practice among Greek and Latin writers, where they would abridge long works, particularly technical treatises by Greek writers and histories by Latin writers. Many examples of Greek and Latin epitomes are extant,[30] typically with the original work no longer so. Kaster states that the primary reason epitomizing took place had to do with the influence of "the growth of recorded literature as a burden," as well as the classical age that "cast doubt on the propriety of a 'big book' (Callim. fr. 465 Pf.)."[31] While epitomizers were typically different individuals than the original writers, occasionally writers would epitomize their own works.[32] Kaster

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[29] On epitomes, see Robert A. Kaster, "Epitome (ἐπιτομή)," *OCD*, 549; P. A. Brunt, "On Historical Fragments and Epitomes," *CQ* 30 (1980): 477-494; and, M. Galdi, *L'epitome nella letteratura latina* (Naples: n. p., 1922).

[30] In addition to 2 Maccabees, see, e.g., Aristophanes of Byzantium epitome of Aristotle's *Historia animalium;* or, Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus.

[31] Kaster, "Epitome," 549.

[32] For example, Oribasius (ca. 320-400 CE) epitomized his own *Collectiones Medicae* on two occasions.

argues that epitomes were not intended to replace the original work. However, "the taste for epitome limited their [the original works] chances for survival."[33]

As abridgement of earlier works, by definition epitomes would be shorter in overall length, as well as shorter and briefer within at the level of pericope. Epitomizers would consistently summarize, excerpt, and paraphrase their exemplar, often deleting much of the detail for the sake of concision, often without the same care for accuracy that may have characterized the original. Precisely how epitomizers would summarize, excerpt, and paraphrase is a difficult question to answer, given the general phenomenon of epitomes surviving their literary originals.[34] Still, the tendency of epitomizers would be to provide a "schematic summary" of the original, occasionally in a "stylish" fashion.[35]

We will revisit the issue of epitomizing, abridging, and the Synoptic Problem in Chapter Four – an analysis of the 2GH, a theory that posits the Markan "abridgement" of Matthew and Luke. See also the discussion below.

There have been several attempts at ferreting out the places in 2 Maccabees where

one can see the literary remnants of Jason of Cyrene's original multi-volume work.[36] The

problem in such studies is, of course, that the main source for the epitomizer no longer

exists, with explicit references to it apparently existing only in the preface. While a

source critical analysis of 2 Maccabees is beyond the purview of this chapter, the source

critical study of Robert Doran provides a fairly thorough discussion of the preface in 2

Maccabees. Clearly, the epitomizer writes to make the history (or, more accurately, the

biography) of Judas Maccabeus useful, understanding the potential utility a narrative of

Judas Maccabeus might have. This feature, according to Doran, is entirely consistent with

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[33] Kaster, "Epitome," 549.

[34] Brunt, "On Historical Fragments and Epitomes," 494.

[35] Kaster, "Epitome," 549.

[36] See, for example, K. D. Schunck, *Die Quellen des I. und II. Makkabäerbuches* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1954); J. G. Bunge, *Untersuchungen zum 2. Makkabäerbuch. Quellenkritische, literarische, chronologische, und historische Untersuchungen zum 2 Makkabäerbuch als Quelle syrischpalästinensischer Geschichte im 2. Jh. v. Chr.* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1971); Christian Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch* (JSHRZ 1.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1976), esp. 169-185; Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (CBQMS 12; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), esp. 12-22; cf. also Thomas Fischer, "First and Second Maccabees," *ABD* 4:442-443, 447.

the conventions of Greek historical writers. Doran argues that in producing a brief and

epitomized version of the life of Judas Maccabeus, the epitomizer "will silence the

complaints of those who find the abundance of material in histories tiresome, but his

work will also be useful."[37] Part of the utility that the epitomizer sees in his work is the

value that it could potentially have as, to use Doran's terminology, an "aide mémoire,"

where the epitomizer is "helping his readers by not burying their memories in too much

detail."[38]

On the epitomizer's metaphor of the builder/decorator in describing the

differences between his epitome and Jason's five volume historical work, Doran provides

the following helpful structural and comparative analysis of vv 27b-31 of the preface:

Figure 2: Comparison of Complete Histories and Epitomes (Doran)

Complete Histories	Epitomes
• a minute presentation of details	• passing in review the events by means of the main points
• the author is like the architect of a complete building	• the author of an epitome is like a painter and decorator
• enter into a subject and discuss it so that every detail is thoroughly investigated	• treat of a subject briefly, and avoid complete treatment[39]

In light of this analogy used by the epitomizer, Doran cautions his reader:

> The contrast of the painter-architect ought not to lead one astray: the author is not
> using the image to state that his is polishing up the work of Jason or that his is
> adding to it the ornaments of good style...The author of the epitome is not
> contrasting bare walls with painted ones: he is contrasting two crafts – one which

[37] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 79.

[38] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 79, 80.

[39] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 80.

deals with the whole project, and one which is more specialized. He is contrasting a full exposition of the facts using selective presentation.[40]

Doran also cautions the reader not to assume that his source critical methods aid the reader of 2 Maccabees in distinguishing the epitomizer's source material (i.e., Jason of Cyrene). Doran concludes in this fashion precisely because of the lack of information that the epitomizer provides the reader in the preface, information that is found in some of the other prefaces already discussed in this chapter. The problem for the source critic is that the epitomizer "in his preface has not taken any stance vis-à-vis Jason...[H]e has left no clues how he handled the work of Jason, besides shortening the text."[41]

Despite the source critical problems of 2 Maccabees and the lack of information provided by the epitomizer as to his method of adapting and abridging Jason of Cyrene, it is appropriate to make some initial (and somewhat obvious) observations regarding the Synoptic Problem in light of the analysis of 2 Maccabees. First, as an epitome, 2 Maccabees is an example of a work that has condensed an earlier and much longer biographical piece. Here, we are seeing the "subtraction" and "alteration" of source material described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Second, the epitomizer makes dramatic changes to his source(s) for specific and practical reasons: for "pleasure" (ψυχαγωγίαν), for "ease of memory," and for "profitability" (ὠφέλειαν) for all readers (v 25). Third, the oft-repeated but seldom explored and largely untested argument from overall documentary length in favor of Markan priority simply does not hold up under the

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[40] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 81.

[41] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 83-84. Doran cites Marcian of Heraclea of Pontus as an example of an epitomizer who explicitly states how he abbreviates his sources, Artemidorus of Ephesus and Menippus of Pergamum: "I have made clear what is an epitome of their labors and what are my own corrections, so that whoever reads the work will not be ignorant of what was written by them, and what has been added by me or what I have considered a better correction" (trans. Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 83-84; from C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* [Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1965], 1.567.19-33).

weight of analysis.[42] While we are not in possession of Jason's complete history of Judas

Maccabeus, the epitomizer's work is very likely much shorter than his five volume (five

scrolls? [πέντε βιβλίων]) predecessor. Certainly there was much contained in Jason of

Cyrene regarding Judas Maccabeus that is not present in the later 2 Maccabees. The 555

verses of 2 Maccabees could easily fit into a single papyrus or parchment book roll

(compare to Mark's 661 verses). Hence, to object to Markan posteriority (or, Matthean

priority on the 2GH) on the "Streeterian" grounds of "lunacy" is not a valid use of the

argument from length.[43] On the same token, it is worth noting that Streeter rightly

observed Matthew's condensing of Mark at the level of individual pericopes on the 2DH.

This is a valid assumption in light of the data one can observe in 2 Maccabees. This

aspect of the so-called "argument from length" appears to be reaffirmed in light of what

one can observe in those writers contemporary with the Synoptic evangelists. Matthew

may be, in fact, an "enlarged edition" of Mark, but on the level of individual Markan

pericopes, Matthew typically condenses his source material.[44] Unfortunately, of course,

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[42] See, for example, Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1987), 48-52. On p. 87, Stein summarizes his "argument from length" in favor of Markan priority: "[T]he addition of material by Matthew and Luke to their Markan source appears far more understandable than to view Mark as an abridgement of Matthew and/or Luke, for in the individual pericopes Mark is clearly not an abridgement but tends to be the longest of the three accounts. *The omission of so much valuable material by Mark from Matthew and/or Luke has furthermore never been explained convincingly*" (emphasis mine). Similarly, on p. 48: "The use of Matthew and/or Luke by Mark seems least likely, for a number of reasons. For one, why would Mark omit so much material if Matthew or Luke were his source?"

[43] Hence, Streeter's infamous words in the midst of his argument from length: "[O]nly a lunatic would leave out Matthew's account of the Infancy, the Sermon on the Mount, and practically all the parables, in order to get room for purely verbal expansion of what was retained" (*The Four Gospels* [London: Macmillan, 1924] 158).

[44] So argues Streeter (*The Four Gospels*): "Matthew may be regarded as an enlarged edition of Mark" (151); "...[I]f we suppose Mark to be the older document, the verbal compression and omission of minor detail [by Matthew] seen in the parallels in Matthew has an obvious purpose, in that it gives more room for the introduction of a mass of highly important teaching [i.e., Q] material not found in Mark" (158).
Nearly six decades later, a similar argument is made by Stein: "Only when one compares the total

we do not possess the epitomizer's source(s), prohibiting us from observing the

epitomizer's condensing of Jason on the level of the individual pericope, allowing one to

test more thoroughly the source-critical data in 2 Maccabees. However, it does appear

that the author of 2 Maccabees has shortened/summarized individual episodes found in

this five-volume exemplar as opposed to selectively preserving individually episodes

while dropping large portions of intervening material. Interestingly, this latter technique

is precisely what advocates of the 2GH presuppose for Mark's "abridgement" of Matthew

and Luke. This will be discussed in fuller detail in Chapter Four.

Philostratus and his Life of Apollonius of Tyana

The Pythagorean biographer Philostratus (ca. 1ˢᵗ c. CE) writes the following in his

preface of his account of the life of the Pythagorean miracle worker and mystic

Apollonius of Tyana (b. ca. 4 BCE):

> And I have gathered my information partly from the many cities where he
> [Apollonius] was loved, and partly from the temples whose long-neglected and
> decayed rites he restored, and partly from the accounts left of him by others and
> partly from his own letters....
> There was a man, Damis, by no means stupid, who formerly dwelt in the
> ancient city of Nineveh. He resorted to Apollonius in order to study wisdom, and
> having shared, by his own account, his wanderings abroad, wrote an account of
> them. And he records his opinions and discourses and all his prophecies. And a
> certain kinsman of Damis drew the attention of the empress Julia to the
> documents containing these memoirs (τῶν ὑπομνημάτων) hitherto unknown.
> Now I belonged to the circle of the empress, for she was a devoted admirer of all
> rhetorical exercises; and she commanded me to recast and edit these essays, at the
> same time paying more attention to the style and diction of them (μεταγράψαι
> τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν
> ἐπιμεληθῆναι); for the man of Nineveh had told his story clearly enough, yet
> somewhat awkwardly. And I also read the book of Maximus of Aegae, which
> comprised all the life of Apollonius in Aegae; and furthermore a will was

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size of the Synoptic can one argue that Mark is an abridgment; once one compares the individual accounts
it becomes evidently clear that it is not" (*The Synoptic Problem*, 51).

composed by Apollonius, from which one can learn how rapturous and inspired a sage he really was. For we must not pay attention anyhow to Moeragenes, who composed four books about Apollonius, and yet was ignorant of many of the circumstances of his life. That then I combined these scattered sources together (ξυνήγαγον ταῦτα διεσπασμένα) and took trouble over my composition, I have said; but let my work, I pray, redound to the honour of the man who is the subject of my compilation (ξυγγέγραπται), and also be of use to those who love learning. For assuredly they will here learn things of which as yet they are ignorant. (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.2-3 [Conybeare, LCL])[45]

There is much that should be said about this preface. Clearly, Philostratus is

working with a number of different and "scattered" sources: oral tradition or folk tales

circulating about Apollonius in the cities he visited,[46] Apollonius' own writings (a legal

document [a will] and a "great many" of his own letters),[47] and secondary accounts of his

life. Philostratus mentions several of these writers and biographers by name: Damis,

Maximus of Aegae, and Moeragenes. While the works of Moeragenes are made reference

to by Origen,[48] Philostratus disapproves of this four volume biography since Moeragenes

evidently "was ignorant of many of the circumstances" of Apollonius' life.[49] Instead,

Philostratus prefers Maximus' single volume, and particularly the "memoirs"

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[45] The similarities between Jesus of Nazareth, his sayings, early Christianity, and Apollonius of Tyana have not escaped the notice of at least one scholar. See G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

[46] There are several stories in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* that are explicitly from this folk tale repository, introduced by a variety of formulae: e.g., the birth of Apollonius and its ensuing portents ("λέγεται," 1.5; "ὥς φασι," 1.6); Apollonius' healing of a boy bitten by a rabid dog ("ᾄδουσι," 6.43). Philostratus also states that his account of Apollonius' visit to the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea (8.19) was shaped by the "details" he heard "from the inhabitants of Lebadea" (8.20).

[47] Cf. 7.35. Philostratus also makes use of other writings by Apollonius: a treatise on sacrifices and a four volume work on astral divination (see note below; both works mentioned in 3.41), along with a hymn in honor of Mnemosyne (1.14).

[48] Origen, *Cels.* 6.41.

[49] But see Philostratus' mention of Moeragenes in 3.41: "...Damis says that Apollonius alone partook of the philosophic discussion [on astral divination] together with Iarchas, and that he embodied the results in four books concerning divination by the stars, a work with Moiragenes [*sic*] has mentioned" (Conybeare, LCL).

(ὑπομνήματα) of Damis, who, according to Philostratus, was a disciple of Apollonius.

Later in his biography, Philostratus gives more details of Damis' "memoirs" of the sage

Apollonius:

> ...but he [Damis] kept a journal (ὑπόμνημα) of their [his and Apollonius']
> intercourse, and recorded in it whatever he heard or saw, and he was very well
> able to put together a memoir of such matters and managed this better than
> anyone else could do. At any rate the volume (δέλτος) which he calls his scrap-
> book (ἐκφατνίσματα; lit "scraps from the manger"), was intended to serve such
> a purpose by Damis, who was determined that nothing about Apollonius should
> be passed over in silence, nay, that his very solecisms and negligent utterances
> should also be written down. (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.19 [Conybeare, LCL])

While Philostratus/Apollonius scholars debate as to the identity of this disciple

Damis,[50] there are a few interesting features of Philostratus' reference to his Damis-

Quelle, to which explicit reference is made in at least 38 of the 347 total chapters in the

Life of Apollonius.[51] First, he refers to this source ("memoirs") as ὑπομνήματα. This, of

course, is the medium alluded to in the previous chapter: that is, as George Kennedy

describes, a medium including "notes for a speech made ahead of time, notes on a lecture

made at the time or soon after, notes on reading or research, notes on political or

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[50] Essentially there are three theories as to the precise identity of Damis and the veracity of his existence, which are all outlined and summarized by J.-J. Flintermann (*Power*, PAIDEIA & *Pythagoreanism: Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship between Philosophers and Monarchs and Political Ideas in Philostratus'* Life of Apollonius [Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1995], 79): "Three main schools of thought can be traced in what is apparently an interminable controversy. Some scholars consider that Philostratus really did have the memoirs of a disciple of Apollonius at his disposal and that he used them as the main source for the *VA [Vita Apollonii].* A second, by no means inconsiderable group of scholars claims that Philostratus used a pseudepigraphic text from the second or early third century. And a third group of Philostratus scholars holds that the memoirs of Damis are the product of the imagination of the author of the *VA.*" For further discussion, see also Graham Anderson, "Damis: The Dubious Disciple Discovered?" in *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Second Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 155-174.

[51] Flintermann, *Power*, PAIDEIA & *Pythagoreanism*, 81 n 121. These explicit references are often introduced with the following phrases: "Damis says" (φησὶν ὁ Δάμις), "as Damis reports" (ὡς διδάσκει ὁ Δάμις), "Damis writes as follows (τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις), and "Damis explains this as follows" (ὧδε ὁ Δάμις ἐξηγεῖται) (cf. 1.26; 1.33; 2.17; 2.28; 3.15; 3.45; 4.19; 4.25; 5.10; 5.26; 6.3; 6.7; 6.32; 7.15; 7.28; 8.28).

historical circumstances.... These notes are the raw material from which more formal

publications can be created."[52] Similarly, Dorandi describes the first stage of the

production of ancient texts, where the author would produce "der provisorischen

Fassung" of a book, "wobei das Rohmaterial größtenteils überarbeitet und geordnet war,

aber noch nicht die letzte stilistische Verfeinerung erhalten hatte."[53] It is at this first of

two stages of production, argues Dorandi, where the author might make use of

"ὑπομνηματικά," apparently the same medium of the Damis-*Quelle*.

In addition, it is worth noting that Philostratus' main source – Damis' "memoirs"

– originates with an eyewitness, Damis, a disciple of Apollonius. Whether Damis was an

actual disciple who recorded the words and deeds of his teacher is an issue beyond the

purview of this dissertation. What is important, though, is the value that Philostratus

places in his eyewitness, whether fictitious or real, one whose work, even in its "pre-

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[52] George Kennedy, "Classical and Christian Source Criticism," 136. As an example, Kennedy mentions Cicero's use of the term (*Brut.* 262). Kennedy also describes ἀπομνημονεύματα, often translated "memoirs" and a variant of ὑπομνήματα, which are "notes about the doings or sayings of a person, written either by the person or by someone close to him" (136-137).

Using the medium of ὑπομνήματα as an appropriate analogy, Kennedy argues that the composition of the gospels could have followed the following procedure: "The experience of classicists seems to suggest that memory of oral teaching, especially if the teaching was heard repeatedly, could be retained with considerable integrity over an extended period of time, even though oral teaching was often converted into running notes by students and these notes were sometimes checked with the original speaker. Of course, both processes might take place: first oral transmission over a period of time, then [second,] note taking. Notes were not usually published, but they were sometimes given limited circulation to interested persons. After oral transmission and note-taking, a third stage would be the publication of a systematic or more literary work" (152-153). In the same volume, Wayne A. Meeks ("Hypomenemata from an Untamed Sceptic: A Response to George Kennedy," 157-172) responds to Kennedy's comments regarding the origins of the Gospels.

For an additional use of ὑπόμνημα, see the following: Iamblichus, *Pyth.* 23.104: "And their [the pupils of Pythagoras] dialogues and talks with one another, their memoranda (ὑπομνηματισμούς) and notes (of conversations) (ὑποσημειώσεις), and further their treatises (συγγράμματα) and all their publications (ἐκδόσεις), of which the greater number are preserved until our own times, they did not make readily intelligible to their audience, in a common or popular manner, or in a style customary for all others who (try) to make the things said by them easy to follow" (from Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* [J. Dillon and J. Hershbell, eds.; SBL Texts and Translations Series 29/Graeco-Roman Religion Series 11; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991], 127).

[53] Dorandi, "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut," 32.

publication" form as ὑπομνήματα, was more valuable to Philostratus than the other

published biographies of Apollonius, including the four volume work by Moaeragenes, a

"published" work known by others, including Origen. As we have seen in the other

writers above, eyewitness sources lend credibility to a biography or history. Thus, Lucian

provides a general summary of the appropriate techniques of historical writing,

particularly in terms of eyewitness source material:

> As to the facts themselves, [the historian] should not assemble them at random,
> but only after much laborious and painstaking investigation. *He should for*
> *preference be an eyewitness*, but, if not, listen to those who tell the more impartial
> story, those whom one would suppose least likely to subtract from the facts or add
> to them out of favour or malice. When this happens let him show shrewdness and
> skill in putting together the more credible story. When he has collected all or most
> of the facts let him first make them into a series of notes, a body of material as yet
> with no beauty or continuity. Then, after arranging them into order, let him give it
> beauty and enhance it with the charms of expression, figure, and rhythm.[54]
> (Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 47-48 [Kilburn, LCL])

Finally, the way in which Philostratus acquired Damis' "memoirs" is worth

exploring. It was a relative of Damis who brought his otherwise unknown (οὔπω

γιγνωσκομένας) "memoirs" to the attention of the empress Julia (d. 217 CE), the second

wife of the emperor Septimius Severus. In turn, Julia commanded Philostratus to "recast

and edit" Damis' memoirs, which, being somewhat "awkward," needed some stylistic

improvement. While one cannot be certain, it appears that these "memoirs" were

"unpublished," apparently unknown to all, except for the relative of Damis. Evidently,

too, the "memoirs" of Damis remained "unpublished," existing in "published" form only

in their secondary form imbedded as part of Philostratus' narrative of the life of

Apollonius.[55]

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[54] Emphasis added.

[55] Again, see Chapter One for a description of the Greco-Roman understanding of "publication."

Like Damis' memoirs, Q on the 2DH, exists only imbedded in Matthew and Luke.

Q is, of course, recoverable only by means of isolating the "minimal" text of Q (i.e., the

double tradition verbatim agreements) and building on that minimal text the

reconstructed wording of Q through the means of redactional analysis of Matthew and

Luke.[56] Objections to the Q hypothesis on the basis that the Q document is now "lost" and

essentially "unknown" by early Christian writers are unconvincing given the ways in

which sources were treated in antiquity, particularly in Philostratus' use of his

"unknown" and "lost" (and unpublished?) source: Damis' record of "whatever he heard

or saw" during his time with his teacher, Apollonius.[57] The existence of such documents

should not be questioned simply because they are "lost." These sorts of objections to Q

on the 2DH are essentially arguments from silence. In fact, Philostratus confirms the

existence of a lost source of sayings and deeds of a teacher (assuming, of course, that

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[56] See, for example, the process used by the International Q Project (IQP) in its reconstruction of Q in *Documenta Q - Q 11:2b-4* (S. D. Anderson, ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 1996), v-xii.

[57] See, for example, William R. Farmer's comments in *The Gospel of Jesus: The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994): "...good grounds exist for questioning the priority of Mark and the existence of Q. Q is hypothetical, the church's Gospels actually exist" (xi). Or, more recently, two of Mark S. Goodacre's "Ten Reasons to Question Q" (cited October 8, 2000, online: http://www.bham.ac.uk/theology/q/ten.htm): "1. No-one has ever seen Q: Current literature on Q abounds with editions of Q, investigations into its strata, studies of the communities that were behind it and analyses of their theology. In such circumstances, it is worth allowing ourselves the sober reminder that there is no manuscript of Q in existence. No-one has yet found even a fragment of Q. 2. No-one had ever heard of Q: No ancient author appears to have been aware of the existence of Q. One will search in vain for a single reference to it in ancient literature. For a while it was thought that 'the logia' to which Papias (c. 130) referred might be Q. Indeed, this was one of the planks on which the Q hypothesis rested in the nineteenth century. But no reputable scholar now believes this." Or finally, A. M. Farrer's statements in his classic case against Q ("On Dispensing With Q," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* [D. E. Nineham, ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1955] 55-88): "So there is no independent evidence for anything like Q. To postulate Q is to postulate the unevidenced and the unique" (58); "The Q hypothesis is a hypothesis, that is its weakness" (66). It should be noted that Farrer appears to have a confused notion of "hypothesis." After all, Markan priority is a hypothesis, as is Luke's dependence on Matthew (i.e., the Farrer-Goulder theory). Thus, to be precise, Q is *not* a hypothesis, but a *corollary* of a hypothesis (i.e., Markan priority and the independence of Matthew and Luke).

Philostratus is not creating a fictitious source in his preface).[38] Thus, those advocating the

"case" against Q need to rethink some of their arguments in light of the literary evidence

contemporary with the composition of the Synoptic Gospels.

III. Concluding Summary of Findings

While something like the modern notion of "copyright" was wholly absent in the

mindset of writers in antiquity, many ancient writers do, as we have seen above, give

"credit" to their various literary sources by citing them by name and/or inference. We

have also seen that these ancient writers, less frequently and often more cryptically,

discuss their methods in adapting these literary predecessors. Yet despite this scant and

vague data, the following "compositional criteria" may be drawn from the literary

evidence:

1) *Preference for eyewitness source material:* While this may seem to go without

    saying, typically ancient biographers and historians preferred source material from an

    eyewitness to the event or persons in question. This is consistent with Lucian's

    recommendation that historians should give preference to eyewitness accounts when

    assembling source material from which to draw. After all, Luke mentions his sources

    "who were from the beginning eyewitnesses" (οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται; 1:2), being

    responsible for "setting down ... orderly account[s]" (ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι

    διήγησιν; 1:1) of the life of Jesus.

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[38] It should be conceded that Q as a sayings document is not explicitly mentioned by its "literary successors," Matthew and Luke. If Q did in fact exist, it may be implicitly and anonymously mentioned by Luke in his prefatory comments (1:1-4). The fact, though, that Matthew and Luke do not explicitly mention Q is still not evidence against its existence or its validity as a theory.

2) *Frequent use of oral sources together with written:* While this, too, may seem to be a given, clearly the use of oral sources alongside of written is a common feature of several of the Greco-Roman writers discussed above.

3) *Choice of the more plausible when two sources disagree:* At least in the case of Arrian, when an author is bringing two sources together, he will follow the accounts of both where they both agree. "But where they differ," Arrian states that he will "select the version [he] regard[s] as more trustworthy (πιστότερα) and also better worth telling" (ἀξιαφηγητόερα)." (Arrian, *Anab.* 1.pref. [Brunt, LCL])

4) *Use of* ὑπομνήματα *in the production of ancient texts:* This phenomenon seems to be the case in at least two of the authors analyzed. Cassius Dio appears to make use of ὑπομνήματα in the production of his history, these notes being the product of a decade of research. Similarly, Philostratus makes use of ὑπομνήματα, these, of course, being the product of a disciple of Apollonius (Damis). Interestingly, Dorandi's theory regarding a two-step procedure that Greco-Roman authors followed seems to be confirmed by the evidence seen in these two authors as well.

5) *Multi-faceted nature of the adaptation of source material:* The "principles" of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' "science of literary composition" are "followed" by all five authors discussed above. At one time or another, all five evidently are involved in the "subtraction, addition or alteration" of their source material.

6) *Abbreviation of sources:* In the case of epitomes, abbreviation/abridgement of original writings was related to perceived burden that lengthy works placed upon the reader (and presumably the "publisher" and bookseller). When works were abbreviated or epitomized, typically individual episodes were "schematically

summarized" as opposed to being selectively included with the omission of any

intervening material (*pace* Mark on the 2GH).[59] As well, abbreviated works tended to

eventually win the favor of the literary public, with the original texts fading in to

oblivion, despite the fact that the epitomes were not originally intended to replace

their exemplars.

7) *Interlacing of* legomena: The tendency in the works discussed in this chapter was to

add *legomena* to existing material – sayings or anecdotal information about a

particular person or event. These *legomena* would be interlaced among the narrative

material culled from other (written) sources, and occasionally clustered together, as in

the case of Arrian.

Obviously, the task of gathering the compositional "tendencies" or conventions of

writers in the Roman world is far from complete. Like text criticism, these compositional

conventions will continue to be primarily culled from an analysis of the implicit data: that

is, by observing the ways in which ancient writers treated their (extant) source material.

As this chapter has, in part, served as an introduction to this endeavor, it is the primary

task that follows in the next chapter.

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[59] It is worth noting that Mark is only marginally shorter than its sources (Matthew and Luke) on
the 2GH. Compare this to the radically shorter treatments of exemplars in the practice of epitomization.
Mark in a (single) codex or scroll format is, at best, only slightly less cumbersome than Matthew or Luke.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF SOME ANCIENT TEXTS

AND THEIR ADAPTATION OF RECOVERABLE SOURCES

I. Introduction: The Purpose and Limitations of this Chapter

It is not the aim of this dissertation to survey *exhaustively* Greek and Latin writers

in an attempt to ascertain general techniques of ancient text production; this would be a

never-ending process. Nor is it the aim of this investigation to suggest that all ancient

authors worked the same way with source materials. As we saw in the previous chapter,

not all authors adapt source material in the same fashion. Similarly, it is safe to conclude

that individual authors themselves do not always work consistently, often times

evidencing a diverse method of source material adaptation. Yet, by surveying an

available group of authors and their methods for adapting sources, one is able to get a

clearer and more realistic picture of how some authors worked with written sources. In

this chapter, I will analyze a few authors and documents – Diodorus Siculus, Arrian of

Nicomedia, Strabo and Josephus – whose sources are either extant or moderately

recoverable through comparative analysis. These authors composed their works in Greek,

and all within a century or two of the composition of the Gospels.

Clearly, other ancient works could be included for comparison and analysis,

including apocryphal gospels and popular biographies. However, the reason why these

works are not analyzed is simple: we do not have easy access to their sources, nor do the

authors tell us how they composed their works. Thus, I will limit myself to the authors

mentioned above, all of whom more easily lend themselves for analysis and comparison

in developing a sense of the compositional practices of ancient writers.

II. *On India:* The Parallel Accounts of Diodorus, Strabo, and Arrian

The parallel accounts of India affords one an interesting opportunity for

comparison and analysis. They apparently do not share a direct literary relationship with

each other.[1] Not only do Diodorus (ca. 60-30 BCE), Strabo (64 BCE-24 CE), and Arrian (b.

85-90 CE) cover similar material in their descriptions of India, they utilize common

sources. Unfortunately, these sources are no longer extant, so getting a sense of the

precise wording of these sources is difficult. Yet the fact that there are three parallel

accounts of common material provides some control over any investigation into what the

written source(s) for the three might have looked like. For example, if Diodorus and

Arrian agree against Strabo in wording and/or order, then it is more likely that the two

better preserve the wording and/or order of the written source(s). Hence, the parallel

account of life in India in Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian may provide an opportunity for

some study of the various techniques ancient authors utilized in adapting written source

material.[2]

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[1] That there is no direct literary relationship between these three authors (at least in their descriptions of India) is very likely, given the techniques of ancient historians to prefer eyewitnesses over any secondary writers.

[2] Bosworth attempts something very similar, having as his goal the isolation of Arrian's handling of his sources where there is this "triple tradition" overlap between Diodorus, Strabo, and Arrian on India (*From Arrian to Alexander,* 40-46). Bosworth states the following: "If there is no original to set against Arrian's adaptation, the next best thing is to compare his narrative with another secondary source dependent on the same material. Fortunately that is possible on a number of occasions, thanks to Strabo,

In the midst of describing Alexander's crossing of the Indus in his *Anabasis*,

Arrian of Nicomedia alerts his readers to his planned subsequent writing project, which

became known as the *Indica*:

> ...I shall write a special monograph about India including the most reliable
> descriptions given by Alexander's fellow-campaigners, especially Nearchus, who
> coasted along the entire Indian part of the Great Sea, and further all that
> Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, both men of repute, have written, and I shall
> record the customs of India, any strange beasts which are bred there and the actual
> voyage along the coast of the Outer Sea. (Arrian, *Anab*. 5.5.1 [Brunt, LCL])

The first half of Arrian's *Indica* (chs. 1-17) deals with the geography, agriculture

and cultures of India, while the second half (chs. 18-43) deals primarily with Alexander's

exploits there. Arrian concludes the first half of his *Indica* as follows:

> This must be enough by way of description of the Indians; I have given the most
> notable things recorded by Nearchus and Megasthenes, men worthy of credit, but
> as it was not even my main subject in this work to record Indian customs but the
> way in which Alexander's navy reached Persia from India, this [i.e., chs. 1-17]
> must be accounted a digression. (Arrian, *Ind*. 17.6-7 [Brunt, LCL])

Strabo relies on similar sources, including Megasthenes and Nearchus, making

mention of both – individuals with first-hand knowledge of India – throughout his section

on India in his *Geography*, making it clear that Megasthenes is his chief source of

information.[3] So it is with Diodorus: While not making explicit mention by name of his

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who drew extensively upon Aristobulus and Megasthenes for his description of India, Persia, and
Mesopotamia. The two authors, historian and geographer, often excerpt the same material in considerable
detail, and their narrative can be compared and contrasted. It is a complex exercise, for we cannot assume
in advance that either author is meticulously accurate in reproducing his original. Both may be assumed to
have made excisions and stylistic alterations and to have varied the presentation according to their wider
literary ends. It is only when a third source covers the same material that we have a fairly reliable tool for
comparison, and that is only available on one occasion. Diodorus Siculus has a brief survey of India, which
is patently based upon Megasthenes and overlaps material in Strabo and in Arrian's *Indike*. The comparison
is not as helpful as it might be, for Diodorus' summary is typically perfunctory: the original is drastically
abbreviated, stripped of much of its colourful detail, and certainly distorted by negligence and error in
excerpting. As a result little more than the outline of Megasthenes' account survives in Diodorus" (40-41).

[3] Strabo often uses the phrase "Megasthenes says..." when he is utilizing his work as a source. For
example, see 15.1.38, 15.1.44, 15.1.45 and 15.1.49. See also his use of "Nearchus says...," "Onesicritus
says..." etc. Compare Strabo's frequent use of Megasthenes in Book 15 to his earlier comments on the

sources in his *Bibliotheca*, including Megasthenes, Diodorus is clearly relying on the

same sources as well, at least in his account of India.[4]

Figure 3: *On India* – The Sources of Arrian, Strabo, and Diodorus:
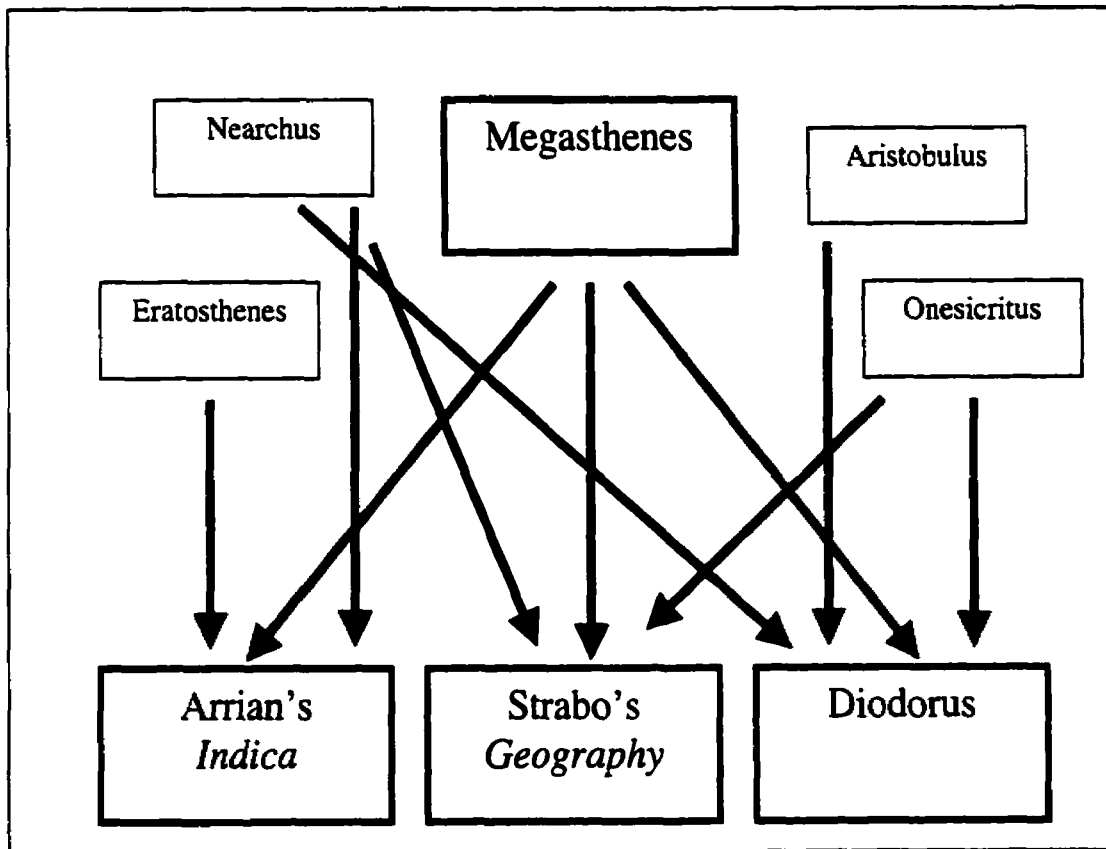
What exists today of Megasthenes is simply fragmentary material embedded in the works

of ancient writers like Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian.[5] These sources apparently were

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credibility of sources for India: "[A]ll who have written about India have proved themselves, for the most part, fabricators, but preeminently so Deïmachus; the next in order is Megasthenes; and then, Onesicritus, and Nearchus, and other such writers, who begin to speak the truth, though with faltering voice. I, too, had the privilege of noting this fact extensively when I was writing the 'Deeds of Alexander.' But especially do Deïmachus and Megasthenes deserve to be distrusted." (2.1.9 [Jones, LCL])

[*] While not named directly as a source, Nearchus is discussed in 17.104.3, 17.106.4-7, 17.112.3-4, 19.19.4-5, and 19.69.1.

primarily either eyewitnesses of Alexander's exploits in India and/or individuals who

themselves traveled extensively in India and wrote descriptions of their journeys. Both

Strabo and Arrian have extensive treatments of India and its inhabitants.[6] Diodorus, on

the other hand, deals briefly with the topic, covering only the geography and topography

of India, the Indian caste system and some of India's fauna. But it is these brief accounts

that parallel both Strabo and Arrian, pointing to the (indirect) literary relationship

between the three (see Figure 3 above and Figures 10-12 at the end of the chapter). All

three describe the seven Indian castes in very similar fashions in the same order. All three

conclude by stating that inter-caste marriage was prohibited, along with certain forms of

movement between castes.[7] In addition, all three give some description to Indian fauna,

particularly elephants, in their accounts (see summary in Figure 4, below).

Figure 4: Diodorus on India – Parallels in Strabo and Arrian
(Bold type indicates variations in order)

Diodorus	Topic	Strabo	Arrian	*FGrH*
2.35.1-2	Geography of India	15.1.11-12 **2.1.7** **2.1.19-20**	*Anab.* 5.6.2 *Ind.* 3.6-8	F 6-7
2.35.3-36.7	Topography; elephants; minerals; agriculture	15.1.20 **15.1.42-43**	*Ind.* **13.1-14.9**	F 8 F 20
2.37.1-6	Rivers, including the Ganges	15.1.35	*Ind.* 4.2-7	F 9
2.37.7	The river Silla	15.1.38	*Ind.* **6.1-3**	F 10
2.38.1-2	Diverse native population	**15.1.6-7**	*Ind.* 5.4-8 *Ind.* 7.1-8.3	F 11 F 12
2.38.3-7	Dionysos		*Ind.* 7.1-8.3	F 12-14

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[5] For a collection of these fragments, see E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenes Indica. Fragmenta Collegit* (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M Hakkert, 1966), and J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India As Described By Megasthenês and Arrian* (Calcutta: Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 1926).

[6] Arrian, *Ind.* 1-17; Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.1.1-73.

[7] Both Strabo and Arrian agree that only members of the philosopher/sophist caste could move between castes/classes (Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.1.49//Arrian, *Ind.* 12.8-9). Diodorus lists no such exception.

			Ind. 8.3-9.12	
2.39.1-4	Heracles	**15.1.36**	*Ind.* 10.5-6	F 1 F 18
2.39.5	Freedom from slavery	**15.1.53-55**	***Ind.* 10.1** *Ind.* 10.8	F 15-16 F 32
2.40.1-41.4	Seven castes	15.1.39-41, 46-49a	*Ind.* 11.1-12.7	F 19
2.41.5	Caste prohibitions	15.1.49b 15.1.50-52	*Ind.* 12.8-9	F 31
2.42.1-2	Elephants	15.1.42-43	*Ind.* 13.1-14.9	F 20
2.42.3-4	Magistrates and physicians for foreigners	15.1.51 15.1.54		F 31 F 32

Diodorus precedes his discussion of the caste system and elephants with a relatively brief description of the geography, topography, and customs of India (2.35.1-39.5; see above figure). When this section is compared with its parallels in Strabo and Arrian, it is fairly clear that Diodorus and Arrian more closely follow each other in terms of order. Hence, it is relatively safe to conclude that Diodorus and Arrian probably better represent the order of Megasthenes than does Strabo. In addition, it generally appears that in the treatment of India in 2.35-39, Diodorus is briefer than his counterparts. From a source-critical standpoint, it becomes difficult to determine if Diodorus is reproducing Megasthenes in its brevity, or is he condensing (perhaps epitomizing) his source, Megasthenes, the length of which is likely more accurately reflected in Strabo and Arrian. Writing on the myth of Dionysos, Sacks argues that Diodorus' account betrays his own techniques and interest in stressing his own "cosmopolitanism."[8] Here, Diodorus leaves ambiguous Dionysos' place of origin, while Arrian (and Strabo) identifies

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[8] K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990) 67.

Dionysos as an invading Greek.[9] While both Arrian and Diodorus follow Megasthenes in

describing the birth of Heracles in India, Diodorus differs from Arrian in having Heracles

die and being immortalized in India (as well as Dionysos), whereas in Arrian, Heracles'

death is not discussed.[10] Thus, Sacks concludes that at "every place where the treatments

of Diodorus and Arrian differ, Diodorus's version is more sympathetic to non-Greeks."[11]

The closest and most concentrated (and therefore most helpful) place of

agreement between the three is in the account of the Indian caste system and discussion

of elephants (see Figures 10 and 11 at the end of the chapter). Diodorus' parallel section

on the seven castes of India is generally the longest of the three. In addition, Diodorus

concludes his discussion on India by adding a brief discussion of officials appointed

specifically to serve foreigners (2.42.3-4). Diodorus has been accused by some past

classics scholars of being a less than accomplished historian (see next section below),

particularly as being an unoriginal compiler of history.[12] However, more recently

scholarship has revisited the question of Diodorus' abilities as a history writer,

recognizing the value of the question in the efforts to isolate fragments of source material

in the text of Diodorus.[13] For example, R. K. Sinclair has argued that the vast stylistic

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[9] Arrian, *Ind.* 7.4-5; cf. Strabo 15.1.6.

[10] Diodorus Siculus 2.38-29; Arrian, *Ind.* 8.1.

[11] Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century*, 68.

[12] See J. Hornblower's summary of past scholarly opinions of Diodorus' historiographical (in)abilities in *Hieronymus of Cardia* (Oxford: University Press, 1981), 19-20. For example, one scholar cited refers to Diodorus as "naïve, unlearned, totally spiritless, without judgement, silly, incompetent even as an epitomiser," being one of the "worst historians who has come down to us in either of the languages of antiquity from any period" (19).

[13] "If...his [Diodorus'] work is the product of critical research into earlier historians, independent of those historians in attitudes and historical interpretation, Diodorus becomes a far more significant author in his own right than he has usually been supposed, but his value as a repository of lost works is greatly diminished. Whereas the 'fragments' of a historian represent the selection made by particular authors for

differences between Books 15-17 of Diodorus can be explained as heavy reliance on a

variety of very different sources in these three books.[14] The title of Diodorus' work,

βιβλιοθήκης ιστορικής (lit. "library of history"), has led Hornblower to conclude that

Diodorus' work was "intended as a handbook for a general reading public – a sort of

manual of what everyone needs to know about history."[15] She further argues that

Diodorus' work should be classified, as the elder Pliny argued, as a "compilation" of

history or a "compiler of handbooks."[16] In addition, Hornblower states that Diodorus'

work eventually drove his sources "off the market" – a common phenomenon with later

epitomizers.[17] Regardless, the immediate question is as follows: What can be observed

about Diodorus' compositional techniques in comparing his account of India with those

of Strabo and Arrian?

It appears that unlike the two other parallel authors, Diodorus is utilizing only one

source in his description of life in India, Megasthenes.[18] This conclusion is virtually

assured when one sees the strong parallels between Diodorus' and Strabo's sections

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their own purposes, and can be misleading as to the character of the original, an epitome tends to preserve
the general assumptions and attitudes of the source: hence characterizations of Hecataeus, Ephorus,
Timaeus, or Hieronymus are largely dependent on what are taken to be abbreviations of their works in
various parts of the *Bibliotheke*. However, even if these historians are Diodorus' chief authorities for a
period, the characterizations attempted by modern scholars unless it can be shown that these sections are
genuine extracts, not pieces of original writing by Diodorus, dependent on his predecessors for the facts
alone" (Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 20-21).

[14] R. K. Sinclair, "Diodorus Siculus and the Writing of History," *PACA* 6 (1963): 36-45.

[15] Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 23. See Diodorus' comment about his desire to write an
account like other "universal histories" (τὰς κοινὰς ιστορίας, 1.1.1).

[16] Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 23. See Pliny, *Natural History*, Pref.24ff.

[17] Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 20. Hornblower states that epitomizers would "[draw] on
one author at a time over long sections" (20), a potential technique in Diodorus. For further discussion on
ancient epitomzing, see the previous chapter.

[18] Again, if in fact Diodorus is an epitomizer, this is to be expected. See note above.

where their explicit source is Megasthenes (e.g., the description of Indian castes).

Diodorus appears to have preserved the order of Megasthenes in his account of the seven

castes and subsequent treatment of Indian fauna, primarily because Diodorus agrees with

Strabo and Arrian in sequence in naming of the seven castes. Likewise, the order of the

common source (Megasthenes) is best preserved in Diodorus and Arrian (as opposed to

Strabo) when one notes Strabo's editorial comment at the conclusion of his description of

the elephant hunt and the fauna of India prior to resuming his discussion of the Indian

caste system with caste number four: "...Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue

his account from the point where I left off [i.e., at caste number three]" (15.1.45 [Jones,

LCL]). In addition, it appears that as the section on elephant hunting that is paralleled in

Strabo and Arrian and absent from Diodorus (at least at this point), it was likely part of

the common source, Megasthenes. Since Diodorus includes an account of an elephant

hunt much later in his narrative,[19] it appears that he decides to omit Megasthenes' account

immediately after the description of the seven Indian castes.

It is worthwhile noting other differences between Diodorus and the Strabo/Arrian

parallels in addition to the wordier descriptions of the castes. On the subject of inaccurate

prophecy on the part of the philosopher/sophist class, both Arrian and Strabo state that

the philosopher/sophist is allowed three errors before a punishment of silence, whereas

Diodorus does not specify the number, implying that one error is sufficient for

punishment. In addition, Diodorus disagrees with both Strabo and Arrian in describing

the caste of "artisans" (τέχνιτοι) as exempt from all taxation. Finally, while all three

authors conclude their descriptions of the caste/class system in India with a final

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[19] Diodorus reproduces Agatharchides' account of Ethopian elephant hunting in 3.26-27.

comment on the prohibition of intercaste marriages and movements between castes, only

Strabo and Arrian state that the philosopher/sophist is partially exempt in some form,

although they disagree in the precise nature of this exemption. Instead, Diodorus seems to

imply these intercaste prohibitions apply to all castes.

In looking at Figure Twelve (at the end of the chapter), "Summary of Description

of Seven Castes/Classes of India," it is clear that Diodorus does not omit elements that

are doubly attested by Strabo and Arrian. The clearest examples of authors adding

material to the description of the caste system appear to come from Strabo and Arrian.

For example, Arrian's description of the sophists' out-of-doors lifestyle is unique to him

(*Ind*. 11.7-8) where Arrian turns away from Megasthenes to draw briefly on Nearchus. In

describing the farming class, Arrian apparently omits Megasthenes' comment on the

royal ownership of property and the taxation of farmers at a rate of 25% that both

Diodorus and Strabo preserve.[20] Finally, Arrian appears to have added the additional

description of the illegalities of making a false report to the "overseers" (*Ind*. 12.5). Still,

it appears that Arrian tends to follow his sources rather closely, both in terms of order and

wording. Strabo, on the other hand, feels free to deviate from both the wording and order

of his sources. In his general treatment of India (15.1.1-73), Strabo deviates from the

order (and wording) of his sources, including Megasthenes, in a number of respects. First,

Strabo relocates much of his material on the geography and topography of India to Book

Two (2.1.7, 19-20). In these sections, Strabo compares the geographic accounts of

Megasthenes, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Patrocles, and Deïmarchus. Second, in the

"triple tradition" parallel sections of Book Fifteen, Strabo varies the sequence of

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[20] Diodorus Siculus 2.40.5; Strabo 15.1.40.

discussion of India – the discussion of the elephant hunt and other Indian fauna (15.1.42-

43) is moved to an earlier location in Strabo's narrative, just in the midst of his discussion

of the seven castes; the discussion of the diverse native population of India (15.1.6-7) is

advanced to an earlier position in Strabo's narrative; the description of all Indian people

being free from slavery (15.1.53-55) is moved to a later position in Strabo's narrative

sequence. Within the discussion of the caste system itself, there appears to be some

reordering as well as the intrusive description of elephant hunting. In his description of

the third class (shepherds and hunters), Strabo concludes this section by stating that

private individuals are prohibited from possessing a horse or elephant (15.1.41). This is

unparalleled in Diodorus and Arrian, having the feel of a Strabo-like insertion of

Sondergut material. Yet, Strabo later implicitly confirms that this prohibitive statement

comes from Megasthenes when he states that Nearchus' comment on the giving of

elephants to women as gifts "is not in agreement with that of the man [i.e., Megasthenes]

who said that horse and elephant were possessed by kings alone" (15.1.43).

That Megasthenes is Strabo's main source, at least in his description of the Indian

caste system and the fauna of India, is confirmed when one notices the numerous

references to him as a source. Strabo begins his discussion of the caste system by

"quoting" Megasthenes: "He [Megasthenes] says (φησί), then, that the population of

India is divided into seven castes..." (15.1.39). Likewise, in his description of the

elephant hunt and the fauna of India, Strabo makes explicit mention of his sources,

including Megasthenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus and Aristobulus.[21] Strabo then returns

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[21] "*Onesicritus* says that [the elephants] live as long as three hundred years..." (15.1.43);
"*Nearchus* says that in the hunt for them foot-traps..." (15.1.43); "He [*Nearchus*] says that the skins of
gold-mining..." (15.1.44); "But *Megasthenes* speaks of these ants..." (15.1.44); "But since, in my account
of the hunters and wild beasts, I have mentioned what *Megasthenes* and others have said, I must go on to

solely to Megasthenes in picking up where he left off in his account of the caste system.

For Strabo concludes his digression with the following: "So much, then, is reported

(λέγεται) about the wild animals. Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue his

account (τὸν Μεγασθένη λέγωμεν) from the point where I left off" (15.1.45 [Jones,

LCL]). It is described by Bosworth as "a very extraordinary procedure," since the

"logical order of the original is violated and explicitly disrupted with no apparent motive

other than the sheer desire for narrative variety."[22] Still, this digression and reordering of

Megasthenes is a characteristic of Strabo's narrative found elsewhere in his *Geography*.[23]

There are several other interesting features in Strabo's digression, particularly in

his introduction of other sources. Even in his digression, Megasthenes continues to be

Strabo's "main" source. Other sources are brought in only to supplement Megasthenes or

as a point of contrast. In fact, Megasthenes is often used to "rebut" the "assertions" of

Strabo's other sources: Nearchus' statement on the gifting (i.e., private ownership) of

elephants (15.1.43); or, Nearchus' statement on the skins of gold-mining ants (15.1.44). It

is also worth noting how and where these sources are concentrated. It is in Strabo's

digression where he introduces other sources, not in the main narrative on the seven

castes. In addition, it appears that Strabo's appeal to the additional, non-principal sources

tends to be concentrated toward the end of each pericope. This is also the case in the

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add the following. *Nearchus* wonders at the number of the reptiles..." (15.1.45); "But *Aristobulus* says that he saw..." (15.1.45); "*Onesicritus*, however, says that his animal too is found in India. And *Aristobulus* says that on account of the crocodiles..." (15.1.45) (Jones, LCL).

[22] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 41-42.

[23] So argues Bosworth (*From Arrian to Alexander*, 42) in stating the following: "This same tendency has been noted elsewhere in Strabo, particularly in his version of Poseidonius' famous description of the Spanish mines [3.2.9]. His account can again be compared with that of Diodorus [5.35-38], and it is again demonstrable that he deliberately rearranges the order of the narrative to suit his own literary purposes."

same parallel account in Arrian. While Arrian does not parallel Strabo in relocating the description of the elephant hunt and Indian fauna, he does have a parallel account of the same events after his description of the seven castes. There, he does introduce "secondary" sources toward the end of his account of the elephant hunt and Indian fauna. Like Strabo, Arrian concentrates his appeal to non-principal sources at the end of the pericope. In addition, like Strabo, Arrian uses these sources for supplemental or contrasting purposes, which are often ultimately countered by Megasthenes: for example, Nearchus on the skins of ants and Megasthenes' counter-point (*Ind.* 15.1-7). In addition, Arrian clusters the material from Nearchus toward the end of the pericope. Thus, like Strabo, Arrian follows his main source in terms of sequence, and introduces secondary (i.e., non-principal) sources toward the end of each episode.

As stated earlier, Arrian's *Indica* is divided into two halves. The first half, which deals with the geography, history and customs of India, has a threefold structure. Stadter argues the following about this threefold structure:

> [It] echoes Herodotus' division of his Egyptian account into the country, customs, and history, although the immediate source of the pattern is Megasthenes, Arrian's chief informant for this portion of the *Indike*...[W]e can determine that Arrian followed for the most part Megasthenes' arrangement and that Megasthenes himself must have been influenced by Herodotus, although the exact extent of this influence is impossible to determine.[24]

Note the figure below detailing both the threefold structure (as outlined by Stadter[25]) and the corresponding sources mentioned explicitly in the text:

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[24] Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia*, 119.

[25] Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia*, 118.

Figure 5: Stadter's Summary of Arrian's Threefold Structure

Arrian	Sources
The Country (1-6)	
Exclusion of the land west of the Indus (1)	--
The boundaries of India and their measurement (2-3.8)	"a few writers" (2.9); Eratosthenes (3.1); "those who have followed common talk" (3.5); Ctesias of Cnidus (3.6); Onesicritus (3.6); Nearchus (3.6); Megasthenes (3.7)
The rivers of India (3.8-4.16)	Megasthenes (4.2; 4.6; 4.12)
Digression on the credibility of the account of India (5.1-6.3)	Megasthenes (5.2; 5.4; 6.2)
Cause of the river floods (6.4-9)	--
History (7-9)	
History by kings (7-9)	Megasthenes (7.1)
Dionysus (7.5-9)	--
Heracles (8.4-9.9)	Megasthenes (8.6; 8.11)
Customs (10-17)	
Burial, cities, slaves (10)	"It is said" (λέγεται; 10.1); Megasthenes (10.6)
The seven castes (11-12)	(Megasthenes); Nearchus (11.7-8)
Elephants, especially elephant hunting (13-14)	--
Other unusual animals: tigers, ants, parrots, apes snakes (15)	Megasthenes (15.5; 15.7) Nearchus (15.8; 15.10; 15.11)
Clothes and armor (16)	Nearchus (16.1; 16.4)
Other unusual facts (17)	--

The chief source for Arrian is Megasthenes, secondarily Nearchus. Within episodes, typically "secondary" source material is toward the end instead of being fused and interspersed with the main source(s).

Turning specifically to the elephant hunt in both Arrian and Strabo, several interesting features are observable. The most detailed comparative study of the two can

be found in Bosworth's work on Arrian's historiographical techniques.[26] Bosworth

summarizes the two accounts as follows:

> Both Arrian and Strabo digest the passage at some length and substantially agree
> on the facts. Arrian is more interested in the preparation of the holding enclosure
> and the techniques of luring in the wild males, and supplies more information, but
> Strabo provides an excellent précis, disagreeing on no single point. When it
> comes to the breaking of the captured animals, Strabo becomes fuller and gives a
> clearer, more comprehensible account of the procedure...All this [on the breaking
> of the elephants] appears clearly and succinctly in Strabo. Arrian has most of the
> detail but is less easy to make sense of the passage and the key detail that the wild
> elephants are harnessed to the tame beasts is only mentioned as a tailpiece (*Ind.*
> 13.13), whereas in Strabo it is properly placed at an earlier stage.[27]

On Strabo's and Arrian's techniques in adapting source material, Bosworth

continues: The description of the size and dimensions of the enclosure in which the

elephants are captured betrays some interesting differences. Strabo simply states the

circumference as "four or five stadia" (*Geogr.* 15.1.42 [Jones, LCL]), while Arrian "more

picturesquely" describes the enclosure as "large enough for a great army to camp in,

about thirty feet broad and 24 deep" (*Ind.* 13.2 [Brunt, LCL]). Bosworth argues that this

"imagery is surely [Arrian's] own, imposed on Megasthenes' more prosaic original."[28]

This penchant for "literary elaboration," argues Bosworth, can be misleading elsewhere

in the account, particularly in the elephant's taking up their killed riders in battle (Strabo,

Geogr. 15.1.42//Arrian, *Ind.* 14.2-4).[29] Bosworth summarizes the general style and

adaptive techniques of both Strabo and Arrian as follows:

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[26] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, especially Chapter 3, "The Handling of Sources," pp. 38-60.

[27] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 43.

[28] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 44.

[29] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 44.

Strabo is stylistically sober, with few detectable mannerisms. He gives the gist of his original reasonably accurately but he is inclined to contract his subject-matter so drastically that unclarity can result. He can also take great liberties with the arrangement of the material, varying the order of presentation for no apparent reason. Arrian is far more sophisticated a stylist, writing in a mannered and artificial prose. He retains the substance of his original [source] but consciously rewrites it, and the stylistic transformation inevitably produces changes in meaning. The concentration on style also causes lapses in factual accuracy – the original may be misread or details capriciously excised. Both authors are reasonably faithful to the substance of the text they follow, but are both prone to error, as we should expect.[30]

However, what is more important, argues Bosworth, is the general accord between Strabo and Arrian, particularly when the citation of source material is at work.[31] Bosworth states that "[w]hen adapting material from an author, ancient writers may repeat everything, including citations of sources [for that author]. Authorities may be quoted at second hand, not by reference to their original text but through a citation in their immediate exemplar."[32] To support this assertion, Bosworth cites a few examples: 1) Eratosthenes' comparison of the river animals of India to Egypt and Ethiopia, in which he states that the hippopotamus is not found in India; both Arrian and Strabo follow Eratosthenes' account, as well as include Onesicritus' contradictory statement that the hippopotamus *is* found in India.[33] 2) Eratosthenes' geographical survey of India, reproduced by Strabo and Arrian, who also both reproduce in the same order the further descriptions by Ctesias, Onesicritus, Nearchus, and Megasthenes at the end of the

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[30] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 46.

[31] "Both narratives cover the same ground, present the same material in the same order, and supplement each other's descriptions. The divergences we have noted are rare and trivial" (Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 45).

[32] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 45.

[33] Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.1.13//Arrian, *Ind.* 6.8.

Eratosthenes' survey.[34] One would not expect two writers with no direct literary contact

to reproduce in the same sequence citations from the same group of sources. Yet, as

Bosworth asserts, the likely explanation is that both Strabo and Arrian are drawing from a

common source (e.g., Megasthenes), which has already incorporated these other sources.

As Bosworth concludes: "However explicit the citation may seem, it need not be taken

from the original text."[35]

III. Diodorus Siculus and *P Oxy.* 1610: An Example of Selective Extraction?

Writing in the second half of the first century BCE, the historian Diodorus Siculus

utilized a number of different sources in writing his 40 volume chronicle that covers

Egyptian history through the Hellenistic period to the beginning of the Roman era. As we

saw above, Diodorus states that unlike his literary predecessors, he is writing a

"universal" history (κοινὰς ἱστορίας; 1.1.1), a work that took 30 years to write, written

"after a plan which might yield to its readers the greatest benefit and at the same time

incommode them the least."[36] Diodorus' ambitious literary project makes use of a variety

of sources. His main source – Ephorus – is named by Diodorus as one of his sources.

This work is essentially non-extant, with the exception of an apparent fragment of

Ephorus' history in *P Oxy.* 1610. The sixty or so fragments that comprise *P Oxy.* 1610

parallel sections from Diodorus 11.59.1-11.61.7 and date to roughly the late second or

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[34] Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.1.12//Arrian, *Ind.* 3.6-8.

[35] Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, 46.

[36] Diodorus Siculus 1.4.1.

early third centuries BCE.[37] Most scholars (beginning with Grenfell and Hunt) have

argued that this parallel can be best explained by seeing *P Oxy.* 1610 as a fragment of

Ephorus – one of Diodorus' written sources.[38]

Diodorus' ability as a historian continues to be questioned by a few scholars:

some (as alluded to above) argue that Diodorus was far from a good historian, even by

ancient standards;[39] still others argue that the apparent problems of Diodorus' method for

writing history have less to do with Diodorus' lack of expertise and more with his sources

themselves.[40] Regardless, it does appear that *P Oxy.* 1610 is none other than an otherwise

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[37] See B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyi Part XIII* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1919), 98-128. See also F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [= *FGrH*] (Vol. 2/A; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926) 96-91 (70 F 191).

[38] For a view counter to the consensus, see T. W. Africa, "Ephorus and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1610," *AJP* 83 (1962): 86-89. Africa argues that the data suggest that *P Oxy.* 1610 is "a caricature of Ephorus at best," perhaps even "an epitome of Diodorus or even the product of another Oxyrhynchus historian" (88-89). Africa states that the "papyrus is too late and too fragmentary to warrant a categorical identification with any author, much less a lost historian like Ephorus" (89). For the most recent and strong defense of the Ephoron origin of *P Oxy.* 1610, see Catherine Reid Rubincam, "A Note on Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1610," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 357-366.

[39] For example, A. Andrewes argues that Diodorus' methods of epitomizing were "slipshod" ("Diodorus and Ephoros: One Source of Misunderstanding," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian* [ed. J. W. Eadie and J. Ober; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985], 189); V. J. Gray ("The Value of Diodorus Siculus for the Years 411-386," *Hermes* 115 [1987]: 72-89) argues that "the historical methods that lie behind [Diodorus] suffer from three principal weaknesses: 1. careless and insensitive abbreviation 2. conventionalising of the facts 3. amplification of the facts" (74). But see K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* for a more positive description of Diodorus as a historian. For example, see Chapter Four, "Aspects of History Writing," pp. 83-116. In this chapter, Sacks argues that most previous scholarly assumptions regarding Diodorus as a "mere copyist" are flawed. Instead, Diodorus "was more involved in the composition of history than is gernally acknowledged. ...The fact and the assumption that Diodorus is 'a mere copyist,' however, frequently lead to exaggerated claims about his methods. And *that* in turn leads to *Quellenforschung* frequently based on unsound principles" (115).

[40] For example, R. Drews: "[W]hy did [Diodorus] confuse himself and his critics by combing two, three and even four accounts, the net result of which is often an unintelligible farrago? Perverse as he was, Diodorus did not intentionally write bad history" ("Diodorus and His Sources," *AJP* 83 [1962]: 383). Or, R. K. Sinclair who argues that Diodorus' sources heavily influence his style and accuracy (or, lack thereof) ("Diodorus Siculus and the Writing of History").

lost fragment of the writings of the historian Ephorus, and provides an opportunity for

analyzing Diodorus' use of this source material.[41]

P Oxy. 1610 and its parallel text in Diodorus (see Figure 13 at the end of the

chapter) deal primarily with a eulogistic description of the exploits and accomplishments

of Themistocles (Diodorus 11.59//*P Oxy.* 1610, Frs. 2-6) and the land and sea battles of

the general Cimon (Diodorus 11.60-61//*P Oxy.* 1610, Frs. 8-14, 53). In addition,

Fragment 16 shares just a few fragmentary parallel words with Diodorus 11.69.1, which

deals with Artabanus' plot to assassinate King Xerxes. The most extensive agreements

occur in the parallel "eulogy" of Themistocles. Grenfell and Hunt summarize the

correspondence between the two:

> Where **1610** and Diodorus agree as to the sense [of the wording], but express
> themselves differently, sometimes one, sometimes the other is longer; but on the
> whole Diodorus in the chapters covered by **1610** is distinctly the shorter of the
> two, details and even whole episodes which occur in **1610** being absent in his
> work.[42]

While *P Oxy.* 1610 is clearly "fragmentary," both figuratively and literally, the

papyrus does share some telling correspondences to its literary successor, Diodorus.

Hornblower makes the following general observations regarding the two parallel

accounts:

> Overall, Diodorus' text is rather shorter than that of the papyrus; but this comes
> not so much through abbreviation of the original, as through the omission of
> whole episodes, e.g. Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus (frgs. 47-51), the
> capture of a Persian admiral (frgs. 75-6), etc. He appears to be *extracting* rather
> than systematically condensing his source.... In a few places Diodorus' manner of

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[41] See the original argument of Grenfell and Hunt in support of this thesis in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part XIII*, 106-108.

[42] Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhnchus Papyri XIII*, 104.

expression is slightly fuller than that of the papyrus, but his additions contain nothing substantial....[43]

While most of the changes that Diodorus makes to the papyrus may, in fact not be very "substantial," some of the changes are interesting. In the midst of eulogizing Themistocles (11.59.1-4), Diodorus changes Ephorus' adjective διακιοτάτην ("justest [sic.];" frs. 4-5) to the similar term ἐπιεικεστάτην ("fairest," "most equitable", "most gracious;" 11.59.3) to describe Athens at the time of Themistocles' death. Here, Diodorus substitutes an idea that is, argues Sacks, "a key concept of moderate behavior" and is "a hallmark of Diodoran thought generally."[44] Sacks describes this change as "minor," but "in declaring Athens was most clement, Diodorus sets up his charge of a few chapters later that Athens ceased acting ἐπιεικῶς and resorted to terror."[45] Thus, we see an author following a particular source in relative close fashion, but changes an adjective not only to make, as Sacks argues, "his own moral point," but to also anticipate a later condemnation of Athens as no longer fair or equitable.

Nonetheless, it does appear that Hornblower is correct in her description of Diodorus' use of Ephorus at this point that he is essentially a selective extractor of material, making minor changes to that material as he goes along, at times omitting entire episodes altogether.[46] This method is distinct from one who condenses as he writes, including most episodes in a source but in an abbreviated fashion. These two techniques

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[43] Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 28-29.

[44] Sacks, *Diodorus and the First Century*, 43. Sacks argues that the terms ἐπιείκεια ("fairness"; "equity") and φιλανθρωπία ("benevolence"; "kindness") are Diodorus' key concepts describing "moderate" behavior.

[45] Sacks, *Diodorus and the First Century*, 53. Sacks summarizes Diodorus' redactional activity here: "Diodorus follows the account and the general interpretation of his source, in this case Ephorus, but makes his own moral point."

of abbreviation – selective extraction and wholesale condensation – essentially represent

the system used by epitomizers in antiquity.

IV. Josephus and His Adaptation of Source Material

Introduction: An Analysis of F. Gerald Downing's Studies

As was mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, F. Gerald Downing is

the sole scholar in the twentieth century who has attempted to seriously test the validity

of source-critical hypotheses against the observable compositional techniques of other

authors contemporary with the Synoptics. Unfortunately, his three articles[47] have been

largely overlooked by Synoptic scholars, except for the occasional passing reference in a

footnote. In the first series of articles, published in 1980, Downing analyzes Josephus'

use of the Septuagintal form of Joshua-Judges along with the Deuteronomistic history

and its parallels in 1 and 2 Chronicles, as well as his use of the *Letter of Aristeas* in

Jewish Antiquities (*Ant.*). Taking his cue from A. Pelletier's work on Josephus' use of

Aristeas,[48] Downing classifies Josephus' "redaction" of his Septuagintal sources under

five categories: "Omissions," "Additions," "Rearrangement," "Assembly," and

"Conflation."[49] Under the technique of "Omissions," Downing describes six types of

omissions that Josephus makes in his adaptation of source material: 1) Discrepancies

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[47] "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' *Antiquities* and the Synoptic Gospels (I);" "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' *Antiquities* and the Synoptic Gospels (II);" and, "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem."

[48] A. Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe, Adapteur de la Lettre d'Aristée* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1962).

[49] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 50-63. Downing describes Josephus as a "redactor" in his editing of source material: "he re-casts, omits, re-orders, adapts, in line with the 'message' which he tells us he intends to convey" ("Redaction Criticism [II]," 47).

(material omitted in order to harmonize differing accounts); 2) Duplicates (the avoidance

of repeating similar accounts); 3) Interruptions (material that obstructs the flow of

Josephus' narrative is excised); 4) Miracle and Magic (in keeping with Josephus'

"sceptical age," he adapts material in a manner that is consistent with "God working

through 'nature,' rather than by-passing it"); 5) "Inappropriate" Theology (Josephus

excises the theologically "difficult" material); and, 6) The Apologetically Awkward

(Josephus omits material in his sources that would be awkward to his readers).[50] On the

other hand, under the category of "Additions," Downing classifies this general technique

as follows: 1) Harmony and Continuity (Josephus "tidies up" his sources for the sake of

his narrative); 2) Providence and Prophecy (Josephus adds material to his sources in

order to "reassert a trust in divine providence"); 3) Piety and Moral Uplift (additions are

made to the Septuagintal accounts to foster a sense of piety and moral encouragement for

the reader); 4) Apologetics (Josephus enhances the biblical presentation of specific events

or individuals for apologetic reasons); and, 5) Interest and Clarity (Josephus "adds and

excises details" and gives "quite a new colour and import to 'the same' incident, so that it

conveys the impression he wants to create [and avoids any he wishes to eschew]."[51]). On

this technique, Downing notes that sole "frequent *major* additions" by Josephus are

speeches; apart from these speeches, Josephus "does not create events or incidents, either

out of his head or by midrashic exposition."[52]

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[50] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 50-51.

[51] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 55. Square brackets by Downing.

[52] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 55-56.

Regarding "Rearrangement," Downing describes this technique in Josephus as

one motivated by "harmony and continuity:"

> Josephus seems ... to have felt quite free to create a fresh order of events,
> sometimes for the sake of coherence, sometimes simply to allow the narrative to
> flow. In particular, ... if an incident, place or person is to re-appear briefly later,
> that fact will be noted in advance; if the second reference is brief enough,
> Josephus will conflate the two accounts and have done with the topic.[53]

Under the category of "Assembly," Downing argues that Josephus was motivated

by "thematic coherence and verbal coincidence," with Josephus taking the "trouble to

unify his material in terms of topic, person, place or event."[54] Interestingly, Downing

argues that while Josephus has the "freedom to select, arrange, paraphrase and preach,"

there is "little if any room for his own interpretation, and probably none for invention.

The tradition remains in control."[55]

Finally, and perhaps most significant to the Synoptic Problem, Downing discusses

Josephus' technique of conflation, motivated, as with Rearrangement, by "harmony and

continuity." Here, Downing moves beyond an analysis of Joshua-Judges in the LXX to

Josephus' use of Deuteronomistic History (DH) and the Chronicles complex. It is worth

noting Downing's detailed description of Josephus' technique of conflation, who

carefully eyes both 1 and 2 Chronicles and their sources. When Chronicler agrees with

his source (i.e., Samuel-Kings narrative [DH]) Josephus makes little or no changes:

> It is immediately clear that where the Chronicler keeps closely to *his* source,
> maybe changing only a word or a phrase or two, Josephus happily follows. Where
> it is at all possible he adds together minor divergent items. If the two strands
> conflict in minor details, he chooses which to follow by the kinds of criteria we

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[53] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 56.

[54] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 57.

[55] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 60.

have already detected: over-all harmony, piety, moral uplift, apologetic impact, and so on.[56]

When the Chronicles narrative differs from the Samuel-Kings narrative, Josephus tends

to include the material omitted from either source:

> Where the Chronicler omits a narrative from his source, Josephus is still sure that those events are true and worth relating. ...Just occasionally he [Josephus] seems to glance across at Chronicles, to check a list of names; or to the LXX of both texts for further variants. When, however, the Chronicler has some additional (but not directly conflicting) material, ...Josephus includes it [when he is mainly following the Samuel-Kings narrative].[57]

Josephus exhibits much freedom when working with sayings material:

> When it is a matter of speech, Josephus appears to feel a lot freer [to follow closely his two sources, to harmonize, or to paraphrase one or both sources].[58]

Josephus tends to follow the "older and fuller source" when his sources are in agreement:

> If his two sources conflict in a fairly straightforward fashion over some major matter, Josephus follows the older and fuller source [i.e., Samuel-Kings].[59]

When there is disagreement in detail in his sources, Josephus will rework his sources

through harmonization and conflation:

> It is only when his sources conflict *in detail* in what is still clearly an attempt to describe the same series of events, that Josephus abandons the attempt to conflate and harmonise. In such cases, ... Josephus seems to "give up" and decide to write a completely fresh account on his own, taking some items, almost at random, from both sources. But he refuses on the other hand to follow just one of them; and he certainly shows no sign of attempting first to disentangle them.[60]

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[56] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 61.

[57] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 61-62.

[58] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 62.

[59] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 62.

[60] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 62 (emphasis original).

In sum, Downing describes Josephus as a relatively conservative "redactor" or adapter of

his source material:

> The keynote of Josephus' method is still "simplicity", and simplicity seems to be a major part of his aim. Where his sources are straightforward he is happy just to paraphrase; where a single source seems illogical, he tidies it up; and if he has two sources that will not readily combine, he makes up a third account on his own, blithely ignoring large parts of both. But it remains a "version", quite clearly. There is no major invention, no major allusiveness. And still it remains true that his redaction conveys with clarity the message he announced that his narrative would display [i.e., *Ant.* 1.14-17].[61]

Finally, Downing remarks on the lack of verbatim agreements between Josephus and his

source material:

> ...Josephus' literary dependence very rarely leads to word-for-word resemblance; (Pelletier, it will be recalled, found only one twelve- and one ten-word repetition in Josephus' version of *Aristeas*). Josephus can produce a verbally and stylistically very different version of a text, without help from "another source."[62]

In turn, Downing takes his observations of Josephus' "redactional" techniques

and introduces them into a discussion of the Synoptic "redaction" of sources, specifically

with an eye on Luke's use of Mark and Q. Through a comparison of prologues, Downing

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[61] "Redaction Criticism (I)," 64. Cf. *Ant.* 1.14-17: "But, speaking generally, the main lesson to be learnt from this history by any who care to peruse it is that men who conform to the will of God, and do not venture to transgress laws that have been excellently laid down, prosper in all things beyond belief, and for their reward are offered by God felicity; whereas, in proportion as they depart from the strict observance of these laws, things (else) practicable become impracticable, and whatever imaginary good thing they strive to do ends in irretrievable disasters. At the outset, then, I entreat those who will read these volumes to fix their thoughts on God, and to test whether our lawgiver has had a worthy conception of His nature and has always assigned to Him such actions as befit His power, keeping his words concerning Him pure of that unseemly mythology current among others; albeit that, in dealing with ages so long and so remote, he would have had ample license to invent fictions. For he was born two thousand years ago, to which ancient date the poets never ventured to refer even the birth of their gods, much less the actions of laws of mortals. *The precise details of our Scripture records will, then, be set forth, each in its place, as my narrative proceeds, that being the procedure I have promised to follow throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything"* (emphasis added).

[62] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 33.

maintains that Luke's method is much like that of Josephus, particularly in that both

authors follow "along the lines of accepted convention."[63] Downing continues:

> So, if we allow Josephus to guide us (for the sake of argument) we shall expect to
> find [in Luke] re-arrangement, paraphrase, the addition or omission of details, the
> insertion of speeches, and an overall simplification, within the limits demanded
> by message that is intended. We shall not expect to find the creation "out of his
> head" of any major incident, nor even its invention on the basis of hints from
> scripture. We would expect our writer to feel the need for some antecedent
> source, if only in oral tradition. And this expectation would be made all the more
> firm by our noting how very respectful of each other the synoptists often seem to
> be (whichever is the direction of the dependence).[64]

Downing does not just simply demonstrate that Luke's "redactional" method (on

the 2DH) is consistent with Josephus' "conventional" method of composition; he also

attempts to illustrate that the "midrash and lection" method of Luke as described by

Michael Goulder is "imaginary" and inconsistent with the observable practices in

Josephus; it is "complex and laborious," a "procedure very different from that of

Josephus."[65] Downing states:

> "Q" has the admitted disadvantage of not being available for inspection, and not
> even being directly documented. It is an imaginary entity, albeit an entirely
> plausible one. A Luke who could produce his Gospel out of Mark and Matthew is
> also an imaginary entity, but quite implausible. Documents *like* the supposed "Q"
> have existed; some known to have existed have also disappeared; the *genre* is not
> imaginary. But there is no clear evidence available for there ever having existed
> authors with the kind of redactional procedures adopted by this other imaginary
> Luke [i.e., Goulder's Luke], there is nowhere independent evidence for the
> production of a document at all like the third gospel by the procedures
> presupposed [by the FGH], no evidence to match the clear picture we may draw
> from Josephus (and the contemporaries on whom he relied). The Luke who made

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[63] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 30.

[64] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 33.

[65] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 42.

his gospel out of Mark and Matthew is a fictional entity, the sole exemplar of an equally fictional *genre*, and we do well to dispense with both.[66]

The advocates of the 2GH fare no better in Downing, a theory that is even "less credible" than Goulder's Luke, and is "as far from the contemporary conventions for the use of sources for which we have sources."[67] The 2GH, argues Downing, "fails ... significantly in its lack of internal coherence; it also entails the use of redactional procedures among the evangelists quite other than those for which we have evidence, and particularly neglects the data that link Luke with these clearly evidenced redactional conventions [in Josephus.]"[68] Thus, Downing concludes his study by arguing that the "example of Josephus' procedure reinforces the credibility of the four- [or two-] document hypothesis."[69]

Later in 1988, Downing mounted a similar study, this time through an analysis of the compositional conventions of Plutarch and his use (and, more specifically, occasional conflation) of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy's histories.[70] In this article, Downing's investigation is focused more precisely on the Synoptic Problem, arguing that "the long debate on the sources of the Synoptic Gospels seems to have been conducted without paying much or any attention to [the] issue of whether any indications of 'sensible' compositional procedures in the first century C.E. are available." By focusing on Plutarch's conflation of Livy and Dionysius, Downing concludes that Plutarch's

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[66] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 45 (emphasis original).

[67] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 46.

[68] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 45-46.

[69] "Redaction Criticism (II)," 47.

[70] "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem."

method of conflation is rather simple and arbitrary: "He certainly shows no sign of any

interest of 'unpicking' the changes Livy and Dionysius may have made to their common

(lost) source, and in fact no sign of having laid them side by side."[71] He summarizes

Plutarch's method of conflating Livy and Dionysius:

> Where they agree, he follows (unless the story line is particularly weak); where
> they can be taken as supplementing each other, he allows them to; where they
> entirely disagree, he simply follows one; where they contradict in detail in an
> otherwise similar episode, he makes up his own version. All of this matches
> precisely ...what we are told about the exercises in writing Plutarch is likely to
> have done as a lad.[72]

Thus, Downing outlines a "very simple process of conflation"[73] that he observes

in his study of Plutarch's use of Livy and Dionysius, one where Plutarch does *not*

typically "unpick" and "reassemble" his two sources – a micro-conflationary procedure

that envisions a later author "unpicking" and "reassembling" his sources, one that is both

overly complicated and anachronistic.

Downing concludes his study by suggesting that of the three main "solutions" to

the Synoptic Problem (i.e., 2DH, 2GH, FGH), only the 2DH is consistent with the

observable compositional procedures of Plutarch (and Josephus). The latest or "third"

evangelist(s) in each of these theories is the conflator – Matthew and Luke on the 2DH;

Mark on the 2GH; and, Luke on the FGH. Again, the "simple" method of conflation

described by Downing envisions the later/conflating author to choose the "common

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[71] "Compositional Conventions," 81. Downing's term "unpicking" is his own, alluding to his
earlier characterization of Mark on the 2GH and Luke on the FGH "unpicking" their sources prior to their
conflating them.

[72] "Compositional Conventions," 81.

[73] "Compositional Conventions," 82.

witness" in both his sources "both for ease and security."[74] In other words, the tendency

of the later author, when faced with the same event (action and/or saying) described in

similar wording and syntax in two sources, is to essentially reproduce the "common

witness" of the two earlier sources without dramatically recasting or reworking the

material. In four Synoptic pericopes[75], Downing argues Luke on the FGH and Mark on

the 2GH do not follow this common practice, with these four pericopes that are "ready-

made" for conflation.[76] Instead, the "Q hypothesis" (i.e., the 2DH) is the most plausible of

the three "solutions."[77]

As stated earlier, Downing's work is unique in Synoptic Problem scholarship:

Essentially, no one else attempted a similar detailed study of the source-critical

relationships of the Synoptics in light of observable compositional techniques from

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[74] "Compositional Conventions," 83.

[75] Baptism and Temptation (Mark 1:9-13 par.); Beelzebul Controversy (Mark 3:20-39 par.);
Mission Charges (Mark 6:13-19 par.); and, Synoptic Apocalypse (Mark 13:5-37 par.).

[76] "Compositional Conventions," 84.

[77] "Only with the 'lost source' 'Q' hypothesis can we avoid supposing that an early Christian
author stepped intellectually, technically, and even technologically right out of his contemporary culture,
without the slightest precedent to guide him and with every indication that his intended end (a new
narrative based on earlier ones) could be readily produced by conventional means" ("Compositional
Conventions," 82). Downing vigorously continues: "Of course, it is possible to assert that Mark [on the
2GH] or Luke [on the FGH] 'simply did' invent a new and unprecedented compositional technique. It is
possible to assert anything. Not every assertion is equally plausible, and the case for such unwarranted
novelty on the part of one lonely early Christian with far less original skill as a paraphraser than had, say
Josephus, has very little plausibility at all.... Unless and until some first-century parallel is found for, say, a
Mark or a Luke as third, unpicking and reassembling the other's use of the first, rejecting close parallels,
preferring the unique, paraphrasing mostly the similar, then I would suggest that there should be a
moratorium on the elaboration of any such theories. The Griesbach and Farmer [sic? Farrer?] theories (and
others more elaborate still) fly in the face of all the specific evidence we have, and in the face of all our
insights into language, culture, society, and individuals. So far from the various theories being all so
lacking in evidence as to leave the issue insoluble, none but the Two-Document hypothesis has any initial
plausibility at all" ("Compositional Conventions," 85).

antiquity. Thus, Downing can rightly conclude that "more work in this area would be

very welcome."[78] This is precisely the focus of the rest of this chapter.

Further Analysis of Josephus' Use of Source Materials

While Downing's cataloguing of Josephus' "redactional" techniques are helpful

and unique in Synoptic Problem discussion, the comments are made generally with little

detailed examples given in support of the assertions.[79] Thus, it would be valid to further

explore Josephus as a user of ancient sources, particularly with an eye on his technique of

combining sources. On the surface, it would appear that Books 7-10 of *Jewish Antiquities*

(*Ant.*) might provide the best literary analogy, since it is here that Josephus is recounting

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[78] "Compositional Conventions," 85 n 45. It should be noted that Downing followed up his 1980 and 1988 articles on the Synoptic Problem in 1992 with an review article very critical of Goulder's *Luke: A New Paradigm*. In this article ("A Paradigm Perplex: Luke, Matthew and Mark," *NTS* 38 [1992]: 15-36), Downing essentially asserts that Goulder is drawing a rather anachronistic picture of Luke as a first century author and redactor of his sources: "The extraordinary behaviour of Goulder's Luke [in *Luke: A New Paradigm*], who refuses every simple and conventional way to re-write his Matthew and Mark to suit his given purposes, is totally foreign to the first century..." (35). Goulder's Luke, argues Downing, employs a method of conflation that is not only inconsistent with the techniques observed by Downing himself in 1980 and 1988 (along with other classical scholars), but is virtually physically impossible to accomplish given the physical limitations under which first century authors worked (see esp. pp. 18-23). Again, it is the 2DH, not the FGH, that provides the best "solution" to the Synoptic Problem.

Goulder responded to Downing's critique nearly a year later in his "Luke's Compositional Options," *NTS* 39 (1993): 150-152. It is Downing's theory, not his own, argues Goulder, that is "anachronistic" and complicated. It is Downing that has drawn a picture inconsistent with the techniques of ancient conflators like Josephus. Goulder provides an helpful warning at the close of his rejoinder to Downing: "[G]reat care needs to be taken over comparisons with other contemporary [first century] authors, and expectations therefrom. Luke is engaged in a different endeavour from Josephus and Tatian (as Downing recognizes), and his is an individual in an individual situation. Maybe later Christians found they could do without Mark; but we do not know how Luke was placed. Perhaps he was Paul's companion, and Mark was the cousin of Barnabas in Col 4.10, and a close friend of Luke in Col 4.14. Maybe he thought Paul was in the right over the Law as against the Jerusalem pillars, and wanted a counter-weight to Matthew, with his enthusiasm for Peter and for the Law. Of course these are just hypotheses, but they are at least based on evidence in our texts, and not just general expectations. So far as they go, the comparisons with Josephus and the others seem to support me rather than Downing; but they will only take us part of the way" (151-152).

[79] Under the technique of "Conflation," Downing briefly mentions a few examples of Dtr/Chronicles parallel texts that are evidently conflated by Josephus (see "Redaction Criticism [I]," 61-64): 1 Sam 31:1-13//1 Chron 10:1-12 par. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.368ff; 2 Sam 7:1-17//1 Chron 17:1-15 par. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.90ff; 2 Sam 14:1-25//1 Chron 21:1-30 par. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.318ff; and, 1 Kings 2:10-12//1

part of Israelite history paralleled by the Deuteronomistic historian in 1 Samuel-2 Kings

(Dtr) and the Chronicler in 1 and 2 Chronicles.[80] Yet, as most Josephus scholars argue,

Josephus was likely drawing from a variety of sources including the LXX, along with

Aramaic Targums and the Hebrew Bible as well.[81] Whether Josephus is using the LXX in

his account of the pre-exilic Israelite monarchial period is not entirely clear. Thus, the

uncertainty surrounding the identification and character of Josephus' sources presents

some difficulty in a comparative analysis of the biblical accounts to Josephus' own in

terms of wording.[82] Yet, it is possible to more generally compare the biblical accounts

with Josephus' description of Israel's pre-exilic monarchy in terms of the order and

structure of the events.

The following question needs to be addressed preliminarily: How appropriate is

Josephus as a literary analogy to the Synoptic Gospels? Like the Synoptic authors,

Josephus is writing in later part of the first century CE.[83] Like at least one Synoptic

author, Josephus was writing as a Jew in the Greco-Roman world.[84] Like the Synoptic

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Chron 29:26-30 par. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.389ff.

[80] This dissertation is utilizing the most recent critical edition of the Greek text of Josephus, Books 7-10 of *Jewish Antiquities*, namely *Jewish Antiquities, Books V-VIII* (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), and *Jewish Antiquities, Books IX-XI* (trans. Ralph Marcus; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937). At the time of writing this dissertation, Steve Mason and his team of Josephus scholars had published only one volume – Steve Mason, ed., *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary. Judean Antiquities 1-4* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000).

[81] See Harold W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in Antiquitates Judicae of Flavius Josephus* (HDR 7; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976) 30-31 n 4 for a listing of scholars who posit a variety of sources for Josephus including the three mentioned above.

[82] This is a problem that Downing apparently fails to mention, assuming that Josephus' pre-exilic biblical sources were the Septuagintal versions of Dtr and Chronicles.

[83] Louis Feldman ("Josephus," *ABD* 3:982) argues that Josephus wrote *Ant.* no earlier than 85-90 CE.

[84] Assuming, of course, that the vast consensus of Synoptic scholarship is correct in identifying the

authors, Josephus wrote in Greek. And, like at least one Synoptic gospel in any of the

three main "solutions" to the Synoptic Problem, Josephus is combining/conflating at least

two parallel written sources. Finally, like the later Synoptists on any source-critical

solution, Josephus sees the need to make his sources more accessible to his immediate

audience. Hence, it appears that Josephus as a literary analogy to the Synoptists is

entirely appropriate, and is perhaps our best literary analogy in this chapter.

Some observations: First, it is readily apparent that usually Josephus includes an

event in Israel's pre-exilic monarchy that is doubly attested by both Dtr and the

Chronicler. Yet, there are doubly attested events that are not included by Josephus,

including lists of David's warriors who aided in his capture of Jerusalem after his

ascension (2 Sam 23:8-35//1 Chron 11:10-47) and David's prayer of praise after hearing

the prophetic message through Nathan regarding the everlasting dynasty of David (2 Sam

7:18-29//1 Chron 17:16-27).[15] Hence, while Josephus *typically* does reproduce doubly

attested material, the double attestation of a certain event does not guarantee its

adaptation by Josephus.

Second, it is possible to state the following in terms of order in Josephus: For the

most part, Dtr and the Chronicler parallel each other quite closely in terms of order,

which perhaps is to be expected given the fixed sequences of their monarchial histories.

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author of the first gospel as Jewish.

[15] Other doubly attested events not adapted by Josephus include the following: an account of
Solomon's collection of chariots and horses (1 Kings 10:26-29//2 Chron 1:1-13); the prophet Shemaiah's
warning to Rehoboam not to attack the northern kingdom (1 Kings 12:21-24//2 Chron 11:1-4); the
concluding comments regarding the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kings 14:29-31, 15:6//2 Chron 12:15-16); a
description of Ahaz's idolatry (2 Kings 16:19-20//2 Chron 28:22-27); and, message of the prophetess
Huldah after the finding of the book of the law during the reign of Josiah (2 Kings 22:14-20//2 Chron
34:22-28). Cf. also 1 Kings 15:13-15//2 Chron 15:16-19; 1 Kings 22:48-50//2 Chron 20:35-37; and, 2
Kings 16:1-4//2 Chron 28:1-4.

Yet in at least one narrative sequence where they do disagree in terms of order, one is

able to observe the reworking of the order of both Dtr and the Chronicler. Note Figure 6

below regarding the events surrounding the coronation of David and the bringing of the

ark to Jerusalem (bold type face indicates section out of order; heavy vertical lines

indicate probable literary relationships):

Figure 6: *Ant.* 7.53-89 and Parallels – David Anointed King and His Return of the Ark

Event	2 Samuel	Josephus, *Ant.*	1 Chronicles
David anointed king	5:1-3	7.53-54 (mention of Samuel)	11:1-3 (mention of Samuel)
David's ability to attract men of valor	No parallel	7.55	**12:1-40**
David captures Jerusalem from the Jebusites	5:4-8	7.61-64 (mention of Joab)	11:4-6 (mention of Joab)
Jerusalem is fortified by David	5:9-10	7.65-69 (mention of Joab)	11:7-9 (mention of Joab)
List of David's warriors	**23:8-35**	No parallel	11:10-47
David's family members	5:11-16 (mention of concubines)	7.70 (mention of concubines)	14:1-7
David's defeat of the Philistines	5:17-25	7.71-77	14:8-17
David prepares to bring the ark to Jerusalem	No parallel	No parallel	15:1-24
David begins the journey to Jerusalem with the ark	6:1-5	7.78-80	**13:1-8**
The death of Uzzah	6:6-9	7.81-82	**13:9-12**
The ark remains in the house of Obed-edom for three months	6:10-11	7.83-84	**13:13-14**
The ark is brought to Jerusalem as Israel rejoices and David dances; Michal despises David	6:12-16	7.85	15:25-29
Offerings commemorating the arrival of the ark	6:17-19a	7.86a-b	16:1-3
Service of dedication and further arrangements	No parallel	No parallel	16:4-42
People and David return to their homes	6:19b-20a	7.86c	16:43
Michal rebukes David and David's response	6:20b-23	7.87-89	No parallel

First, Josephus advances the Chronicler's account of David's ability to attract men

of valor (1 Chron 12:1-40; no parallel in Dtr) immediately after David's anointing as king

and *before* David's capture of Jerusalem. Then beginning at 7.61, Josephus closely

follows the narrative sequence of 2 Samuel: Josephus omits the list of David's warriors

that the Chronicler has advanced from 2 Sam 23:8-35; Josephus omits the singly attested

account of David's preparation for bringing the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chron 15:1-24; no

parallel in Dtr); Josephus follows Dtr's sequence by including the account of David's

concern for bringing the ark to Jerusalem *just prior* to the actual event itself (i.e., 2 Sam

6:12-16), unlike the Chronicler who locates the event *just after* the capture of Jerusalem

and the list of David's warriors (1 Chron 11:4-47), and the aforementioned singly attested

account of David's ability to attract warriors. Like 2 Samuel, Josephus does not include

an account of service of dedication for the ark (1 Chron 16:4-42). Finally, and like 2

Samuel, Josephus includes the concluding account of Michal's rebuke of David and

David's response to her (2 Sam 6:20b-23), a pericope not included by the Chronicler.

Hence, it is appropriate to conclude, at least in this narrative sequence, the order of 2

Samuel followed by Josephus is also connected to the wording and narratives included by

Josephus as well. In other words, there seems to be a link between order and wording:

Josephus (at least in this instance) follows the wording of 2 Samuel when he follows its

order. One does not see the conflator following the order of Source A, but the wording of

Source B.

One sees a similar phenomenon in the story of Rehoboam. Note the order and

wording of events as recounted by Dtr, the Chronicler, and Josephus in Figure 7:

Figure 7: *Ant.* 8.251-265 — Shishak's Attack on Jerusalem and the Death of Rehoboam

Event	1 Kings	Josephus, *Ant.*	2 Chronicles
Rehoboam grows strong; abandons (the) law(s)	No parallel	8.251-253	12:1
In the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, King Shishak of Egypt attacks Israel	14:25	8.254	12:2
Shishak attacks with 1,200 chariots and 60,000 cavalry, including Libyans and Ethiopians	No parallel	8.254-255	12:3-4
Prophecy of Shemaiah (Samaias)	No parallel	8.255-257	12:5-8
Shishak ransacks the temple, taking with him many treasures, including gold shields made by Solomon	14:26	8.258-262	12:9
Rehoboam provides bronze shields in their place	14:27-28	8.263	12:10-11
Continual war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam	14:29-30	8.263	**12:15**
Rehoboam's age and length of reign	**14:21**	8.264	12:13
Rehoboam buried in Jerusalem; succeeded by his son Abijam/Abijah (Abias)	14:31	8.264-265	12:16

Or see Figure 8 below: the underlined text indicates verbatim or near-verbatim

agreements between 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles in the LXX; the bold type-face indicates

verbatim or near-verbatim agreements between Josephus and 2 Chronicles against 1

Kings:

Figure 8: *Ant. 8.251-265* – Shishak's Attack on Jerusalem and the Death of Rehoboam
(Greek Texts compared)

I Kings 14:25-30, 21, 31	Josephus, *Ant.* 8:251-265	2 Chron 12:1-11, 15, 13, 16
No parallel	8.251-253 Αἴτιον δ' οἶμαι πολλάκις γίνεται κακῶν καὶ παρανομίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὐτῶν τροπή· τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν αὐξανομένην οὕτω βλέπων Ῥοβόαμος εἰς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξετράπη πράξεις καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας κατεφρόνησεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν μιμητὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀνομημάτων. συνδιαφθείρεται γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἤθη τοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων τρόποις, καὶ ὡς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκείνων ἀσελγείας τὴν αὐτῶν σωφροσύνην παραπέμποντες ὡς ἀρετῇ ταῖς κακίαις αὐτῶν ἕπονται· οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν ἀποδέχεσθαι δοκεῖν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα μὴ ταὐτὰ πράττοντας. τοῦτο τοίνυν συνέβαινε καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμῳ τεταγμένοις ἀσεβοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομοῦντος σπουδάζειν. μὴ προσκρούσωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ θέλοντες εἶναι δίκαιοι. τιμωρὸν δὲ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβρεων ὁ θεὸς ἐπιπέμπει τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Ἴσωκον, περὶ οὗ πλανηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος	[1] καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία Ῥοβοαμ καὶ ὡς κατεκρατήθη ἐγκατέλιπεν τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ μετ' αὐτοῦ
[23] <u>καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ πέμπτῳ βασιλεύοντος Ροβοαμ ἀνέβη Σουσακιμ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ</u>	8.254 τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσώστρει προσάπτει. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἴσωκος πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας	[2] <u>καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ροβοαμ ἀνέβη Σουσακιμ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ ὅτι ἥμαρτον ἐναντίον κυρίου</u>
No parallel	8.254-255 ἐπιστρατεύεται μετὰ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μυριάδων· ἅρματα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠκολούθει, ἱππέων δὲ μυριάδες ἕξ, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα. τούτων τοὺς πλείστους Λίβυας ἐπήγετο καὶ Αἰθίοπας. ἐμβαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἑβραίων καταλαμβάνει τε τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας πόλεις ἀμαχητὶ καὶ ταύτας ἀσφαλισάμενος ἔσχατον ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεκλεισμένου	[3] ἐν χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις ἅρμασιν καὶ ἑξήκοντα χιλιάσιν ἵππων καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ ἐλθόντος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου Λίβυες Τρωγλοδύται καὶ Αἰθίοπες [4] καὶ κατεκράτησαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ὀχυρῶν αἳ ἦσαν ἐν Ιουδα καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ
No parallel	8.255-257 τοῦ Ῥοβοάμου καὶ τοῦ	[5] καὶ Σαμαιας ὁ προφήτης ἦλθεν πρὸς Ροβοαμ καὶ πρὸς

	πλήθους ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν Ἰσώκου στρατείαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετευόντων δοῦναι νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπεισαν τὸν θεὸν ταχθῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμαίας ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀπειλεῖν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες εὐθὺς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσον καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σωτήριον ὁρῶντες ἐξομολογεῖσθαι πάντες ὥρμησαν, ὅτι δικαίως αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ὑπερόψεται γενομένους περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ συγχέοντας τὰ νόμιμα. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς οὕτω διακειμένους καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνθομολογουμένους οὐκ ἀπολέσειν αὐτοὺς εἶπε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην, ποιήσειν μέντοι γε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑποχειρίους, ἵνα μάθωσι πότερον ἀνθρώπῳ δουλεύειν ἐστὶν ἀπονώτερον ἢ θεῷ.	τοὺς ἄρχοντας Ιουδα τοὺς συναχθέντας εἰς Ιερουσαλημ ἀπὸ προσώπου Σουσακιμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὑμεῖς ἐγκατελίπετέ με κἀγὼ ἐγκαταλείψω ὑμᾶς ἐν χειρὶ Σουσακιμ ⁶ καὶ ᾐσχύνθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες Ισραηλ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπαν δίκαιος ὁ κύριος ⁷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν κύριον ὅτι ἐνετράπησαν καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαιαν λέγων ἐνετράπησαν οὐ καταφθερῶ αὐτούς καὶ δώσω αὐτοὺς ὡς μικρὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ οὐ μὴ στάξῃ ὁ θυμός μου ἐν Ιερουσαλημ ⁸ ὅτι ἔσονται εἰς παῖδας καὶ γνώσονται τὴν δουλείαν μου καὶ τὴν **δουλείαν** τῆς βασιλείας τῆς γῆς
²⁶ καὶ ἔλαβεν πάντας τοὺς θησαυροὺς οἴκου κυρίου καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰ δόρατα τὰ χρυσᾶ ἃ ἔλαβεν Δαυιδ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν παίδων Αδρααζαρ βασιλέως Σουβα καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτὰ εἰς Ιερουσαλημ τὰ πάντα ἔλαβεν ὅπλα τὰ χρυσᾶ	8.258-262 παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἴσωκος ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν δεξαμένου Ῥοβοάμου διὰ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἐνέμεινε ταῖς γενομέναις συνθήκαις. ἀλλ' ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐξεκένωσε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἀναριθμήτους βαστάσας καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών. περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἃς κατεσκεύασε Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐκ εἴασε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας, ἃς ἀνέθηκε Δαυίδης τῷ θεῷ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Σωφηνῆς βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα. μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος περὶ μόνον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνεσι καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν ἐδουλώσατο λαβὼν ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. φανερὸν δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος βούλεται δηλοῦν κεχειρωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· ἐπάγει γάρ, ὅτι στήλας κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀμαχητὶ παραδόντων	⁹ καὶ ἀνέβη Σουσακιμ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ πάντα ἔλαβεν καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς θυρεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοῦς οὓς ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων

	ἑαυτοὺς αἰδοῖα γυναικῶν ἐγγράψας· Ῥοβόαμος δ' αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπας παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομήν· Φοίνικες γὰρ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὁμολογοῦσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι. δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὅτι μηδένες ἄλλοι περιτέμνονται τῶν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Σύρων ἢ μόνοι ἡμεῖς. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστοι λεγέτωσαν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ.	
²⁷ καὶ ἐποίησεν Ροβοαμ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅπλα χαλκᾶ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπέθεντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ ἡγούμενοι τῶν παρατρεχόντων οἱ φυλάσσοντες τὸν πυλῶνα οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως ²⁸ καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε εἰσεπορεύετο ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ ἦρον αὐτὰ οἱ παρατρέχοντες καὶ ἀπηρείδοντο αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ θεε τῶν παρατρεχόντων	8.263 Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἰσώκου Ῥοβόαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν χρυσέων θυρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων χάλκεα ποιήσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν παρέδωκε τοῖς τῶν βασιλείων φύλαξιν.	¹⁰ καὶ ἐποίησεν Ροβοαμ θυρεοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀντ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατέστησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Σουσακιμ ἄρχοντας παρατρεχόντων τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸν πυλῶνα τοῦ βασιλέως ¹¹ καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς οἶκον κυρίου εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ φυλάσσοντες καὶ οἱ παρατρέχοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστρέφοντες εἰς ἀπάντησιν τῶν παρατρεχόντων
²⁹ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ροβοαμ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ιουδα ³⁰ καὶ πόλεμος ἦν ἀνὰ μέσον Ροβοαμ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Ιεροβοαμ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας	8.263 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ στρατηγίας ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι λαμπρότητος διάγειν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ δέει πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἱεροβοάμῳ.	¹⁵ καὶ λόγοι Ροβοαμ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι οὐκ ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Σαμαια τοῦ προφήτου καὶ Αδδω τοῦ ὁρῶντος καὶ πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπολέμει Ροβοαμ τὸν Ιεροβοαμ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας
²¹ καὶ Ροβοαμ υἱὸς Σαλωμων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ιουδα υἱὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑνὸς ἐνιαυτῶν Ροβοαμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δέκα ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ τῇ πόλει ἣν ἐξελέξατο κύριος θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν τοῦ Ισραηλ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Νααμα ἡ Αμμανῖτις	8.264 ἐτελεύτησε δὲ βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ βασιλεύσας δ' αὐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα, τὸν τρόπον ἀλαζὼν ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς πατρῴοις φίλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσας·	¹³ καὶ κατίσχυσεν Ροβοαμ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑνὸς ἐτῶν Ροβοαμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἣ ἐξελέξατο κύριος ἐπονομάσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Νοομμα ἡ Αμμανῖτις
³¹ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ροβοαμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Αβιου υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ	8.264-265 ἐτάφη δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀβίας ὄγδοον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἱεροβοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύοντος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν	¹⁶ καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ροβοαμ καὶ ἐτάφη μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Αβια υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ

| | τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος· τὰ δὲ περὶ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκόλουθα τούτων ἔχομεν πῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον διεξελθεῖν· οὗτος γὰρ οὐ διέλιπεν οὐδ' ἠρέμησεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξυβρίζων, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὁρῶν βωμοὺς ἀναστὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποδεικνὺς διετέλει. | |

In this example, it seems clear that Josephus is following the sequence and episodes of the Chronicler rather than Dtr. Not only does Josephus follow the Chronicler in locating the age and length of Rehoboam's reign at the end of the story of the Israelite king, but Josephus includes the details of Shishak's military hardware that are found in 2 Chron 12:3. In addition, Josephus follows 2 Chronicles by including the prophecy Shemaiah (Samaias in Josephus), an episode lacking in Dtr. Josephus reorders 2 Chronicles slightly by advancing the comment regarding the constant warring between Rehoboam and Jeroboam. Like 2 Chronicles, Josephus concludes his story of Rehoboam with a description of Rehoboam's age and the length of his reign, followed by the details of his burial and the naming of Rehoboam's son as successor. As before, it appears that when Josephus follows the order of one particular source, he will also follow the wording of that same source (e.g., Josephus adapts the spelling of Abijah from 2 Chronicles). Again, one does not observe in Josephus the following of the *sequence* of Source A while at the same time following of the *wording* of Source B. This is a procedure that is rather simple and uncomplicated.

Downing's characterization of Josephus' method of conflation as "simple" and uncomplicated is supported elsewhere in Josephus' use of Dtr and the Chronicler. Take, for example, the large section covering the reigns of Rehoboam to Ahab (1 Kings 11:43-22:40//2 Chron 9:31b-18:34; Figure 9):

Figure 9: *Ant.* 8.212-420 and Parallels – Rehoboam to Ahab

Event	1 Kings	Josephus, *Ant.*	2 Chronicles
Rehoboam succeeds Solomon as King	11:43-12:5	8.212-214	9:31b-10:5
Rehoboam disregards the advice of the elders; Rehoboam's harsh answer to the people	12:6-15	8.215-218	10:6-15
The northern tribes revolt from Rehoboam	12:16-24	8.219-224	10:16-11:4
Jeroboam builds a sanctuary at Bethel	12:25-33	8.225-229	No parallel
A prophet rebukes Jeroboam at Bethel	13:10	8.230-235	No parallel
The false prophet of Bethel deceives an unnamed prophet (Josephus: "Jadon")	13:11-19	8.236-239	No parallel
The prophet (Jadon) disobeys God and is punished	13:20-34	8.240-242	No parallel
The false prophet reassures Jeroboam	No parallel	8.243-245	No parallel
Rehoboam fortifies his kingdom	No parallel	8.246-248	11:5-17
Rehoboam's wives	No parallel	8.249-250	11:18-23
Rehoboam's degeneracy	**14:21-24**	8.251-254	12:1
Shishak invades Palestine	**14:25-28**	8.254-255	12:2-4
Shishak sacks Jerusalem	**14:25-28**	8.256-262	12:5-9
The end of Rehoboam	**14:29-31**	8.263-265	12:10-16
Jeroboam sends his wife to consult the prophet Ahijah about their son's illness	14:1-6	8.266-269	No parallel
Ahijah foretells the doom of Jeroboam's line	14:7-20	8.270-273	No parallel
Jeroboam prepares for war with Abijah of Judah	15:1-2	8.274-275	13:1-3
Abijah's protest against Jeroboam's invasion	No parallel	8.276-281	13:4-12
Abijah's victory over Jeroboam	No parallel	8.282-284	13:13-22
Abijah's death	15:3-6	8.285	14:1
Asa, son of Maacha, succeeds Abijah	15:7-10	8.286	No parallel
Jeroboam is succeeded by Nadab	15:25-32	8.287-289	No parallel
The king of Ethiopia attacks Asa	No parallel	8.290-293	14:2-11
Asa's victory over the	No parallel	8.294	14:12-15

Ethiopians			
The admonition of the prophet Azariah	No parallel	8.295-297	15:1-19
The reign of Baasha of Israel	15:33-16:7	8.298-302	No parallel
Baasha attacks Ramah	**15:17**	8.303	16:1
Asa allies himself with the Syrians against Baasha	**15:18-24**	8.304-306	16:2-10
Death of Baasha and subsequent kings	16:8-10	8.307-308	No parallel
The end of Zimri of Israel	16:11-20	8.309-311	No parallel
The reign of Omri of Israel	16:21-28	8.312-313	No parallel
The end of Asa of Judah	**15:24//22:42**	8.314-315	16:11-14
Ahab of Israel marries Jezebel of Tyre	16:29-34	8.316-318	No parallel
Elijah cycle	17:1-19:21	8.319-354	No parallel
Ahab and Naboth's vineyard	**21:1-7**	8.355-358	No parallel
Naboth is killed through Jezebel's plot	**21:8-29**	8.359-363	No parallel
Ben-hadad of Syria besieges Ahab in Samaria	20:1-6	8.363-370	No parallel
Ahab is encouraged by a prophecy of victory over the Syrians	20:7-15	8.371-376	No parallel
Ahab's victory over Ben-hadad	20:16-22	8.377-378	No parallel
Ben-hadad again prepares for war with Ahab	20:23-25	8.379-380	No parallel
Ben-hadad encounters Ahab's force at Aphek	20:26-34	8.381-388	No parallel
A prophet rebukes Ahab for releasing Ben-hadad	20:35-43	8.389-392	No parallel
The reign of Jehoshaphat	No parallel	8.393-394	17:1-6
Jehoshaphat's administration and army	No parallel	8.395-397	17:7-19
Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab against the Syrians	22:2-5	8.398	18:1
Aram and Israel without war for three years	**22:1**	399-400	No parallel
The false prophets foretell victory for Ahab	22:6-14	8.401-404	18:4-11
Micaiah foretells Ahab's death	22:15-28	8.405-410	18:12-27
Defeat and death of Ahab	22:29-36	8.411-415	18:28-34
The fulfillment of	22:37-40	8.416-420	No parallel

Elijah's prophecy			

In sum, the above figures appear to support Downing's claim that Josephus'

method of conflation is rather simple. There is no evidence to suggest that Josephus

"unpicks" his sources and then "reassembles" them in conflation. Instead, Josephus

alternates between his sources, but *only* in large "chunks." Apparently, Josephus follows

a large section in one source, then moves to the other source and follows another large

section. The sequence he follows generally determines the wording.

Begg's Source-Critical Analysis of Ant. 8.212-420:

To date, Christopher Begg has produced the most comprehensive analysis of

Josephus' "rewriting" of the above Biblical account of the early divided monarchy (i.e., 1

Kings 12:1-22:40//2 Chron 10:1-18:34).[86] In this important work, Begg utilizes source-

and redaction-critical methods in his analysis of Josephus' writing (or, as Begg puts it,

"rewriting") of the early divided monarchy. Begg argues that Josephus utilizes varieties

of different biblical sources in his (re)writing, including Masoretic, Septuagintal, and

Targumic forms.[87] On whether one source takes the lead over the other, Begg argues that

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[86] Christopher Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420): Rewriting the Bible* (BETL 108; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993).

[87] Begg begins his work by stating the following: "...I wish to leave open the possibility of Josephus' utilization ...of all three of the 'Bibles' [Hebrew (proto-MT), Greek (LXX), an Aramaic Targum] just cited. ...*[A] priori* considerations do favor the likelihood that Josephus would both have been in a position to and had reasons to consult the Biblical text in the above three linguistic forms. ...Ultimately then one might speak, with due qualification, of a common Biblical storyline available to Josephus in composing 8,212-420" (*Josephus' Account*, 2-4). Later, he concludes that "the evidence of 8,212-420 suggests that for this segment of AJ, Josephus has a his primary source a text of Kings and Chronicles like that of 'LXX', but also utilized on a [*sic*] occasion a proto-MT Hebrew text. In addition, he had access to traditions now incorporated in the extant Targums, Talmuds and Midrashim" (276).

For more extensive treatments on the identification of the biblical sources utilized by Josephus, see Attridge, *Interpretation of Biblical History*, 29-38; L. Feldman, *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); and, A. Schalit, "Evidence of an Aramaic Source in

the data clearly suggests "that the historian did not opt to follow one source to the

exclusion of the other. Rather, he aims to give both sources their due via a maximal

utilization of their peculiar materials in his own account."[88] It is in this utilization of a

"common Biblical storyline" where Josephus exhibits a variety of editorial techniques.

These techniques fall into four general categories: 1) "Omissions"[89] (e.g., the elimination

of "repetition" or duplicate material in a particular source that typically gets abridged); 2)

"Rearrangements"[90] (i.e., Josephus tends to follow the order of 1 Kings [as opposed to 2

Chronicles], but occasionally will deviate from that order); 3) "Modifications"; and, 4)

"Additions". Begg further breaks down the "Modifications" category into three

techniques: a) "Terminological modifications"[91]; b) "Stylistic modifications"[92] (e.g.,

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Josephus' 'Antiquities of the Jews,'" *ASTI* 4 (1965): 163-185.

[88] Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 270.

[89] "The historian, e.g.. tends to abridge the *Vorlage* when this evidences 'repetition' of the same or similar happenings and or excessive circumstantiality. Josephus is likewise wont to dispense with elements of the Biblical account(s) that appear self-evident or might readily be supplied mentally by the reader. Again, he passes over, on various occasions, items not likely to be of interest to uninitiated Gentile readers, e.g. lists of Hebrew names or matters of cultic detail. Especially noteworthy are further Josephus' omissions of 'problem passages' of his Biblical material. ...Finally to be recalled under this heading is Josephus' consistent omission of Biblical 'source notices' for the kings of Judah and Israel – a natural procedure considering that he is basing himself directly on the 'Bible', not those earlier sources.
    "Josephus thus omits, on various grounds, quite a few elements which he (apparently) had before him in his sources. He is, however, by no means consistent in his omissions....As we shall see, such 'inconsistency' is characteristic for Josephus' application of all the procedures under discussion here" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 276-278)

[90] "For the most part, Josephus simply follows his sources in their arrangement of material, i.e., both within individual episodes and for the sequence of episodes. He does, however, allow himself occasional liberties in both respects. I noted above in discussion of Josephus' integration of the material of his two Biblical sources that he basically adopts the order of Kings, inserting material from Chronicles at appropriate junctures. Occasionally, however, one finds Josephus reordering and re-combining the sequence of happenings proper to Kings itself....
    "Also within a given unit Josephus will sometimes rearrange the Biblical disposition of the material. He does so both in discourse and narrative contexts" (278).

[91] "...Josephus rather consistently substitutes his own equivalents for a whole series of characteristic Biblical terms and formulae" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 279).

[92] "Josephus introduces a wide range of stylistic modifications in his reworking of the sources. He

replacement of parataxis in his sources); and, c) "Contentual modifications".[93] The

category of "Additions" is divided into eight subcategories: a) "Stylistic"[94]; b)

"Naming"[95]; c) "Elucidatory"[96]; d) "Additions from Gentile authors"[97]; e) "Connective"[98];

f) "Evaluative"[99]; g) "Psychologizing"[100]; and, h) "Moral-theological"[101]. Thus, Begg's

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replaces the monotonous parataxis of MT and LXX with multiple subordinate clauses in an effort to give his account a more elegant and flowing character. He likewise tends to substitute indirect for direct discourse. He transposes the Bible's vivid metaphors into their prosaic equivalents, another tendency he shares with the Targum. More generally, he constantly elucidates and makes more specific Scriptural formulations whose import is not immediately clear" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 279).

[93] "Josephus also modifies items of content found in the sources. Generally, these modifications would seem to be dictated by the historian's consciousness of the problematic character of a given item within its proximate or wider Biblical context" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 280).

[94] "Josephus frequently inserts items which serve to improve the style of the original. Under this heading mention may be made of his recurrent interpolation – both within and between units – of closing and/or transitional formulae designed to smooth over the Bible's often abrupt movement from one topic to another" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 280).

[95] "In a whole series of contexts, Josephus supplies names for figures the Bible (MT and LXX) leave anonymous..." (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 281).

[96] "A number of Josephus' additions provide supplementary indications concerning phenomena cited in the Biblical record with which Gentile readers would likely be unfamiliar" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 281).

[97] "Josephus likewise endeavors to make his telling of Biblical history more accessible (and credible) to his Gentile audience by incorporating excerpts from non-Jewish authors where these (purportedly) provide confirmation and/or supplementary information concerning events narrated in the Bible" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 282).

[98] "A large group of Josephus' additions in 8,212-420 consist of items which, in some way or other, make connections with other portions of his work, thereby enhancing the cohesion of the whole. Within this group, one may further distinguish between reminiscences of earlier episodes and foreshadowings of subsequent ones" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 282).

[99] "On several occasions, Josephus introduces explicitly evaluative comments concerning characters where the Bible leaves readers to form their own judgments" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 283).

[100] "In general Josephus' Biblical sources have little to say about the psychic states underlying characters' words and deeds. The historian, on the contrary, makes a regular point of filling this lacuna by inserting references to the feelings which prompt his personages to speak and act as they do or to the inner affects of another character's initiatives upon a given figure. In most instances these psychologizing additions are made *en passant*, via a brief phrase" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 283).

[101] "The final category of Josephan additions to be distinguished comprises the (politico-)moral and theological reflections which the historian works into his presentation over the course of 8,212-420. As with the preceding category, this class involves both longer and shorter passages. Josephus' shorter reflections typically take the form of parenthetical comments within the body of a given narrative...."

description of Josephus' "rewriting" of his Scriptural sources is much like Downing's

earlier treatment of the same subject. Leaving aside the difficult question of the precise

identification of the type(s) of Biblical sources utilized by Josephus, it is clear from

Begg's study, along with Downing's, that Josephus was an author who utilized written

source materials in a variety of ways, both through their expansion and condensation. On

the matter of "condensation," or "omission," it is worth noting that Josephus does not

typically eliminate large portions of his sources. Instead, he usually adapts them with

some modification or alteration.

        In sum, the above studies including this present one appear to confirm Josephus'

simple technique in bringing sources together. Most of the time, Josephus, in his

"rewriting" of the biblical texts, does not eliminate whole episodes contained his biblical

sources; he instead adapts them by modifying them or altering them for his narrative. One

technique he utilizes is the elimination of repetitive material (one could even deem these

as "doublets"). When Josephus follows the episodic order of one particular source within

an individual pericope, he tends to follow the wording of that source as well, over and

against the wording of the other source "before" him. In addition, Josephus tends to

paraphrase speech material found in his sources rather than eliminating it. Through this

present study of Josephus and analysis of Downing's and Begg's treatment of Josephus'

literary techniques, one begins to get a particular picture of a first century author bringing

sources together in a new narrative, an image of an ancient author who tends to expand

rather than eliminate.

Longer reflections, on the other hand, generally appear as prefaces or appendixes to a narrative" (Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 284).

V. Conclusion

The above analysis is not an exhaustive treatment of the methods of ancient writers: only four different Greek authors were investigated. These investigations are not thorough in and of themselves; they are preliminary treatments of a few ancient authors and their sources. However, this general analysis has revealed a few important characteristics of the above authors' adaptation of source material that can assist in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation:

1) The above authors tend to follow one source at a time. This we see most explicitly in Josephus' adaptation of Dtr and the Chronicler. In the case of the account of the caste systems in India, all three authors chiefly follow Megasthenes. It is only at the end of the pericope where they briefly refer to other authors. What we do not see in the above authors is a sort of "micro-conflation" where an author moves back and forth between sources *within* episodes. Only when a pericope/episode is concluded will the author move to another parallel source if he chooses. This may precisely have to do with the mechanics of conflating two or more sources. Given the non-use of writing tables and the difficulty of working with scrolls, both as sources and as writing surfaces, the above authors avoid following more than one source at a time.

2) If following a particular order of a parallel source, the above authors will also adapt the wording of that source. In other words, they never follow the *wording* of one source yet follow the *order* of events as outlined by another source in a parallel episode. This is consistent with the aforementioned simple method of conflation: one

source at a time is followed; if working with two or more sources, the followed order

and wording come from the same source.

3) We do not see a radical reordering of source material by any of the above authors.

The mechanics of working with a written exemplar in scroll form perhaps severely

limited what exactly could be accomplished. It becomes hard to imagine extensive

reworking of source material through a restructuring and reordering of sources given

the limitations of working with scrolls. These authors seem to reflect this

phenomenon, for the most part generally following the order of the materials as

presented in their source(s).

Figure 10: Diodorus, Strabo, and Arrian on Indian Castes

Diodorus 2.40.1-2.42.4 (Oldfather, LCL)	Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.39-51 (Jones, LCL)	Arrian, *Indica* 11.1-15.12 (Brunt, LCL)
"The whole multitude of the Indians is divided into seven castes (μέρη), the first of which is formed of the order of the philosophers (φιλοσόφων), which in number is smaller than the rest of the castes, but in dignity ranks first. For being exempt from any service to the state the philosophers are neither the masters nor the servants of the others. But they are called upon by the private citizens both to offer the sacrifices which are required in their lifetime and to perform the rites for the dead, as having proved themselves to be most dear to the gods and as being especially experienced in the matters that relate to the underworld, and for this service they receive both notable gifts and honours. Moreover, they furnish great services to the whole body of the Indians, since they are invited at the beginning of the year to the Great Synod and foretell to the multitude droughts and rains, as well as the favourable blowing of winds, and epidemics, and whatever else can be of aid to their auditors. For both the common folk and the king, by learning in advance what is going to take place, store up from time to time that of which there will be shortage and prepare beforehand from time to time anything that will be needed. And the philosopher who has erred in his predictions is subjected to no other punishment than obloquy and keeps silence for the remainder of his life." (2.40.1-3)	"[Megasthenes] says, then, that the population of India is divided into seven castes (μέρη): the one first in honour, but the fewest in number, consists of the philosphers (τοὺς φιλοσόφους); and these philosophers are used, each individually, by people making sacrifice to the gods or making offerings to the dead, but jointly by the kings at the Great Synod, as it is called, at which, at the beginning of the new year, the philosophers, one and all, come together at the gates of the king; and whatever each man has drawn up in writing or observed as useful with reference to the prosperity of either fruits or living beings or concerning the government, he brings forward in public; and he who is thrice found false is required by law to keep silence for life, whereas he who has proved correct is adjudged exempt from tribute and taxes." (15.1.39)	"All the Indians are divided into generally seven classes (γένεα). One consists of the sophists (οἱ σοφισταί); they are less numerous than the rest, but grandest in reputation and honour, for they are under no necessity to do any bodily labour, nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests on the sophists, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the common weal of the Indians. Whenever anyone sacrifices privately, one of the sophists directs him in the sacrifice, on the ground that otherwise it would not prove to be acceptable to the gods. Alone of the Indians they [the sophists] are expert in prophecy, and none save a sophist is allowed to prophesy. They prophesy about the seasons of the year and any public calamity; it is not their concern to prophesy on private matters to individuals, either because the art of prophecy does not condescend to petty affairs, or because it is undignified for the sophists to trouble about them. Anyone who has made three errors in prophecy does not suffer any harm but must keep silence in future, and not one will ever force the man to speak on whom sentence of silence has been passed. These sophists spend their time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine, but in summer, when the sun is strong, in the meadows and marsh lands under great trees, whose shade, according to Nearchus, reaches five plethra all round, and when are as large that as many as ten thousand men could take shade under one tree. The sophists eat produce in season and the bark of trees, a bark that is no less sweet and nutritious than palm dates. (11.1-8)
"The second caste is that of farmers (τῶν γεωργῶν), who, it would appear, are far more numerous than	"The second caste, [Megasthenes] says, is that of the farmers (τῶν γεωργῶν), who are not only the	"Second to them [the sophists] come the farmers (οἱ γεωργοί), who are the most numerous of the Indians;

the rest. These, being exempt from war duties and every other service to the state, devote their entire time to labour in the fields; and no enemy, coming upon a farmer in the country, would think of doing him injury, but they look upon the farmers as common benefactors and thereupon refrain from every injury to them. Consequently the land, remaining as it does unravaged and being laden with fruits, provides the inhabitants with a great supply of provisions. And the farmers spend their lives upon the land with their children and wives and refrain entirely from coming down into the city. For the land they pay rent to the king, since all India is royal land and no man of private station is permitted to possess any ground; and apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury." (2.40.4-5)	most numerous, but also the most highly respected, because of their exemption from military service and right of freedom in their farming; and they do not approach a city, either because of a public disturbance or on any other business; at any rate, he says, it often happens that at the same time and place some are in battle array and are in peril of their lives against the enemy, while the farmers are ploughing or digging without peril, the latter having the former as defenders. The whole of the country is of royal ownership; and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of their produce." (15.1.40)	they have no weapons and no concern for warfare, but they till the land and pay the taxes to the kings and the self-governing cities; and if there is internal war among the Indians, it is not lawful for them to touch these land workers, nor even to devastate the land itself; but while some are making war and killing each other as opportunity may serve, others close by are peacefully ploughing or picking fruits or pruning or harvesting." (11.9-10)
"The third division is that of the neatherds (τῶν βουκόλων) and shepherds (ποιμένων), and, in general, of all the herdsmen (τῶν νομέων) who do not dwell in a city or village but spend their lives in tents; and these men are also hunters (κυνηγοῦντες) and rid the country of both birds and wild beasts. And since they are practised in this calling and follow it with zest they are bringing India under cultivation, although it still abounds in many wild beasts and birds of every kind, which eat up the seeds sown by farmers." (2.40.6)	"The third caste is that of the shepherds (τῶν ποιμένων) and hunters (θηρευτῶν), who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, and to sell or hire out beasts of burden; and in return for freeing the land from the wild beasts and seed-picking birds, they receive proportionate allowances of grain from the king, leading, as they do, wandering and tent-dwelling life. No private person is permitted to keep a horse or elephant. The possession of either is a royal privilege, and there are men to take care of them." (15.1.41)	"The third class of Indians are the herdsmen (οἱ νομέες), who pasture sheep (οἱ ποιμένες) and cattle, and do not dwell in cities or in villages: they are nomads and get their living on the hillsides. They to pay taxes from their animals, and they hunt (θηρεύουσιν) birds and wild beasts in the country." (11.11)
[cf. 2.42.1-2]	The elephant hunt and description of other wild animals: 15.1.42-45; sources named: Onesicritus, Nearchus, Megasthenes, Aristobulus

"...Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue his account (λέγωμεν) from the point where I left off." (15.1.45) | [cf. 13.1-15.12] |
| "The fourth caste is that of the artisans (τῶν τεχνιτῶν); of these some are armourers and some fabricate for the farmers or certain | "After the hunters and the shepherds, he says, follows the fourth caste-the artisans (τοὺς ἐργαζομένους), the tradesmen (τὰς τέχνας), and the | "The fourth class is of artisans (τὸ δημιουργικόν) and shopkeepers (καπηλικὸν); they too perform public duties, and pay tax on the |

others the things useful for the services they perform. And they are not only exempt from paying taxes but they even receive rations from the royal treasury." (2.41.1)	day-labourers (τοὺς καπηλικούς); and of these, some pay tribute to the state and render serves prescribed by the state, whereas the armour-makers and ship-builders receive wages and provisions, at a published scale, from the king, for these work for him alone; and arms are furnished the soldiers by the commander-in-chief, whereas the ships are let out for hire to sailors and merchants by the admiral." (15.1.46)	receipts from their work except for those who make weapons of war and actually receive a wage from the community. In this class are the shipwrights and sailors, who ply on the rivers." (12.1)
"The fifth caste is that of the military (στρατιωτικόν), which is at hand in case of war; they are second in point of number and indulge to the fullest in relaxation and pastimes in the periods of peace. And the maintenance of the whole multitude of the soldiers and of the horses and elephants for use in war is met out of the royal treasury." (2.41.2)	"The fifth caste is that of the warriors (τῶν πολεμιστῶν), who, when they are not in service, spend their lives idleness and at drinking-bouts, being maintained at their expeditions quickly when need arises, since they bring nothing else of their own but their bodies." (15.1.47)	"The fifth class of Indians consists of the soldiers (οἱ πολεμισταί), next to the farmers in number: they enjoy the greatest freedom and most agreeable life. They are devoted solely to military activities. Others make their arms and provide their horses; others to serve in the camps, grooming their horses and polishing their arms, driving the elephants, and keeping the chariots in order and driving them. They fight so long as they have to fight, but in time of peace they make merry; and they receive so much pay from the community that they can easily support others from their pay." (12.2-4)
"The sixth caste is that of inspectors (τῶν ἐφόρων). These men inquire into and inspect everything that is going on throughout India, and report back to the kings or, in case the state to which they are attached has no king, to the magistrates." (2.41.3)	"The sixth is that of the inspectors (ἔφοροι), to whom is given to inspect what is being done and report secretly to the king, using the courtesans as colleagues, the city inspector using the city courtesans and the camp inspectors the camp courtesans; but the best and most trustworthy men are appointed to this office." (15.1.48)	"The sixth class of Indians are those called overseers (ἐπίσκοποι). They supervise (ἐφορῶσι) everything and report it to the king, where the Indians are governed by kings, or to the authorities, where they are self-governing. It is not lawful to make any false report to them; and no Indians was ever accused of such falsification." (12.5)
"The seventh caste is that of the deliberators (τὸ βουλεῦον) and councilors (συνεδρεῦον), whose concern is with the decisions which affect the common welfare. In point of number this group is the smallest, but in nobility of birth and wisdom the most worthy of admiration; for from their body are drawn the advisers for the kings and the administrators of the affairs of state and the judges of disputes, and,	"The seventh is that of the advisers (σύμβουλοι) and councilors (σύνεδροι) of the king, who hold the chief offices of state, the judgeships, and the administration of everything. (15.1.49a)	"The seventh class are those who deliberate about public affairs (οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι) with the king, or in self-governing cities with authorities. In number this class is small, but in wisdom and justice it is the most distinguished of all; it is from this class that they select their rulers, nomarchs, hyparchs, treasurers, generals, admirals, comptrollers, and supervisors of agricultural works."

speaking generally, they take their leaders and magistrates from among these men." (2.41.4)		(12.6-7)
"Such in general terms are the groups into which the body politic of the Indians is divided. Furthermore, no one is allowed to marry a person of another caste or to follow another calling or trade, as, for instance, that one who is a soldier should become a farmer, or an artisan should become a philosopher." (2.41.5)	"It is not legal for a man either to marry a wife from another caste or to change one's pursuit or work from one to another; nor yet for the same man to engage in several, except in case he should be one of the philosophers, for, Megasthenes says, the philosopher is permitted to do so on account of his superiority." (15.1.49b)	"To marry out of any class is unlawful—as, for instance, into the farmer class from the artisans, or the other way; nor again is it even lawful for one man to practise two crafts or to change from one class to another, as to turn farmer into shepherd, or shepherd from artisan. Only a sophist can be drawn from any class; for this way of life is not soft, but the hardest of all." (12.8-9)
Description of elephants: 2.42.1-2	[cf. 15.1.42-45]	The hunt of elephants and description of other wild animals: 13.1-15.12; sources named: Nearchus, Megasthenes.
[no parallel]	Further sub-castes within the seventh caste (15.1.49-51)	[no parallel]
"There are among the Indians also magistrates appointed for foreigners who take care that no foreigner shall be wronged; moreover, should any foreigner fall sick they bring him a physician and care for him in every other way, and if he dies they bury him and even turn over such property as he has left to his relatives. Again, their judges examine accurately matters of dispute and proceed rigorously against such as are guilty of wrongdoing. As for India, then, and its antiquities we shall be satisfied with what has been said." (2.42.3-4)	[no parallel]	[no parallel]

Figure 11: Diodorus, Strabo, and Arrian on Elephants and other Indian Fauna

Diodorus, 2.42.1-2 (Oldfather, LCL)	Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.42-45 (Jones, LCL)	Arrian, *Indica* 13.1-15.12 (Brunt, LCL)
[no parallel]	"The chase of the elephant is conducted as follows: they dig a deep ditch round a treeless tract about four or five stadia in circuit and bridge the entrance with a very narrow bridge; and then, letting loose into the enclosure three or four of their tamest females, they themselves lie in wait under cover in hidden huts. Now the wildest elephants do not approach by day, but they make the entrance one by one at night; and when they have entered, the men close the entrance secretly..."	"The Indians hunt wild animals in general the same way as the Greeks, but their way of hunting elephants is unique, like the animals themselves. They choose a level place, open to the sun's heat, and dig a ditch in a circle, large enough for a great army to camp in, about thirty feet broad and 24 deep... Within the enclosure they put three or four of the tamest females and leave only on entrance in the ditch by making a bridge over it... Now the wild elephants do not approach inhabited places by daylight, but at night they wander everywhere and feed in herds, following the largest and finest of their number, as cows follow bulls. When they get near the enclosure and hear the voice of the females and scent their presence, they charge to the enclosed place and, working round the outside edge of the ditch, find the bridge and shove their way over it into the enclosure..." (13.1-7)
[no parallel]	"...the boldest of the riders...creeps under the wild elephant and binds his feet together; and when this is done they command the tamed elephants to beat those whose feet have been bound until they fall to the ground; and when they fall, then men fasten their necks to those of the tamed elephants with thongs of raw ox-hide; and in order that the wild elephants, when they shake those who are attempting to mount them, may not shake them off, the men make incisions round their necks and put the thongs round at these incisions, so that through pain they yield to their bonds and keep quiet..."	"...the men dismount from their [tamed] elephants, tie together the feet of the wild elephants, which are now exhausted, and then order the tame elephants to punish the rest by repeated blows, till in distress they fall to the ground; they then stand by them, throw nooses round their necks and climb on them as they lie there. To prevent them tossing their drivers or doing them an injury, they make an incision round their necks with a sharp knife, and bind the noose round the cut, so that the sores makes them keep their head and neck still; if they were to turn round to do mischief, the wound beneath the rope would chafe them. So they keep quiet..." (13.11-13)
	"...they subdue them with hunger; and then they restore them with green cane and grass. After this the elephants are taught to obey commands, some through words of	"...The captives are led off to the villages and first of all given green stalks and grass to eat; from want of spirit they are not willing to eat anything; so the Indians range

	command and others through being charmed by tunes and drum beating...[S]ome elephants have even taken up their riders who had fallen from loss of blood in the fight and carried them safely out of the battle..." (15.1.42)	themselves round about them and lull them to sleep with songs, drums and cymbals, beating and singing...Some elephants, when their drivers have died in battle, have actually caught them up and carried them to burial; others have protected them where they lay or risked their own lives for the fallen..." (14.2-4)
"The country of the Indians also possesses a vast number of enormous elephants, which far surpass all others both in strength and size. Nor does this animal cover the female in a particular manner, as some say, but in the same way as horses and all other four-footed beasts; and their period of gestation is in some cases eighteen months at most. They bring forth, like horses, but one young for the most part, and the females suckle their young for six years. The span of life for most of them is about that of men who attain the greatest age, though some which have reached the highest age have lived two hundred years." (2.42.1-2)	"They copulate and bear young like horses, mostly in the spring. It is breeding-time for the male when he is seized with frenzy and becomes ferocious; at the same time he discharges a kind of fatty matter through the breathing-hole which he has beside his temples. And it is breeding-time for the females when this same passage is open. They are pregnant eighteen months at the most and sixteen at the least; and the mother nurses her young six years. Most of them live as long as very long-lived human beings, and some continue to live even to two hundred years, although they are subject to many diseases and are hard to cure. A remedy for eye diseases is to bathe their eyes with cow's milk; but for most diseases they are given dark wine to drink; and, in the case of wounds, melted butter is applied to them ...while ulcers are poulticed with swine's flesh."	"The elephants mate in the spring, like cattle and horses, when the breathing places by the temples of the females open and exhale; she gives birth after sixteen months at the least, eighteen at most; she has one foal, like a mare, which she suckles till its eight year. The longest-lived elephants survive to two hundred year, if they reach old age, though many die before that of disease. A remedy for affections of their eyes is pouring in cows' milk, for their other sicknesses a draught of dark wine, and for their wounds swine's flesh roasted and plastered on. These are remedies the Indians apply to them" (14.7-9)
	"Onesicritus says that they live as long as three hundred years and in rare cases even as long as five hundred..."	[No parallel]
	"Nearchus says that in the hunt for them foot-traps also are put at places where tracks meet...[He also says] that a woman is highly honoured if she receives an elephant as a gift from a lover. But this statement is not in agreement with that of the man [i.e., Megasthenes (15.1.41)] who said that horse and elephant were possessed by kings alone."	[No parallel]
	[No parallel]	"The Indians regard the tiger as much stronger than the elephant. Nearchus says that he had only seen a tiger's skin but not a tiger, but that

		by Indian accounts the tiger is equal in size to the largest horse..." (15.1)
	"Nearchus says that the skins of gold-mining ants are like those of leopards."	"As for the ants, Nearchus says that he himself saw none of the sort which some writers have described as native India but that he did see many of their skins brought into the Macedonian camp." (15.4)
	"But Megasthenes speaks of these ants as follows: that among the Derdae, ...there is a plateau..., and that below it are gold mines, of which the miners are ants, animals that are no smaller than foxes...They dig holes in winter and heap up the earth at the mouths of the holes, like moles; and the gold-dust requires but little smelting...(15.1.44)	"Megasthenes, however, rounds that the story told of the ants is true: these ants dig up gold, not indeed for the gold itself, but they naturally burrow in the earth to make hiding holes, just as our small ants excavate a little earth; but these ants, which are bigger than foxes, also dig up earth proportionate to their size; the earth is auriferous, and the Indians get their gold from it. Megasthenes, however, merely recounts nearsay (ἀκοήν), and as I have no more accurate information to record on the subject I readily pass over the tale about the ants." (15.5-7)
	[No parallel]	"Nearchus recounts as a kind of marvel that parrots are found in India, and describes the sort of bird a parrot is and how it utters a human voice...For should only say what everyone knows [about the apes], that there are beautiful apes." (15.8-9)
	"But since, in my account of the hunters and wild beasts, I have mentioned what both Megasthenes and others have said, I must go on to add the following. Nearchus wonders at the number of the reptiles and their viciousness...[I]f the greater part of the multitude of reptiles were not destroyed by the waters, the country would be depopulated; and that the smallness of some of them is troublesome as well as the huge size of others, the small ones because it is difficult to guard against them, and the huge ones because of their strength, inasmuch as vipers (ἐχίδνας) even sixteen cubits long are to be seen; and that charmers go around who are believed to cure wounds, and that	"Nearchus also says that snakes were hunted there, dappled and swift...Nearchus adds that Alexander had collected and kept by him all the Indians most skilled in medicine, and had it announced in camp that anyone bitten by a snake was to go to the royal tent. These same men were physicians for other diseases and injuries as well. But there are not many illnesses in India since the seasons are temperate there. If anyone were seriously ill, they would inform the sophists (σοφιστῇσιν), who were thought to use divine help to cure what could be cured." (15.10-12)

	this is almost the only art of medicine, for the people do not have many diseases on account of the simplicity of their diet and abstinence from wine; but that if diseases arise, they are cured by the Wise Men (σοφιστάς)."	
	"But Aristobulus says that he saw none of the animals of the huge size that are everywhere talked about...He says that you have many much smaller vipers, and asps (ἀσπίδας), and large scorpions, but that none of these is so troublesome as the slender little snakes (ὀφείδια)...He says further that crocodiles...are to be found in the Indus, and also that most of the other animals are the same as those which are found in the Nile except the hippopotamus. Onesicritus, however, says that this animal too is found in India. And Aristobulus says that on account of the crocodiles no sea-fish swim up into the Nile except the *thrissa*, the *cestreus*, and the dolphin, but that there is a large number of different fish in the Indus...So much, then, is reported about the wild animals. Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue his account from the point where I left off..." (15.1.45)	[No parallel]

Figure 12: Summary of Description of Seven Castes/Classes of India:

Diodorus 2.40.1-2.42.4	Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.39-51	Arrian, *Indica* 11.1-15.12
Population of India is divided into seven "castes" [μέρη]: 1. "philosophers": smallest in number; first in dignity • exempt from service to the state • offer sacrifices and perform rites for the dead • predict the well-being of the people to the Great Synod at the beginning of each year • An erring prophet keeps silent for the rest of his life [no parallel]	Population of India is divided into seven "castes" [μέρη]: 1. "philosophers": first in honor; fewest in number [no parallel] • offer sacrifices to the gods; make offerings to the dead • predict in writing the prosperity of the people in public • being found false on three occasions required silence [no parallel]	Population of India is divided into seven "classes" [γένεα]: 1. "sophists": less numerous than the rest; grandest in reputation and honor • exempt from bodily labor and contributions to the state • offer sacrifices to the gods • prophesy about the seasons of the year and other public matters • making three errors in prophecy requires future silence • the philosophers' out-of-doors lifestyle
2. "farmers": most numerous • exempt from war duties and other state service; devote their entire time to farming • immune to injury from enemy • farmers rent their land from the king since all land is "royal," paying a "fourth part" into the royal treasury	2. "farmers": most numerous; most highly respected • exempt from military service and have the right to farm freely • can farm without peril during war • a fourth part of their produce is paid in rent since all land is of "royal ownership"	2. "farmers": most numerous • possess no weapons and have no concern for warfare • farm peacefully during war [no parallel]
3. "neatherds," "shepherds," and "herdsmen": [see below] • live outside of the city, dwelling in tents • hunt seed-eating birds and wild beasts [no parallel]	3. "shepherds" and "hunters" who hunt, breed cattle, and sell/rent beasts of burden: • free the land from wild beasts and seed-picking birds • lead a wandering and tent-dwelling life [see above] • private individuals are prohibited from possessing a horse or elephant	3. "herdsmen" who pasture sheep and cattle: [see below] • do not dwell in the cities or villages; are nomads • hunt birds and wild beasts [no parallel]
4. "artisans," some of whom are manufacture armor and farming tools: • exempt from paying taxes • receive rations from the royal treasury	4. "artisans," "tradesmen," and "day laborers": • some from this caste pay tribute to the state and render services for the state • armor makers and shipbuilders receive wages and provisions from king	4. "artisans" and "shopkeepers": • all but armor makers pay tax on their receipts • caste includes shipbuilders and sailors
5. "military" caste: • second most numerous • lead a relaxed and peaceful life most of the time • maintained, along with horses and elephants, out of the royal treasury	5. the "warriors": [no parallel] • lead idle life, but can quickly mobilize [no parallel]	5. the "soldiers": • next to the farmers in number • lead a free and agreeable life • spend time maintaining arms and other military items, including horses and elephants; paid well from the community
6. "inspectors": • inspect and inquire about "everything" and report to the kings or magistrates [no parallel] [no parallel]	6. "inspectors": • inspect what is being done and report secretly to the king [no parallel] • best and most trustworthy are appointed to this office	6. "overseers": • supervise/inspect everything and report to the king or to other authorities • illegal to make a false report to them [no parallel]
7. "deliberators" and "councilors": • smallest in number, but most noble in birth and wisdom • royal advisors, state administrators, judges, and other leaders and magistrates are from this caste • intercaste marriage is prohibited, along with following another trade [no parallel]	7. "advisers" and "councilors of the king": [no parallel] • hold chief offices of the state, the judgeships, and the "administration of everything" • intercaste marriage is prohibited, along with following another trade • only philosophers may engage in several trades	7. those who "deliberate about public affairs with the king or other authorities: • small-sized class but most distinguished in wisdom and justice • from this class are selected rulers, nomarchs, hyparchs, treasurers, generals, admirals, etc. • interclass marriage is prohibited along with the practice of more than one craft • only a sophist may be drawn from any class

Figure 13: *P.Oxy.* 1610 and Diodorus Compared

Chart One: *P.Oxy.* 1610, frs. 3-5//Diodorus 11.59.3 (Oldfather, LCL)	
Fr. 3 [.]ε.[. .]ω[. .] εκ[εινον μεν υπο της πολε[ως ητιμασμενον τ[ην δε πολιν δια τ[α]ς ε κεινου πραξε[ις] της μεγιστης τιμης υπο των Ελληνων αξι ωθεισαν. η μεγαλην [ηγεμονι?]αν οιον τ. Frs. 4+5 . . . . . σο]φ[ωτατην και διακι?]οτα[την . . . .]τα[τ]η[ν] κ[αι χαλεπ]ωτατ]ην [γενο μενη]ν προς ι εκε[ινον οι δ υ]πολαμβανου[σιν οτι ει]περ εβουλη[θη εκ? δο]υναι τη[ν ηγε μονια?]ν απα[.	[11.59.3] διόπερ ὅταν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῦ θεωρήσωμεν, καὶ σκοποῦντες τὰ κατὰ μέρος εὕρωμεν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠτιμασμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις ἐπαιρομένην, εἰκότως τὴν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι τῶν ἁπασῶν πόλεων σοφωτάτην καὶ ἐπιεικεστάτην χαλεπωτάτην πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὑρίσκομεν γεγενημένην.
Fr. 3-5: "...that while he was dishonoured by the city, the city owing to his achievements was held by the Greeks to be worthy of the highest honour, which (city founded) ...a great empire...(the city) which was the wisest and justest became the most... and severe to him. Some suppose that, even if he wished to surrender the hegemony,...."	[11.59.3] Consequently, when we survey the magnitude of his deeds and, examining them one by one, find that such a man suffered disgrace at the hands of his city, whereas it was by his deeds that the city rose to greatness, we have good reason to conclude that the city which is reputed to rank highest among all cities in wisdom and fair-dealing acted towards him with great cruelty.

Chart Two: *P.Oxy.* 1610 fr. 8//Diodorus 11.60.4 (Oldfather, LCL)	
Fr. 8 παραθ]αλα[ττιων καλο]υμενω[ν πολε ων οσ]αι μεν εκ τ[ης Ελλα]δος ησα[ν α πω]κισμεναι π[αρα]χρημ[α] συν[επεισε	[11.60.4] πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὴν Καρίαν, τῶν <u>παραθαλαττίων πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπωκισμέναι,</u> ταύτας <u>παραχρῆμα συνέπεισεν</u> ἀποστῆναι τῶν Περσῶν, ὅσαι δ᾽ ὑπῆρχον δίγλωττοι καὶ φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι Περσικάς, βίαν προσάγων ἐπολιόρκει προσαγαγόμενος δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν πόλεις, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ πείσας προσελάβετο.
Fr. 8: "...of the so-called <u>coast cities those which had been founded from Greece he at once persuaded (to revolt).</u>"	[11.60.4] So sailing with the entire fleet to Caria <u>he at once succeeded in persuading</u> the <u>cities on the coast</u> which had been settled from Greece to revolt from the Persians, but as for the cities whose inhabitants spoke two languages and still had Persian garrisons, he had recourse to force and laid siege to them; then, after he had brought over to his side the cities of Caria, he likewise won over by persuasion those of Lycia.

Chart Three: *P.Oxy.* 1610 frs. 9+10+53//Diodorus 11.60.6 (Oldfather, LCL)	

Frs. 9 +10+53:
 	
 [. . . . . . . Κιμων πυν]
 [θανομενος το]ν τ[ων
 [Περσων στολο]ν περι
 [την Κυπρον συ]ντετα
 [χθαι διακοσι]αις πεν[
 [τηκοντα π]ρ[ος]ll τρια[
 [κοσιας κ]αι τετ[ταρ[α
 [κοντα] παραταχ[θει
 [σ]ας δε πολυν χρονο[ν
 πολλας μεν των κ[ιν   . . .
 δυνευουσων βαραβα[ρι   λην[
 κων νεων διεφθε[ι   λα . [
 [ρ]εν. εκατον δ αυτοις   και . [
 [α]νδρασιν [ε]ιλε ζωγρη   πατ[
 [σας τ]ον π[. . . . .]ων   τι τω[
                        τω[
                        τω[
	[11.60.6] Κίμων δὲ πυνθανόμενος τὸν στόλον τῶν Περσῶν διατρίβειν περὶ τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐναυμάχησε διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα. γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς διέφθειραν, πλείους δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλον.

Frs. 9 + 10 + 53: "(Cimon attacked, perceiving) that the Persian fleet was drawn up off Cyprus, with two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. After they had opposed each other for a considerable time, he destroyed many of the barbarians' ships which ran into danger and captured a hundred of them with the crews, taking alive..."	[11.60.6] And when Cimon learned that the Persian fleet was lying off Cyprus, sailing against the barbarians he engaged them in battle, pitting two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. A sharp struggle took place and both fleets fought brilliantly, but in the end the Athenians were victorious, having destroyed many of the enemy ships and captured more than one hundred together with their crews.

Chart Four: *P.Oxy*. 1610 frs. 11+12+13//Diodorus 11.61.3-5 (Oldfather, LCL)	
Fr. 11: [. . . . . . . τον με]ν [στρατηγο]ν αυτων [Φερενδατη]ν αδελ [φιδουν οντ]α του βασ[ι [λεως εν τηι] σκηνηι [Frs. 12+13: [. . . . .]ε [. .] διετελ[ουν ο]ντες. [ωσ]τε νομιζοντες α πο της ηπειρ[ου] την εφοδον αυτ[οις γεγ]ο νεναι των π[ο]λεμι ων προς τα[ς] ναυ[ς] ε φευγον υπο[λ]αμβα νοντες αυτοις ει[ν]αι φιλιας ου δη π[ο]λλοι μεν υπο των κατα λειφθεντων εκει φυλακων απεθνη[ι] [σκον] εν τηι νυκτι [πο]λλοι δε ζωντες η λισκοντο περιπιπτον τες τοις Ελλη[σιν] δια την απορι[α]ν οπου τ[ρ]απ[ο]ι[ντο] ι και τον [ε]ξ[αιφνης] ι αυτοις ε [πιπεσοντα φοβ?]ον [. . . . .]ατα	[11.61.3] ταραχῆς δὲ μεγάλης γενομένης παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κίμωνα πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ἕτερον Φερενδάτην, ἀδελφιδοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καταλαβόντες ἐφόνευσαν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὓς μὲν ἔκτεινον, οὓς δὲ κατετραυμάτιζον, πάντας δὲ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιθέσεως φεύγειν ἠνάγκασαν, καθόλου δ' ἔκπληξις ἅμα καὶ ἄγνοια τοιαύτη κατεῖχε τοὺς Πέρσας, ὥσθ' οἱ πλείους τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους αὐτοῖς οἵτινες ἦσαν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον. [11.61.4] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως, τὸ σύνολον μηδ' ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πεζὴν στρατιὰν πεπεισμένοι· τοὺς δὲ Πισίδας, ὄντας ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας, ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν μετὰ δυνάμεως. διὸ καὶ νομίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν ἐπιφορὰν εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ὡς πρὸς φιλίας ἔφευγον. [11.61.5] τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀσελήνου καὶ σκοτεινῆς συνέβαινε τὴν ἄγνοιαν πολὺ μᾶλλον αὔξεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τἀληθὲς δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν.
Fr. 11: "...(they killed) their general Pherendates, who was the king's nephew, in his tent." Fr. 12 + 13: "...Hence, thinking that their enemies' attack was from the land, they fled to the ships, expecting these to be on their own side. There many of them were killed in the night by the guards who had been left behind on the spot, while many were taken alive, falling into the hands of the Greeks through their ignorance which way to turn and the fear which had suddenly overtaken them."	[11.61.3] A great tumult arose among the Persians, and the soldiers of Cimon cut down all who came in their way, and seizing in his tent Pherendates, one of the two generals of the barbarians and a nephew of the king, they slew him; and as for the rest of the Persians, some they cut down and others they wounded, and all of them, because of the unexpectedness of the attack, they forced to take flight. In a word, such consternation as well as bewilderment prevailed among the Persians that most of them did not even know who it was that was attacking them. [11.61.4] For they had no idea that the Greeks had come against them in force, being persuaded that they had no land army at all; and they assumed that it was the

	Pisidians, who dwelt in neighbouring territory and were hostile to them, who had come to attack them. Consequently, thinking that the attack of the enemy was coming from the mainland, they fled to their ships in the belief they were in friendly hands. [11.61.5] And since it was a dark night without a moon, their bewilderment was increased all the more and not a man was able to discern the true state of affairs.

Chart Five: *P.Oxy.* 1610 frs. 15+16//Diodorus 11.69.1 (Oldfather, LCL)	
Fr. 15: [. . . . . .τ?]ους [[. . .λογχ?]οφορους ω[v [. . . . . .]ων ετυγχα[[vεν ο A]ρταξερξης [[αμα μ]εν αυτος κατα [σχειν? τ]ην βασιλειαν [βουλο?μ]ενος. αμα δε [δεδιω?]ς μη πραγ [μα Fr. 16: [. . . . . .αvε]κοιvου [το? την . . . .] . ιv προς [τον ευνουχον] Μιθρι [δατην κατα]κ[ο]ιμι [στην του βασιλε]ως [. . . . .]v	[11.69.1] Του δ' ενιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν ήρχε Λυσίθεοσ, εν 'Ρώμη δ' ύπατοι καθειστήκεσαν Λεύκιος Ουαλέριος Ποπλικόλας και Τίτος Αιμίλιος Μάμερκοσ. επι δε τούτων κατα την 'Ασίαν 'Αρτάβανος, το μεν γένος 'Υρκανιοσ, δυνάμενος δε πλείστον παρα τω βασιλεί Ξέρξη και των δορυφόρων αφηγούμενοσ, έκρινεν ανελείν τον Ξέρξην και την βασιλείαν εις εαυτον μεταστήσαι. <u>ανακοινωσάμενος</u> δε <u>την</u> επιβουλην προς <u>Μιθριδάτην τον</u> <u>ευνούχον,</u> ος ην <u>κατακοιμιστης</u> του <u>βασιλέως</u> και την κυριωτάτην έχων πίστιν, άμα δε και συγγενης ων 'Αρταβάνου και φίλος υπήκουσε προς την επιβουλήν.
Frs. 15+16: "...the spearmen, of whom Artaxerxes happened to be..., being at the same time anxious to obtain the kingdom himself and afraid that ...<u>be communicated the</u> (plot) <u>to the eunuch Mithridates, the king's chamberlain.</u>"	[11.69.1] With the passing of this year, in Athens Lysitheus was archon, and in Rome the consuls elected were Lucius Valerius Publicola and Titus Aemilius Mamercus. During this year, in Asia Artabanus, an Hyrcanian by birth, who enjoyed the greatest influence at the court of King Xerxes and was captain of the royal body-guard, decided to slay Xerxes and transfer the kingship to himself. He <u>communicated the</u> plot <u>to Mithridates the eunuch, who was the king's</u> chamberlain and enjoyed his supreme confidence, and he, since he was also a relative of Artabanus as well as his friend, agreed to the plot.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TWO-GOSPEL (NEO-GRIESBACH) HYPOTHESIS

I. The Current State of the Two-Gospel (Neo-Griesbach) Hypothesis

William R. Farmer's seminal book, *The Synoptic Problem*,[1] succeeded in accomplishing at least two very important things: First, it revived the Owen-Griesbach theory on synoptic relationships that postulated the priority of Matthew, Luke's use of Matthew, and Mark's subsequent conflation of Matthew and Luke. This theory originated some two centuries earlier with Henry Owen and J. J. Griesbach, waning with the decline of F. C. Baur and the *Religionsgeschichte* school in the mid to late nineteenth century. Second, it clearly and rightly demonstrated that the Synoptic Problem was still just that: *a problem*. Farmer illustrated that many of the arguments for the Holtzmann-Streeter support for Markan priority were rooted less in results of source-critical analysis and more in the political and ecclesial climates of Europe.[2] Perhaps, then, Farmer's greatest contribution to Synoptic scholarship at that point was reinvigorating Synoptic source-critical discussion.[3]

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[1] New York: Macmillan, 1964; reprinted Dillsboro, NC: Western North Carolina Press, 1976.

[2] See especially Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 36-47, 118-198. See also John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, "The Jesus of History and the History of Dogma: Theological Currents in the Synoptic Problem," in *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 271-328.

[3] David L. Dungan has recently stated the following about Farmer's contribution to Synoptic Problem scholarship: "In what was by far the most thorough account [of the history of the Synoptic Problem] to date, Farmer not only identified and accounted for the main figures and theories in that history – mostly German and English – he also documented the repeated occurrence of hypothetical conjectures

As a result of Farmer's "revival" of the Griesbach hypothesis (and consequently a

"revival" of source-critical debate), partially through profound critique of Markan

priority, the Two-Gospel (Neo-Griesbach) Hypothesis (2GH) has emerged as the most

formidable alternative to the Holtzmann/Streeter legacy, i.e., the Two-Document

Hypothesis (2DH). Until his death in 2000, Farmer led a significant group of scholars: the

Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies (hereafter the "Research

Team"). This group continues to defend the validity of the 2GH through the publication

of their research.[4] Beginning with the assumption of Matthean priority, this group of

scholars continues to demonstrate in detail both aspects of the 2GH: 1) Luke's use of

Matthew (and other "non-Matthean tradition[s]"[5]); and, 2) Mark's use (conflation) of

Matthew and Luke.

Advocates of the 2GH have described the theory in a number of different ways:

Farmer, in "reviving" the Owen-Griesbach theory, argued that the data supported the

notion that Matthew was "copied by Luke, and that Mark was secondary to both Matthew

and Luke, and frequently combined their respective texts."[6] This conclusion was, for

Farmer, a final "step" in a series of 16 "steps" or theses of an argument in support of the

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that began with no evidence whatsoever to support them and later were turned into unquestioned axioms.
He discovered eclectic and nebulous hypotheses that were based on erroneous logic and maintained by
sloppy methodology. Most damning of all, Farmer documented the repeated use of intimidation to suppress
scholarly opposition when scientific arguments failed" (*A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the
Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels* [New York: Doubleday, 1999] 372).

[4] A. J. McNicol, ed., *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew*. Their second (and final?)
volume on Mark's use of Matthew and Luke is presently being completed and should be published by 2000
– David B. Peabody, with Allan J. McNicol and Lamar Cope, eds., *Beyond the Impasse of Markan Priority.
Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke: A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for
Gospel Studies* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000).

[5] See McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 25-28.

[6] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 227.

revived Owen-Griesbach theory.[7] Continuing the ground breaking work of Farmer, David

Dungan argued in 1970 that it is best to understand Mark as an "abridgement" of

Matthew and Luke.[8] In 1984, at the "Jerusalem Symposium on the Interrelations of the

Gospels," Farmer continued to articulate the "Two-Gospel" Hypothesis (a term coined

just prior to the conference by Bernard Orchard). In his essay outlining the theory,

Farmer argued that the 2GH could be supported by the tradition of the early church, a

plausible understanding of Mark's purpose in its posterior position, and the literary

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[7] The "steps" of Farmer's argument are as follows, and are taken from pp. 202-227 of *The Synoptic Problem*: Step One: "The similarity between Matthew, Mark, and Luke is such as to justify the assertion that they stand in some kind of literary relationship to one another" (202); Step Two: "There are eighteen and only eighteen fundamental ways in which three documents, among which there exists some kind of direct literary dependence, may be related to one another" (208); Step Three: "While it is possible to conceive of an infinite number of variations of these eighteen basic relationships by positing additional hypothetical documents, these eighteen should be given first consideration" (209); Step Four: "Only six out of eighteen basic hypothetical arrangements are viable" (208); Step Five: "There are isolable and objectively definable categories of literary phenomena which have played a prominent role in the history of the Synoptic Problem which when properly understood are more readily explicable when Mark is placed third than when either Matthew or Luke is placed third" (211); Step Six: "The phenomena of agreement and disagreement in the respective order and content of material in each of the Synoptic Gospels constitute a category of literary phenomena which is more readily explicable on a hypothesis which places Mark third with Matthew and Luke before him than on any alternative hypothesis" (211-212); Step Seven: "The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark constitute a second category of literary phenomena which is more readily explicable on a hypothesis where Mark is regarded as third with Matthew and Luke before him than on any alternative hypothesis" (215); Step Eight: "There exists a positive correlation between agreement in order and agreement in wording among the Synoptic Gospels which is most readily explicable on the hypothesis that Mark was written after Matthew and Luke and is the result of a redactional procedure in which Mark made use both of Matthew and Luke" (217); Step Nine: "It is possible to understand the redactional process through which Mark went, on the hypothesis that he composed his gospel based primarily on Matthew and Luke" (219); Step Ten: "The most probable explanation for the extensive agreement between Matthew and Luke is that the author of one made use of the work of the other" (220); Step Eleven: "The hypothesis that Luke made use of Matthew is in accord with Luke's declaration in the prologue to his Gospel concerning his purpose in writing" (221); Step Twelve: "Assuming that there is direct literary dependence between Matthew and Luke, internal evidence indicates that the direction of dependence is that of Luke upon Matthew" (223); Step Thirteen: "The weight of external evidence is against the hypothesis that Matthew was written after Luke" (224); Step Fourteen: "The weight of external evidence is against the hypothesis that Matthew was written after Mark" (225); Step Fifteen: "That Mark was written after both Matthew and Luke is in accord with the earliest and best external evidence on the question" (225); and, Step Sixteen: "A historico-critical analysis of the Synoptic tradition, utilizing both literary-historical and form-critical canons of criticism, supports a hypothesis which recognizes that Matthew is in may respects secondary in the life situation of Jesus, and the primitive Palestinian Christian community, but that this Gospel was nonetheless copied by Luke, and that Mark was secondary to both Matthew and Luke, and frequently combined their respective texts" (227).

[8] David L. Dungan, "Mark – The Abridgement of Matthew and Luke," in *Jesus and Man's Hope*, vol. 1 (ed. D. G. Buttrick; Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970), 51-97.

evidence that "confirms that Mark used both Matthew and Luke."[9] Advocates of the 2GH

argue for the validity of their theory not just based on its perceived power to best explain

the observable Synoptic data, but that the theory is the "solution" that makes the most

pastoral and theological sense.[10]

II. The Compositional Techniques as Described by Advocates of the 2GH

The fundamental assumption of the 2GH is the priority of Matthew. Hence, given

that the focus of this dissertation is on compositional practices and techniques, the other

two assumptions of the 2GH will be described and analyzed, namely Luke's use of

Matthew and Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke.

Luke's Use of Matthew (and "Non-Matthean Tradition[s]")

In 1970 Dungan rightly conceded that at that time there existed no "careful

discussion of Luke-Acts along Griesbachian lines in the modern literature on Luke."[11] As

a partial attempt to fill this lacuna, Farmer offered a brief summary of Luke's

compositional techniques on the 2GH at the 1984 Jerusalem Symposium:

> In its general construction, Luke's Gospel seems to follow Matthew's, differing
> mainly in the way he handles the discourses of Jesus. Matthew arranges most of
> Jesus' teaching into several lengthy discourses. Luke takes over some opening
> units from each of Matthew's discourses, keeping them in the same relative order
> in his account except for the discourse on the parables and the discourse on the

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[9] W. R. Farmer, "The Two-Gospel Hypothesis: The Statement of the Hypothesis," in Dungan, *Interrelations*, 125-156, quote from 132.

[10] See W. R. Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus*.

[11] Dungan, "Mark – The Abridgement," 90.

apostolic mission, the order of which he reverses. Other sayings from these several discourses which Luke takes over into his account from Matthew are either given appropriate settings in his narrative or are worked together thematically with sayings material from other sources in his great Central Section (9:52-18:14). In reading Luke's account one can skip from 9:1 to 18:31. If one skips over this section his narrative moves along much more efficiently over essentially the same ground covered by Matthew. There is Jesus with John in the Jordan Valley. Then there is the ministry in Galilee. Finally there is the climatic account of Jesus' passion in Jerusalem.[12]

Beginning in 1990, the Research Team met regularly, including periodic meetings at the Society of Biblical Literature, primarily to discuss Luke's use of Matthew.[13] As a result, in 1996 the Research Team published their comprehensive description of Luke's use of Matthew.[14] Like Farmer's pioneering work in 1964, *Luke's Use of Matthew* was a groundbreaking work in that it is, to date, the only detailed and complete treatment of Luke's compositional activity on the 2GH.

The Research Team approached their analysis of Luke's use of Matthew by "[w]orking as an interdisciplinary team using impartial methods, taking Mark completely

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[12] Farmer, "Two-Gospel Hypothesis," 152.

[13] See the following articles from the *SBL Seminar Papers*: David B. Peabody, "Repeated Language in Matthew: Clues to the Order and Composition of Luke and Mark," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 30. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 647-686; Lamar Cope, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Composition of Luke According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 98-120; Lamar Cope, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Composition of Luke According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis [2]," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 303-333; Lamar Cope, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Composition of Luke According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis [3]," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 516-573; and Lamar Cope, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Composition of Luke According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis [4]," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 636-687.

[14] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*. In 1976, Bernard Orchard attempted to explain Luke's use of Matthew, but not in the same detail as undertaken by the Research Team (see Bernard Orchard, *Matthew, Luke and Mark* [Manchester: Koinonia Press, 1976]). While Farmer commended Orchard's study in 1977 as "a satisfactory explanation of Luke's use of Matthew (with the Griesbach hypothesis as premise)," it did not "offer a detailed redaction-critical analysis of Luke on the Griesbach hypothesis. The task has yet to be done" (William Farmer, "Modern Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," *NTS* 23 [1977] 283).

out of the picture and dispensing with Q...."[15] As a result, the Research Team was able to

identify Luke's "sequential" use of Matthew and the three distinct types of compositional

techniques employed by him:

> In Lk [Luke] 1-2, Luke selected some elements of Mt [Matthew] 1-2 and
> combined them with non-Matthean traditions to create his Birth and Infancy
> Section. In Lk 3-9, Luke began following closely both the order and the content of
> Matthew, from Mt 3, the preaching of John the Baptist, down to Mt 18, a speech
> of Jesus dealing with intra-community discipline. However, Luke did not
> simplistically adopt the order of Matthew's pericopes from Mt 3 to 18. Rather, he
> created his narrative by moving forward through Matthew to a certain point and
> then – still following his own narrative agenda – *went back* to an earlier part of
> Matthew and proceeded to work his way forward in Matthew again. He repeated
> this procedure a number of times until he used most of the material in Matthew
> down to Mt 18 (a speech of Jesus dealing with community discipline). Here Luke
> stopped his method of successive utilization of Matthew stories and sayings in
> order to create a lengthy teaching section loosely set against the backdrop of Jesus
> traveling toward Jerusalem (Lk 10:1-19:27). Known as the Lukan Travel
> Narrative, the method Luke followed here was to weave together sayings taken
> from the major speeches of Jesus in Matthew, mostly in the order in which the
> sayings occur within each speech in Matthew, around a number of themes
> appropriate for Christians in the Hellenistic world.
>
> Finally, toward the end of the Travel Narrative at Lk 18:15, Luke returns
> to the narrative order of Matthew's Gospel. At this point, Luke mostly keeps in
> step with Matthew's narrative order until just before the end, when he branches
> off to create a smooth transition into the Acts narrative.
>
> Thus we have described three distinctly different ways in which Luke has
> largely followed Matthew's order.[16]

Thus, as Luke composes his gospel (which is divided into seven parts), he utilizes

three "distinctly different" compositional techniques in adapting Matthew:

1. Luke's "cyclic progression" through Matthew (Luke 3:1-9:50): Luke is "moving

   forward and going back again, selecting Matthean units and combining them with

   materials of his own to create his chronologically oriented narrative."[17]

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[15] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 12.

[16] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 14 (emphasis original).

[17] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 21.

2. Luke's depiction of "Jesus giving a series of teachings loosely based on a 'Journey

   toward Jerusalem' motif" (Luke 9:51-19:27): this section is comprised of the

   following: a) "some of the remaining narrative units in Matthew – which he used in

   Matthew's general order – plus sayings omitted from units used previously"; b)

   "sayings from all of Matthew's sayings collections – which Luke interspersed

   throughout Lk 10-19 mostly in the same order these sayings occur within Matthew's

   speeches (i.e., but not necessarily in the general order of the speeches as they occur in

   Matthew)"; and, c) "non-Matthean traditions worked into the scenes where he thought

   it to be appropriate."[18]

3. Luke's close patterning of Matthew's "basic narrative order" (Luke 19:28-24:53).[19]

   While the Research Team isolates other very general "compositional techniques"

that do not directly relate to Matthew/Luke sequences,[20] they more importantly argue that

"Luke creates a smoothly flowing, well-proportioned narrative" along the lines of Lucian

of Samosata's own guidelines for history writing in his *How to Write History.*[21] For the

Research Team, Luke's Gospel "is a good example of a composition that can result from

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[18] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 21.

[19] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 21.

[20] These include Luke's use of journeys "to organize his material and structure his narrative"; the themes of "promise and fulfillment"; male and female pairing; and, "Lukan anticipations" (McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 33-35).

[21] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 30-33. See Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 6.66-67. The Research Team's translation of Lucian is as follows: "...After the preface, long or short in proportion to its subject matter, let the transition to the narrative be gentle and easy. For all the body of the history is simply a long narrative. So let it be adorned with the virtues proper to (such a) narrative, i.e., progressing smoothing, evenly and consistently, free from things jutting out and gaps. Then let the clarity (of the subject matter) show plainly, achieved, as I have said, both by means of the text and by means of the interweaving of the things (recounted). For he will make everything distinct and complete, and when finished with the first topic he will introduce the second, fastened to it and linked with it like a chain, to avoid breaks and a multiplicity of disjointed narratives. No, the first and second topics must always not merely be neighbors

following Lucian's standards of Hellenistic historiography, rhetorical skill, and compositional gracefulness."[22] What follows this introductory material in the Research Team's book is the bulk of the research, essentially a pericope by pericope analysis of Luke's "redaction" of Matthew.[23]

Traditionally, one of the objections to the Two-Document Hypothesis (2DH) maintained by advocates of the 2GH is based in the hypothetical nature of Q. Farmer himself has stated that the 2GH enjoys an advantage over the 2DH in that "the Two-Gospel Hypothesis makes it quite unnecessary to appeal to hypothetical documents like Q to explain close agreement among the Gospels."[24] Ironically, advocates of the 2GH now are beginning to describe a hypothetical source (or sources) of their own, the so-called "non-Matthean tradition(s)," utilized by Luke in addition to Matthew. These "non-Matthean" traditions fall into four categories: First, places "where Luke has incorporated non-Matthean tradition into his narrative that has no parallel in Matthew and, lacking any substantial amounts of Lukan linguistic characteristics, could hardly by considered Lukan

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but share and mix the edges (of the units) together" (32).

[22] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 33. On Lucian's "standards" in Luke (and Mark) on the 2GH, see discussion below.

[23] A number of scholars have reviewed and critiqued the work of the Research Team in this volume, including Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr., "The Relationship among the Gospels Reconsidered," *TJT* 14 (1998): 83-88; Christopher Tuckett, "Review of Allan J. McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew*," *JBL* 117 (1998): 363-365; John S. Kloppenborg, "Review of Allan J. McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew*," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 370-372; and, Mark Goodacre, "*Beyond the Q Impasse* or Down a Blind Alley," *JSNT* 76 (1999): 33-52. William R. Farmer responded directly to Derrenbacker's review and critique in "A Response to Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr.," n.p. [cited October 21, 2000]. Online: http://www.colby.edu/rel/2gh/derrenbacker.htm.

[24] Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus*, 18. Similarly, the Research Team states the following: "...it is clear that the Two Gospel Hypothesis in comparison to the Two Source Hypothesis enjoys the advantage of not having to hypothecate the existence of a *major unknown* source called 'Q'" (McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 28; emphasis mine).

composition."[25] Second, "instances where Luke, although he has a parallel tradition in

Matthew, chooses to follow the non-Matthean tradition."[26] Third, places "where Luke has

both a Matthean and a non-Matthean tradition and decides to conflate them."[27] Fourth,

instances (particularly in the Passion Narrative) "where Luke may have used both written

and oral non-Matthean tradition alongside of Matthean tradition."[28] In the text of the

Research Team's commentary on Luke, little attempt is made to define the shape, nature

and extent of the "non-Matthean" tradition(s) since the immediate interest of their

research is precisely Luke's use of Matthew.[29] The Research Team is quick to note that

their hypothetical source(s) is (are) not their "Q." Q is, they argue, a hypothetical source

not required of the data; the "non-Matthean" tradition(s), on the other hand, is (are)

required of the data.[30]

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[25] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 26. Included in this category are the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55); the walk to Emmaus (Luke 24:13-35); and, several parables (Luke 15:11-32; 16:1-8, 19-31).

[26] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 26. Included in this category are "The Catch of Fish and the Call of Three Disciples" (Luke 5:1-11; cf. Matt 4:18-22); and, Jesus' anointing (Luke 7:36-50; cf. Matt 26:6-13).

[27] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 26. The Research Team lists one "possible" instance: parable of the vineyard and tenants (Luke 20:9-18; cf. Matt 21:33-46).

[28] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 26. For the Research Team this possibly took place in Luke's Last Supper (Luke 22:14-23) or within the Trial Narrative (Luke 23:1-25).

[29] "We would emphasize again that the major focus of this book is on Luke's use of Matthew. The whole matter of Luke's use of non-Matthean tradition, in order to be addressed adequately, would need to be the subject of another volume" (McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 27).

[30] On the origin of the parable of the Lost Son (Luke 15:11-32): "The simplest explanation for these non-Lukan characteristics [in this parable] is to hypothesize the existence of a source written in Greek from which Luke carefully copied this parable. To date there has been no other known way to explain the data. This source, then, is indeed a hypothetical one, because it does not in fact exist. However it is a hypothetical source required of the data [unlike Q]" (McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 28).

Mark's Use (Conflation) of Matthew and Luke

In his 1964 revival of Griesbach's solution to the Synoptic Problem, Farmer

concludes *The Synoptic Problem* with a chapter on the "redaction" of the "Synoptic

Tradition" (i.e., Matthew and Luke) in Mark.[31] Breaking Mark 1-13 and 16 up into twelve

sections,[32] Farmer discusses (generally) Mark's methods for conflating Matthew and

Luke on the 2GH.[33] Farmer describes a variety of redactional characteristics for Mark in

his conflation of Matthew and Luke. In discussing how Mark decided where to begin his

gospel, Farmer states that it is possible "that Mark was influenced in his decision by the

fact that this is the place where Matthew and Luke begin to agree in their accounts."[34] On

Mark making literary transitions between the sequence of his sources, Farmer argues that

> [Mark] began following Matthew up to his Sermon on the Mount, and thereafter
> proceeded to follow the order of Luke up to his sermon on the plain. In this way
> Mark deviated from his sources as little as possible, following their common
> order whenever possible, adhering first to the order of Matthew up to a
> distinguishable point of literary transition and thereafter the order of Luke up to
> the corresponding point in Luke's narrative. This is a perfectly intelligible
> redactional procedure for any writer to follow if he were faced with the task of

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[31] Farmer, "Notes for a History of the Redaction of Synoptic Tradition in Mark," *The Synoptic Problem*, 233-283.

[32] Farmer purposefully avoids dealing with Mark 14-15 since the "redactional problems in the final chapters of Mark are not particularly complicated, and can be explained on any hypothesis which recognizes some kind of direct literary relationship among the three Evangelists, and acknowledges Luke to have edited with considerable freedom one or both the other Gospels" (*The Synoptic Problem*, 234).

[33] Farmer concedes that his treatment is by no means thorough: "The notes in this chapter are by no means complete. Only a commentary on Mark would afford an adequate scope for a full scale treatment of all the questions of critical interest. The intention of these notes is to deal generally with the more serious redactional question which a critic faces in working with the text of Mark on the Griesbach hypothesis. A secondary purpose of these notes is to demonstrate that in a variety of passages it is possible to explain the history of the Synoptic tradition more adequately on the Griesbach hypothesis than on any hypothesis which posits the priority of Mark" (*The Synoptic Problem*, 233).

Farmer's desire for a commentary-length treatment of Mark on the 2GH was realized in C. S. Mann, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1986). However, this commentary was generally received negatively, including most who advocated the 2GH.

[34] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 236.

combing Matthew and Luke, without doing unnecessary violence to the interests and proprietary concerns of the adherents of either of his sources.[35]

Farmer summarizes Mark's redactional program:

> Mark's redactional procedure reflects no sense of slavish dependence on either Matthew or Luke. Mark is a new form of the Gospel, characterized by a distinct measure of literary freedom, but distinguished above all for its representation of tradition that for the most part would have been familiar to its readers or hearers through their acquaintance with either Matthew or Luke. What would have been new tradition in Mark for those acquainted only with Matthew would have come primarily from Luke, and what would have been new for those acquainted only with Luke would have come primarily from Matthew. That the Evangelist, Mark, added two new miracle stories and one new parable to his Gospel only underlines the fact that he was not slavishly dependent upon Matthew and Luke and that his work is a *new* form of the Gospel.[36]

On the connection between order and wording in following his sources, Farmer argues

the following:

> Whenever Mark comes to a series of passages in Matthew and Luke where they both have the same literary units in the same order, his text does not tend to be uniformly closer to that of one of his predecessors than it is to that of the other. In other words, Mark's text tends to be closer to that of the Gospel whose order he is following, *only when the other Gospel has the same material in quite another order.*[37]

On Mark's redactional procedure in Mark 3:20-4:43, Farmer observes that

> where Mark does not simply or consistently follow the order of either Matthew or Luke, though he is covering material which as a whole is found in one particular section of Matthew, the degree of verbal kinship between the text of Mark and Matthew on the one hand and the text of Mark and Luke on the other is correspondingly ambiguous as compared to those sections of his Gospel where he unambiguously follows the order of either Matthew or Luke.[38]

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[35] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 236.

[36] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 236-237.

[37] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 238 (emphasis added).

[38] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 240.

In 6:1-6 (Jesus' rejection at Nazareth), Mark moves from closely following Luke in the

previous section (4:35-5:43) to a close following of Matthew. Farmer states that this

phenomenon

> is strikingly in keeping with a pattern of alternation in agreement in wording,
> where Mark agrees closely now with one of his sources and then suddenly just as
> closely with the other; an alternation which corresponds positively with an
> alternation in agreement in order occurring at exactly the same place where the
> agreement in wording shifts.[39]

On material that is only attested in one of his sources, not both, Farmer argues that "Mark

was not averse to incorporating [this] material."[40] Likewise Mark was not "averse to

taking a parable or gnomic saying from Matthew and conflating or combing it in some

way with its parallel in Luke, or vice versa."[41] Yet, "whenever Mark undertook to

conflate or combine material from one of his sources with parallel material from another,

he tended to confine himself to the literary units between which there already existed a

close relationship of literary dependence."[42]

On Mark 10:13-12:37 and parallels (Matt 19:13-22:46//Luke 18:15-20:44),

Farmer argues that since

> Matthew and Luke followed the same general order, and since Mark almost never
> departed from their common order, the redactional problems for Mark were
> relatively simple. Whatever Matthew and Luke had in common Mark included,
> sometimes following Matthew's account more closely that that of Luke, and
> sometimes Luke's account more closely than that of Matthew, but always
> showing the influence of both.[43]

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[39] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 241.

[40] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 248.

[41] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 248.

[42] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 248.

[43] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 258.

Finally, on the Apocalyptic Discourse in Mark 13:1-37 (par. Matt 24:1-36//Luke

21:5-36), Farmer illustrates Mark's tendency to follow the "general shape" of one gospel

but includes some of the wording of the other. He describes this phenomenon as follows:

> Wherever the text of Luke followed that of Matthew, Mark copied the common
> text so closely that the agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark were
> reduced to insignificance. Likewise, whenever the text of Luke deviated from that
> of Matthew, Mark followed the text of Matthew so closely that the agreements
> between Mark and Luke against Matthew were reduced to insignificance. This is
> why it is possible to describe Mark's version of the apocalyptic discourse as a
> revision of Luke's, in which the general shape of Luke's version of the discourse
> was preserved, but in which the text was revised to bring it into accord with the
> text of Matthew, from which Luke's text was originally derived, and which
> Matthean text was significantly supported elsewhere in Luke's Gospel, even
> supported in some cases in such a way as to testify again the authenticity of the
> text of Luke's version of the discourse.[44]

Thus, Farmer describes Mark's redactional (i.e., conflationary) activity. Mark is

depicted by Farmer as an author who frequently and habitually moves back and forth

between his two sources, both within and between pericopes. This is the phenomenon of

the pattern of "alternating agreement," which Longstaff further investigates (see below).

In addition, one is able to observe that on occasion, Mark follows the order of one source

while at the same time adapting the wording of the other. Farmer does not describe in *The*

Synoptic Problem the two essential features of Mark's redaction on the 2GH: 1) Mark's

omission of most of the saying material in Matthew and Luke (the "Q material" on the

2DH); and, 2) Mark's "creation" of "Minor Agreements" in his redaction of Mark. In

other words, Mark chooses to create a verbal "contradiction" with his two sources where

they agree.[45]

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[44] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 277-278.

[45] This is an interesting phenomenon particularly in light of what Dungan has identified as a
"tendency" in at least the compositional activity of Tatian and Marcion (as Farmer summarizes) "to
produce gospel texts from which all inconsistencies and contradictions have been removed" (William R.

In his defense of the Griesbach theory at the 1970 conference at Pittsburgh

Theological Seminary on the state of Gospel scholarship, David L. Dungan read a paper

entitled "Mark – The Abridgement of Matthew and Luke."[46] In this paper (and

subsequently published article), Dungan defended of the validity of the Griesbach theory

on three fronts: First, Dungan critiqued the main Streeterian arguments for Markan

priority that continued to be used by most Synoptic source critics up to that point.

Second, Dungan briefly explored other alternatives to the 2DH, particularly the Farrer

theory. Third, Dungan argued that the Griesbach hypothesis is the most valid alternative

to the methodologically flawed 2DH. In this third section,[47] Dungan defends the

Griesbach theory by answering several standard objections to the "solution":

1) How did Luke derive his Gospel out of Matthew?

2) How could Mark possibly have done the editing job Griesbach proposed he
   did?

3) Who would have composed a Mark from Matthew and Luke?

Of immediate interest is the second question/objection that Dungan attempts to

answer: An author of the second gospel who conflates or "interweaves" two sources (as

Mark does to Matthew and Luke on the 2GH) is not very difficult to imagine in light of

other appropriate literary analogies. Both Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Gospel of Peter

are examples, argued Dungan, of texts involving the complicated "interweaving" of

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Farmer, "Modern Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 282; cf. David L. Dungan, "Reactionary Trends in Gospel Producing Activity of the Early Church? Marcion, Tatian, Mark," in *L'évangile de Marc. Tradition et redaction* [M. Sabbe, ed.; BETL 34; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1975] 188-194).

[46] Subsequently published in Buttrick, *Jesus and Man's Hope*, 51-97.

[47] Dungan, "Mark – The Abridgement," 88-97.

multiple sources. Thus, "the claim that such conflating would have been impossible or improbable for the author of Mark is simply nonsense; it was a common literary practice of the time."[48]

The appeal to Tatian as an appropriate literary analogy to Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke on the 2GH did not end with Dungan. Thomas R. W. Longstaff's published doctoral dissertation (*Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study of the Synoptic Problem*) appealed, in part, to the observable techniques of conflation in Tatian. Longstaff argues that Tatian's conflation represents an "inclusive" (vs. "exclusive") technique – virtually every detail of the four gospels is included in the *Diatessaron*. Hence, one observes "considerable redundancy and repetition throughout."[49]

Longstaff recognizes the problem of identifying *Diatessaron's* original language – the earliest extant manuscripts of *Diatessaron* are in Syriac and date from the fourth century. However, Longstaff analyzes the Dura-Europos fragment, which Longstaff takes to be an early (Greek) text of *Diatessaron*.[50] This fourteen-lined fragment gives the harmonized account of the female disciples after the crucifixion of Jesus, as well as an account of Joseph of Arimathea. The verbatim and near-verbatim agreements between the Dura-Europos fragment and its Gospel parallels may be illustrated in the following chart:

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[48] Dungan, "Mark – The Abridgement," 92-93.

[49] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 10.

[50] The Dura-Europos fragment was first published and identified as an early (i.e., pre-Syriac) piece of the *Diatessaron* by Carl H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura* (London: Christophers, 1935). The fragment is also reproduced by William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (VCSup 25; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 197.

Figure 14:

Dura-Europos: A Possible Greek Fragment of the *Diatessaron* and its Gospel Parallels[51]

Matt 27:55-57	Dura-Europos Fragment	Mark 15:40-43
55 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, αἵτινες ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας διακονοῦσαι αὐτῷ· 56 ἐν αἷς ἦν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσὴφ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου. 57 Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, τοὔνομα Ἰωσήφ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ἰησοῦ·	Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Σαλώμη καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁρῶσαι τὸν στα[?][52] ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα παρασκευή. Σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν. Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ ὅ ἐστιν προσάββατον πρὸς ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος βουλευτής ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ Ἐριμαθαίας πόλεως τῆς Ἰο[υ]δαίας ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ ἀγαθός δίκαιος ὢν μαθητής Ἰη[σοῦ] κατακεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδέχετο τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θ[εο]ῦ. οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συνκατατιθέμενος τῇ βουλῇ	40 Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, ἐν αἷς καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσῆτος μήτηρ καὶ Σαλώμη, 41 αἳ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ αἱ συναναβᾶσαι αὐτῷ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. 42 Καὶ ἤδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευὴ ὅ ἐστιν προσάββατον, 43 ἐλθὼν Ἰωσὴφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλᾶτον καὶ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Luke 23:49-54	John 19:38
49 Εἱστήκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολουθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁρῶσαι ταῦτα. 50 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσὴφ βουλευτὴς ὑπάρχων [καὶ] ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος 51 - οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συνκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν - ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας πόλεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς προσεδέχετο τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, 52 οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ 53 καὶ καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὔπω κείμενος. 54 καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν.	Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἠρώτησεν τὸν Πιλᾶτον Ἰωσὴφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πιλᾶτος. ἦλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ.

Verbatim or near-verbatim agreements between the Dura-Europos fragment and: Matthew = single underline; Mark = thick underline; Luke = dashed underline; John = double underline; Matt/Mark/Luke = italics; Matt/Mark/Luke/John = bold; any combination of two Gospels = dotted underline

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[51] Longstaff reproduces and discusses the fragment on pp. 18-22, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?*

[52] Kraeling argues ΤΟΝ ΣΤΑ may be an abbreviation for one of the following: σταυρόν, σωτῆρα, or σταυρωθέντα. It may also be a corruption of Luke's ταῦτα. See Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment*, 8-9, 27. Petersen opts for σταυρωθέντα (*Tatian's Diatessaron*, 197).

Based upon this study of the Dura-Europos fragment, Longstaff is able to conclude the

following about Tatian's method of conflation (at least at the story of Jesus' female

disciples and Joseph of Arimathea):

> [S]everal characteristics of Tatian's editorial method become clear. In the
> first place while Tatian by and large confines himself to the language of the
> Gospels – in the fragment well over 90% of his words are drawn from them – he
> does not slavishly copy or mechanically conflate. Indeed it would appear that he
> has omitted a small number of words and has rearranged the material somewhat in
> his harmonization....
> Furthermore, even when copying rather carefully and exactly from one of
> his sources, Tatian apparently either consults or recalls the others.... It should be
> noted that each of these instances occurs at a place where Tatian is making the
> transition from the copying of one Gospel to the copying of another....
> An analysis of the fragment thus enables us to see the skillful way in
> which Tatian draws material from the several Gospels into a new, composite
> whole, often taking only a word or two ... or a brief phrase at a time.[53]

Unfortunately, the above text is the only place in Longstaff's study where he

observes apparent conflation in a *Greek* text, i.e., in a piece of literature that has some

linguistic and chronological affinity with Mark's Gospel. In addition, Longstaff

concludes that "the original language of the *Diatessaron* was probably Greek."[54] While

Longstaff is clearly not alone in such a conclusion,[55] the best and most current

Diatessaron scholarship would disagree. For example, William L. Petersen, whose work

on Tatian remains the most exhaustive and most recent, argues that *Diatessaron* was

likely originally composed in Syriac, and that the Dura-Europos fragment is no more than

"a very early Greek translation of a Syriac *Vorlage*."[56] Thus, it appears that Longstaff's

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[53] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 21-22.

[54] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 40.

[55] See, for example, A. Jülicher, "Der Echte Tatiantext," *JBL* 48 (1924): 132-171.

[56] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 203. For his conclusions regarding the original language for *Diatessaron* (Syriac), see p. 428.

(sole) analysis of a Greek text contemporary with the NT Gospels is problematic, given

the likelihood that the Dura-Europos fragment is not a portion of the *Diatessaron* at all,

but perhaps, as Petersen has argued, an early Greek translation of a Syriac *Vorlage*.

The rest of Longstaff's analysis of Tatian is done working with portions of the

Diatessaron in English.[57] From that study, Longstaff is able to argue that Tatian's

conflation is characterized by a "skillful piecing together of the Gospel material – often

working with very small pieces."[58] In the healing account of the man with the withered

hand (*Diat.* 7:47-8:1; Mark 3:1-6 par.), Longstaff identifies another characteristic. In this

pericope, "Tatian seems to copy first from one Gospel and then another, using one source

at a time rather than blending the Gospels together in minute bits and pieces in the

manner observed" elsewhere in his book.[59] Longstaff cautions his reader not to be misled

by Henry J. Cadbury's "characteristic" of "one source at a time."[60] This characteristic

should not be universally applied to conflation, says Longstaff. For even in the withered

hand pericope (Mark 3:1-6 par.), Cadbury's "analysis of Tatian's method of conflation

indicates that even here he is aware of the parallels and is not merely copying one source

at a time."[61] Longstaff continues:

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[57] *Diat.* 6:47-54 (healing of Peter's mother-in-law); *Diat.* 28:42-29:11 (story of the "rich young ruler"); *Diat.* 30:40-45 (third passion prediction); *Diat.* 7:47-8:1 (healing of the man with the withered hand); and, *Diat.* 11:31-37 (stilling of the storm). See Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 23-42.

[58] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 26.

[59] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 39.

[60] See H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (2nd ed.; London: SPCK, 1958) 159: "It is easier [for a writer using several sources in composition] to follow a single writer consecutively and, if it becomes necessary to abandon him, to follow another writer in the same way. 'One source at a time' is a principle that classical students have come to count the usual course of procedure."

[61] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 40.

As we have seen, the original language of the *Diatessaron* was probably Greek, and it follows from this that the principle 'one source at a time' cannot be applied in any inclusive way to the literature of those churches that spoke – and wrote – Greek, and cannot be used as evidence in deciding the questions of the literary relationships among the Gospels.

...[The] one commonly held theory about conflation – the idea that the principle "one source at a time" is a general rule – may be misleading.[62]

In addition to Tatian, Longstaff includes in his analysis a study of the methods of

conflation by two medieval chroniclers of the life of Thomas Becket – Benedict of

Peterborough and Roger of Hovedon – both of whom are dependent on the earlier

(extant) works of John of Salisbury and *Passio Sancti Thomae*.[63] Longstaff illustrates

their literary relationship as follows:

Figure 15: Two Medieval Chroniclers (Longstaff)
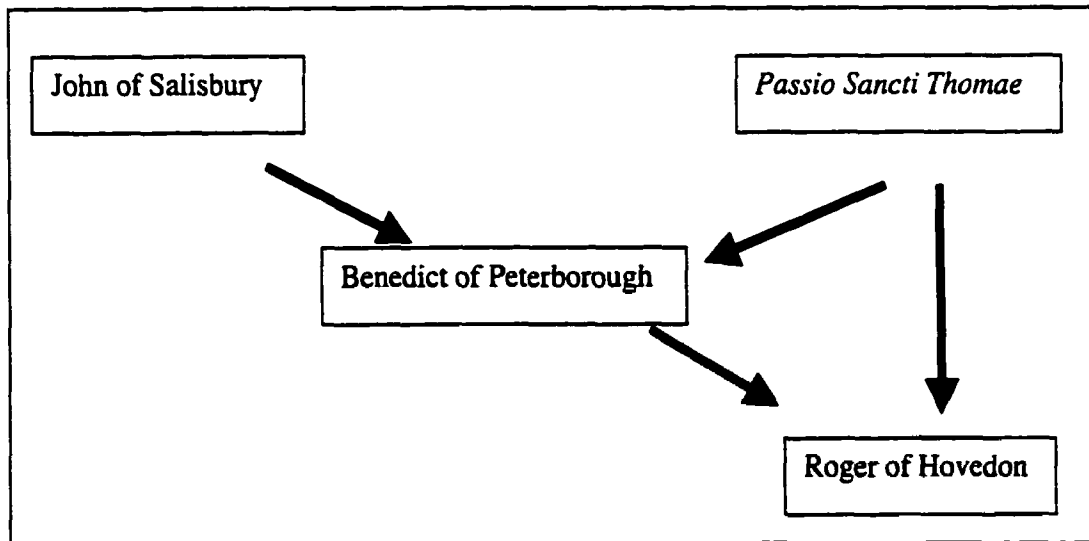
From this study of Tatian and the two medieval chroniclers, Longstaff concludes

that there are seven "literary characteristics which result from conflation:"[64]

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[62] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 40-42. Again, on the original language of *Diatessaron*, see the above discussion.

[63] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 42-106.

[64] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 106-113.

1. "Since conflation may be defined as the process of bringing together and combining the content and vocabulary from two or more sources in order to produce a single, composite account, it follows that at least a part of the content and vocabulary of each source will appear in the conflated document."[65]

2. "When an author is conflating two or more sources which are very dissimilar, indications of his comparison of those sources will appear in this arrangement of the material."[66]

   "When an author is conflating two or more sources which themselves exhibit a considerable number of verbal similarities as well as differences, however, his comparison of those sources is often much more detailed and can be seen, not only in the arrangement of the material, but in small agreements with one source against the other(s)."[67]

3. "[T]he conflation of two or more sources which themselves exhibit a considerable degree of verbal similarity will frequently (although not always) result in small agreements (of a single word or a brief phrase) with one source against the other(s). These agreements may interrupt the use of a single source or may occur alternatively in a single section."[68]

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[65] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 107.

[66] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 108.

[67] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 108-109.

[68] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 110-111.

4. "[T]he tendency of an author to make his transition from one source to another at a

   place where the two sources are in verbal agreement."[69]

5. "[R]edundancy and duplication, caused by the copying of similar words or phrases

   from two (or more) sources, may be present in a conflated account. The presence of

   this phenomenon, however, is more probable when an author is copying everything

   (or nearly everything) found in his sources than when he is using his sources with

   greater freedom."[70]

6. "[C]onflation is not a mechanical process..."[71]

   "[A]n author who conflates does not always treat a given source in the same way."[72]

7. "[N]either the expansion nor the condensation of an account can be considered a

   definite characteristic of conflation."[73]

In turn, Longstaff analyzes six Markan pericopes[74] where he tests the validity of

the 2GH given his observed characteristics of conflation, seeking – through a method of

test cases – to ascertain "whether the Griesbach hypothesis is consistent with the

evidence [i.e., the characteristics of conflation]."[75] In this analysis, Longstaff observes a

consistent feature in Mark's editorial activity – "the pattern of alternating agreement

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[69] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 111.

[70] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 112.

[71] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 112.

[72] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 112.

[73] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 113.

[74] Mark 1:29-31; Mark 1:32-34; Mark 3:1-6; Mark 9:38-41; Mark 11:15-19; and, Mark 14:12-21.

[75] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 128.

between Mark and the other two Gospels."[76] That is, in an individual pericope, Mark

often will alternate back and forth between his sources, Matthew and Luke, sometimes

midstream, in the midst of a sentence or phrase of one source and move to the other.

Longstaff argues that this feature

> occurs too frequently to be only the coincidental result of the different ways in
> which Matthew and Luke have independently used the Marcan material and
> therefore constitutes a serious anomaly for the two document hypothesis.
> However...this phenomenon – and most of the other similarities and differences
> among the Gospels – may be explained by the hypothesis that Mark has conflated
> Matthew and Luke, a proposal which is strengthened by the observation that
> Mark's Gospel (when compared with the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke)
> exhibits many of the literary characteristics ...of known and representative
> examples of conflation...[77]

This phenomenon is first described by Griesbach. Using a synoptic table to

illustrate this phenomenon, Griesbach states that the reader can easily observe

> Mark having the volumes of Matthew and Luke at hand, continually consulting
> each, extracting from each whatever he thought would benefit his readers, now
> laying aside Matthew, now Luke for a little, but always returning to the very same
> place of either one where he had begun to diverge from him.[78]

Griesbach continues:

> When Mark has closely adhered to either Matthew or Luke for a long stretch, he
> often passes with a sudden leap from one to the other, but soon returns to his
> former guide; and this could not have been done unless he had simultaneously
> seen and compared the works of each.[79]

One example of the pattern of alternating agreement phenomenon can be seen in

one of Longstaff's six Markan pericopes, the Sick Healed at Evening (Mark 1:32-34 par.;

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[76] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 201.

[77] Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 201.

[78] J. J. Griesbach, "A Demonstration That Mark Was Written After Matthew and Luke," in *J. J. Griesbach, Synoptic and Text Critical Studies, 1776-1976* (B. Orchard and T. Longstaff, eds.; SNTSMS 34; Cambridge: University Press, 1978) 108.

[79] Griesbach, "A Demonstration," 113.

see Figure 16 below). In this pericope, Mark's conflation is at the micro level where he will follow one gospel, return to the other for a brief phrase, sometimes less, and then move back to the first.

Figure 16: Alternating Patterns of Agreement:
The Sick Healed at Evening[80]

Matt 8:16-17	Mark 1:32-34	Luke 4:40-41

³³ καὶ ἦν ὅλη ἡ πόλις ἐπισυνηγμένη πρὸς τὴν θύραν.

[for ἐθεράπευσεν cf. v 40c below, ἐθεράπευεν]

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[80] Cf. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 140-152.

¹⁷ ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ
ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ
προφήτου λέγοντος·
αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας
ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς
νόσους ἐβάστασεν.

Longstaff concludes his analysis of the above pericope by arguing that the 2GH

best explains the pattern of "complex alteration of agreement and disagreement" than

does the 2DH.[81]

Longstaff's work was an important step in the development of the 2GH, as it

attempts to find appropriate literary analogies in order to understand Mark's

compositional efforts in conflating Matthew and Luke. However, it is a study that is

fraught with some major difficulties, as we will discuss below.

In 1977, Farmer offered a brief but further explanation of Mark's redactional

activity on the 2GH. In summarizing Mark's procedures, Farmer argued the following:

> On the Griesbach hypothesis Luke omits much of Matthew, and adds a great deal
> from his special source material. Mark omits most of this same material from
> Matthew which Luke has omitted while taking very little of what Luke has added.
> The result of this is that Mark is shorter than either Matthew or Luke, but not
> because he has "abbreviated" either one of them. The fact that his text of
> individual episodes is generally fuller than that of Matthew and Luke suggests
> that Mark may not have cherished brevity for its own sake.[82]

Farmer argues that Mark's gospel is likely "Petrine" in that it depicts Jesus similarly to

Peter's speeches in Acts. It is a gospel that may have been "written under the influence of

Petrine authority."[83] This connection between Mark's gospel and Peter, argues Farmer,

[81] Longstaff, *Evidence for Conflation in Mark?* 152.

[82] Farmer, "Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 283-284.

[83] Farmer, "Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 284.

"helps explain the shape of Mark if...Mark can be viewed as coming after Matthew and Luke."[84]

In the same vein, Farmer argues that Mark's omission of sayings material found in his sources, Matthew and Luke, is also consistent with "the lack of emphasis on the teaching of Jesus" in Peter's speeches in Acts: "Mark knows that Jesus was a teacher because he refers to it often. Jesus' teaching does not seem to be *emphasized* in Mark's gospel, however, since there are no long discourses or catechetical sections as there are in Mathew and Luke."[85]

Farmer also describes Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke as a procedure that "made it possible, and at the same time necessary, to keep *both* Matthew and Luke," unlike Tatian's procedure of combing the four gospels that "for a period was eventually read in place of the other gospels."[86] Thus, Farmer summarizes both the conflationary technique of Mark and its related purposes as follows:

> Mark is basically a self-consistent version of Matthew and Luke. The evangelist was aided in his purpose by following Luke where Luke followed Matthew, adding nothing from Matthew that conflicted with Luke, and nothing from Luke that conflicted with Matthew, thus producing a gospel free from contradictions with either. Mark is the only one of the three that has the advantage of being both self consistent *and* relatively free from contradictions with either one of the two.[87]

Mark's editorial procedure on the 2GH has also been articulated by Farmer in the 1984 Jerusalem Symposium volume (= Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*). Farmer summarizes Mark's treatment of the "Jesus tradition" as follows:

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[84] Farmer, "Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 285.

[85] Farmer, "Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 285 (emphasis original).

[86] Farmer, "Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 290 (emphasis original).

[87] Farmer, "Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," 291.

Mark tends to add words and phrases to the Jesus tradition he takes over from Matthew and Luke. Frequently, these are words and phrases that are characteristic of Mark. Seldom, if ever, does Mark preserve a form of the Jesus tradition which ...can be shown to be original in comparison to Matthew and Luke. There may be one class of exceptions. Mark may sometimes appear to be more Jewish and more original than Luke. In these cases the text of Mark is always close to the text of Matthew. Thus, one can always explain the text of Mark on the assumption of Mark being third, and very often there is confirmatory evidence of this from the hand of the Evangelist himself.[88]

Farmer continues, describing Mark's general treatment of Matthew and Luke in

terms of sequence:

Mark had before him two works concerning Jesus. Often they agreed in sequence they gave to particular episodes in Jesus' ministry. Often they disagreed. In accordance with his authorial intent to produce a version of the Gospel that was free from open contradictions with the other great teaching instruments of the Christian community of which he was a member, Mark, in general, followed the common order of his sources. Where they depart from one another in order, he even-handedly follows now the order of one and now the order of the other. Mark always supports the order of the pericopes of one of his predecessors, and wherever possible, the order of both. The one major exception to this, the order of the episode of the Cleansing of the Temple, is the exception that proves the rule. Mark places this episode after the first day Jesus was in Jerusalem, whereas both Luke and Matthew place it during the first day.[89]

Finally, Farmer explains the so-called "Minor Agreements" between Matthew and

Luke against Mark as follows:

The minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark are to be explained as follows: (a) In composing his Gospel, Luke frequently copied the text of Matthew verbatim. (b) In composing his Gospel, Mark frequently copied the text of Matthew or Luke where Luke had copied Matthew closely. In these instances Mark could be said to have followed the text to which Matthew and Luke bore concurrent testimony. In any case, whether by copying Matthew or Luke, Mark often copied into his text a text which was nearly identical in both his sources. Even if Mark compared the texts of both his sources at all times, he could hardly have succeeded in incorporating every instant of verbatim agreement between Matthew and Luke without becoming quite pedantic. It is clear that Mark was not that kind of author. Thus where a small stylistic change can be made without

[88] Farmer, "The Two-Gospel Hypothesis," in Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, 141.

[89] Farmer, "The Two-Gospel Hypothesis," 142-143.

affecting the sense of the text, Mark will frequently introduce it into his version of the Gospel. It is not likely that this was done consciously. In all probability, for example, Mark simply preferred the use of the historic present and since its use did not alter the sense of the scripture, he was quite prepared to use the historic present even when both of his sources use the aorist tense. In this way the so-called "minor-agreement between Matthew and Luke against Mark" would materialize. A "so-called" minor agreement in omission would occur whenever Mark has added a word or phrase to a text from Matthew and/or Luke where Luke had copied Matthew closely.[90]

Similarly, the MAs are described as evidence of Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke. The Research Team stated in 1990 that Mark's adding the Mal 3:1 quotation to the Isa 40:3 text in Mark 1:2-3 "reveal [Mark] to be a conflator. In the process, he creates an important [negative] 'minor agreement.'"[91]

Finally, it should be noted that advocates of the 2GH have consistently argued that Mark's motivation for conflating Matthew and Luke in the ways that he evidently did on their theory was to produce a gospel that mediated or bridged the Jewish perspective of Matthew with the Gentile perspective of Luke. As Farmer has recently articulated, Mark is a Petrine gospel of Roman origin that "blended" the "apostolic tradition of the Jerusalem apostles" in Matthew with "the vital interests of Gentile-oriented churches founded by Paul" found in Luke.[92] This "blending" by Mark "made it possible for local churches to retain and cherish both Matthew and Luke and to do so within the context of a theological tradition which united the martyrological witness of both Peter and Paul."[93]

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[90] Farmer, "The Two-Gospel Hypothesis," 143-144.

[91] William R. Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis," in *SBL 1990 Seminar Papers*, (David J. Lull, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 214.

[92] Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus*, 23.

[93] Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus*, 23. See also David L. Dungan, "The Purpose and Provenance of the Gospel of Mark according to the Two-Gospel (Owen-Griesbach) Hypothesis," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (W. R. Farmer, ed.; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983) 411-440. Dungan states that "John Mark sought to produce the kind of vivid narrative message that

As a close to this section on Mark's compositional activity on the 2GH, it is

worthwhile noting Farmer's recent remarks that conclude his discussion of the current

state of Synoptic Problem research: "If and when advocates of the Neo-Griesbach (Two

Gospel) Hypothesis are able to provide readers with a literary, historical and theological

explanation of Mark's compositional activity, the last major task in solving the Synoptic

Problem will have been completed."[94] We now turn to test Mark's (and Luke's)

compositional activity on the 2GH as described above in light of the compositional

practices of writers in antiquity.

III. The 2GH and Compositional Conventions

At this point, it becomes necessary to analyze Luke's and Mark's compositional

techniques on the 2GH in light of the observed techniques of ancient writers. It is

possible to isolate a section in the Synoptic tradition that might lend itself well to such an

analysis. Clearly, a series of pericopes that is a candidate for examination should have a

preponderance of the triple tradition if both Luke's use of Matthew and Mark's conflation

of Matthew and Luke are to be the focus. In addition, to test fully the pericope sequence

against compositional conventions, it is desirable that such a section have other Synoptic

phenomena including Matthean or Lukan Sondergut material (allowing for potential non-

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the Apostle Peter had consistently proclaimed – a pure profile of the power of Christ the Savior, in such a
way that transcended the partisan struggle between Mosaic Torah-rigorists [characterized by Matthew's
gospel] and anti-Jewish, anti-Torah libertarians [characterized by Luke's gospel]" (434); in other words,
Mark's gospel is "a kerygmatic suture binding together the Judaizing and Paulinizing divergency in the
early church" (435).

[94] Farmer, "The Present State of the Synoptic Problem," an unpublished paper delivered to the
Synoptic Problem Seminar, Annual Meeting of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, Copenhagen,
Denmark, August 5-8, 1998, (the quote is from p. 20 of the unpublished manuscript).

Synoptic sources), double tradition material ("Q material" on the 2DH), sections that

might be deemed "Mark-Q overlap" texts on the 2DH, and the occurrence of agreements

in wording between Matthew and Luke against Mark (i.e., the "Minor Agreements"). One

such series of pericopes that seems to fit these criteria is Mark 1:1-15 and parallels (Matt

3:1-4:17//Luke 3:1-4:16a): John the Baptists' preaching, Jesus' baptism, (Luke's

genealogy), the Temptation, and Jesus' first preaching in Galilee. This pericopal series

contains triple tradition, Sondergut material (Luke 3:10-14; 3:23-28), double tradition

material (Matt 3:7-10//Luke 3:7-9; Matt 4:3-10//Luke 4:3-12), "Mark-Q overlap"

material (e.g., Mark 1:7-8 par.), and occurrences of MAs (e.g., in the Baptism pericope,

Mark 1:9-11 par.).

Luke's Use of Matthew: Luke 3:1-4:16a

The Research Team divides Luke 3:1-4:13 into eight pericopal divisions. The

following figure illustrates these divisions and Luke's source for each pericope:[95]

Figure 17: The Sources of Luke 3:1-4:13 on the 2GH

Episode	Luke	Source(s)
John the Baptist announces that salvation is at hand	3:1-6	Matt 3:1-4
John rebukes the Judeans	3:7-9	Matt 3:7-10
The crowds ask John what they must do	3:10-14	[Lukan composition]
John insists that he is not the Messiah	3:15-17	Matt 3:11-12
Herod Antipas throws John in prison	3:18-20	[Lukan composition[96]]

[95] Adapted from McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 71-78.

[96] The Research Team indicates that Luke 3:18-20 is "a Lukan composition" (McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse*, 75), surprisingly with no apparent influence from the parallel account in Matt 14:3-4.

Jesus is baptized by the Holy Spirit	3:21-22	Matt 3:15-17
Jesus' Lineage	3:23-38	Non-Matthean traditions [3:23 is Lukan composition]
Satan tempts the Son of God	4:1-13	Matt 4:1-11
Jesus returns to Galilee	4:14-16a	Matt 4:12-13, 23-24 (Matt 9:26, 31, 35-36) (possible Non-Matthean tradition)

In describing Luke's compositional method in this section of his gospel, the Research Team relates Luke's redaction of his sources Matthew and the "non-Matthean traditions," along with adding his own material. This narrative sequence occurs in Luke's first cyclic progression through his main source, Matthew. Hence, Luke is essentially following Matthew's order in 3:1-4:13. An analysis of Luke's frequent "successive, cyclic progressions" through Matthew will occur below.

Luke redacts Matthew in a variety of different ways in this section. First, Luke aims for chronological precision in the appearance of John by changing Matthew's "in those days" (3:1) to the explicit dating of John's appearance within the specific governorship of Pilate, the reigns of the Herodians, and the priesthoods of Caiaphas and Annas (Luke 3:1-2). Luke supplements Matthew's quotation of Isa 40:3 by adding two subsequent verses from the prophet (Luke 3:5-6). On the other hand, Luke omits Matthew's Elijah-like description of John's clothing and diet (Matt 3:4) since it "could have seemed to Luke's non-Jewish audience as detracting from his authoritative portrayal" and since "for Luke John is not Elijah *redivivus*."[97]

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[97] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 72. It should be noted that Luke on the 2DH could be described similarly, omitting the details of an Elijah-like John the Baptist found in Mark 1:6.

In the next pericope, John's preaching of repentance (Luke 3:7-9), Luke follows

Matthew very closely, opting only for a few minor changes – substituting ἔλεγεν for

Matthew's εἶπεν (v 7) and Luke's use of ἄρχομαι plus the infinitive for Matthew's

δόξητε λέγειν (v 8).[98] Luke then adds his own special material in 3:10-14 (John's

preaching to special groups). Luke is motivated by structural reasons to add this material,

anticipating Jesus' later meeting of "the crowds" (Luke 4:40-41), the tax collector Levi

(Luke 5:27-32), and the centurion (Luke 7:2-10). In this threefold arrangement, Luke

may have "structured John's activity as a parallel to Jesus' ministry."[99]

In the section that follows, John's preaching about the coming one (Luke 3:15-

18), Luke resumes following Matthew, particularly his arrangement of the episode,

adding prefatory remarks in v 15.[100] Luke's alteration of Matthew's "I am not worthy to

carry his sandals" (Matt 3:11b) to "I am not worthy to untie the thong of his sandals"

(Luke 3:16b) goes unexplained in the Research Team's volume.

Luke then follows with an account of the imprisonment of John (3:18-20) that is

again "Lukan composition" (i.e., not drawn from the "non-Matthean traditions"). Because

of Matthew's presentation of John the Baptist, "Luke had to make a number of drastic

and closely coordinated modifications to Matthew's narrative."[101] This episode was

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[98] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 72-73.

[99] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 73.

[100] Most Gospel synopses conclude this pericope at v 18. Instead, the Research Team opted to begin the following pericope (3:18-20) at v 18 since "the μέν…δέ construction begins there and ends with Lk 3:20" (McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 75).

[101] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 75.

created by Luke in order to "suppress Mt's account of John's baptism of Jesus,

...creating the impression that John was not even present when Jesus was baptized."[102]

The baptism of Jesus immediately follows (Luke 3:21-22). Luke reorients

Matthew's emphasis on the relationship between John and Jesus in this episode to a focus

"on the divine signs accompanying Jesus' baptism, signs that indicate that he is being

anointed for a special mission as the Son of God."[103] Luke also alters Matthew's

declarative voice from heaven to a direct one, changing Matthew's "This is my Son, the

Beloved, *with whom I am well pleased*" (Matt 3:17b) to "You are my Son, the Beloved,

today I have begotten you" (Luke 3:22c).[104] This revision takes place in Luke in order to

continue to emphasize the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of Jesus, with "the Holy Spirit

[confirming] Jesus' divine sonship."[105]

The genealogy that follows (Luke 3:23-28) is unparalleled in Matthew and is, on

the whole, drawn from Luke's "non-Matthean traditions." Luke includes this episode to

confirm not only Jesus' divine lineage, but to also establish Jesus' David ancestry. What

follows and concludes this narrative sequence is Jesus' temptation (Luke 4:1-13). In this

pericope, Luke resumes following Matthew, but alters Matthew's order of the three

temptations, switching the second (pinnacle of the temple in Matthew) with the third

(kingdoms of the world in Matthew) in order to focus "the story on the last temptation

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[102] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 75. It should be noted that Luke on the 2DH could be described similarly, omitting the Markan references to Jesus being baptized by John.

[103] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 75.

[104] Instead of following the decision of the UBS committee, the Research Team opts for the Western variant in Luke 3:22 ("today I have begotten you") since they "think that Luke's original reading was indeed *meant to be* a quotation from Ps 2:7, since Luke later explicitly quoted Ps 2:7 again in Acts 13:33, clearly looking back at this passage" (McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 76 [emphasis original]).

[105] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 76.

where Jesus is tempted to preserve his life *in Jerusalem*," which has the effect of foreshadowing "Jesus' final confrontation with evil in Jerusalem."[106] The Research Team notes that Luke also shortens Matthew's quotation from Deut 8:3b ("'One does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God'" in Matt 4:4 becomes in Luke 4:4 "'One does not live by bread alone'"). However, they provide no redactional explanation for the change.

Finally, Luke concludes this narrative unit with an "interweaving transitional unit," Jesus' return to Galilee (4:14-16a). Unlike the previous material in this sequence, Luke draws from a number of different places in Matthew (and potentially "Non-Matthean tradition" as well). Summarizing Luke's use of sources in this pericope, the Research Team states the following:

> Possibly based on nonMatthean tradition, Luke meticulously revised Mt's narrative, inserting a carefully conceived tableau of the young Savior visiting his home town where his graceful words were at first greeted by his friends with admiration and praise, only to turn into envy and rage. In the process, Luke replaced Mt's prophecy-fulfillment quote of Isa 9:1-2 [Matt 4:14-16], which was unsuitable for his compositional needs of the prophets' announcement of a new era, by another prophecy-fulfillment *sermon* based on the passages from Isa 61:1-2; 58:6. Luke portrays Jesus using Isaiah to announce in unmistakable terms his own self-understanding as the anointed messenger who sets forth the major emphases of his entire public mission. By Hellenistic literary standards, the purposes for this important opening scene were accomplished; instead of Mt's abrupt shifts to Galilee/Nazareth/Capernaum [Matt 4:12-13], Luke provided the reader with a smoother narrative flow into the Nazareth scene where the chief themes of Jesus' mission were set forth.[107]

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[106] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 77-78 (emphasis original).

[107] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 81 (emphasis original).

Note below the Research Team's synopsis "[i]llustrating Luke's utilization of redactional

material from a number of different Matthean contexts to create this summary

passage:"[108]

Figure 18: A Synopsis of Luke 4:14-16a

Matt 4:12-13a	Matt 4:23a, 24a	Matt 9:26 (cf. 9:31)	Luke 4:14-16a
12 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.	23 Καὶ περιῆγεν	 26 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ φήμη αὕτη	14 Καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. καὶ φήμη ἐξῆλθεν
	ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν ... 24 Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν	εἰς ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην.	καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου περὶ αὐτοῦ. 15 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων.
13 καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρὰ			16 Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά

What is curious about the above synopsis is the Research Team's presentation of

Luke's composition of Luke 4:14b-15. The Research Team argues that this text

is based upon a collage of phrases taken from a number of Matthean summary
passages. This is extremely significant source-critical evidence. These are not

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[108] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 82.

actual sayings or anecdotes of Jesus that Luke could have received by tradition: this is Matthean summary material, i.e., words and phrases that have the highest likelihood of coming from the hand of the final redactor of the Gospel of Matthew, not any of Mt's sources. For words and phrases from these Matthean summaries to appear in a parallel text in Lk's order is important *evidence* indicating Luke's direct literary dependence upon Matthew.[109]

Thus, the Research Team describes Luke drawing from three different contexts in Matthew (and possibly from the "Non-Matthean Traditions" as well) in the composition of the two and a half verses of Luke 4:14-16a.

The compositional/redactional procedure described by the Research Team in this narrative sequence is relatively straightforward, at least up through Luke 4:13. Luke follows his main source, Matthew, and interweaves material from other traditions along with material composed by Luke himself. One may quibble with the motivation for Luke's changing and supplementing of Matthew as a means of rebutting the 2GH in this narrative sequence. This, however, is beyond the purview of the present study.

Where the described compositional procedure begins to become convoluted and difficult to imagine is in Luke's composition of Luke 4:14-16a. Here, the Research Team asks the reader to imagine Luke moving from Matt 4:23a (καί)[110] to Matt 4:12b (εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν) to Matt 9:26 back to 4:23b-24 then back to 4:13a, all in order to compose some two and a half verses (35 words).[111] Such a complicated procedure does not seem to

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[109] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 81-82 (emphasis added). It should be noted that the Research Team frequently misuses the term "evidence" here and throughout their volume on Luke. For them, the term "evidence" appears to indicate what is already presupposed, namely, Luke's use of Matthew. Common vocabulary between Matthew and Luke no more constitutes "evidence" for Luke's use of Matthew than it does for Matthew's use of Luke, or the existence of Q for that matter.

[110] The Research Team seems to be creating at least one unnecessary "movement" of Luke within his source, Matthew. One hardly needs Matt 4:23a to supply Luke's καί at 4:14a.

[111] This does not even take into account the possibility that Luke may have been also using "Non-Matthean" tradition at this point. This possibility remains unelaborated by the Research Team.

be supported by what we do know about the compositional conventions of antiquity,

particularly the physical conditions under which ancient writers worked. If Luke were

imagined using Matthew in a scroll medium, such a procedure is physically very difficult,

given the quick movement between Matthean contexts (and possibly sources) required of

Luke by the Research Team in the composition of Luke 4:14-16a.[112]

Similarly, our testing the validity of Luke's use of Matthew can be broadened to

include all of Luke, particularly in the Research Team's description of Luke's cyclic and

successive progressions through Matthew. Kloppenborg has noted that in order to

construct the Lukan travel narrative (Luke 9:51-18:41), the Research Team "must assume

more than twenty-five passes through the Matthean discourses" with Luke repeatedly

scanning "the five Matthean discourses, extracting (...in Matthean order) sayings

material which he assembled into the Travel Narrative."[113] Such a procedure becomes

more complicated when one begins to imagine the physical procedure undertaken by

Luke in order to accomplish such a task. If Luke were working with Matthew in a codex-

like medium, such a procedure would have been less difficult, with codices lending

themselves to both random and sequential access. Yet Luke is said to be working with

Matthew in a in scroll form. If this is the case, such a procedure imagined by the

Research Team would be virtually impossible, given the limitations placed on the reader

by the scroll medium, a format that is designed for sequential reading.

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[112] At least one Research Team member sees the medium of Luke's and Mark's sources on the 2GH to be the scroll. David B. Peabody states that he believes "that the Synoptic Evangelists utilized scrolls rather than codices in their original compositions" ("Repeated Language in Matthew," 647).

[113] John S. Kloppenborg, "Review of McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew,*" *CBQ* 61 (1999): 370-372.

Similarly, Tuckett states in his critique of the Research Team's volume, that "the more sweeps one has to postulate…the less convincing the argument becomes."[114] He continues:

> Some of the "reasons" given for Luke's jumping around Matthew in the Travel Narrative are little more than statements of what he must have done; and they also at times presuppose an almost incredibly detailed knowledge of Matthew's text and the context (sometimes quite broadly conceived) of allegedly linked verses in Matthew…[115]

Thus, while some of the Research Team's description of Luke' composition of his Gospel can be seen as consistent with compositional practices in the Greco-Roman world (e.g., Luke 3:1-4:13), at times the description seems artificial, anachronistic and physically very difficult (e.g., Luke 4:14-16a; Luke's "cyclic progressions" through Matthew's text).

Mark's Conflation of Matthew and Luke: Mark 1:1-15

The groundwork for a similar volume on Mark (soon to be published) by the Research Team was laid a decade ago in their summary of the narrative outline of Mark's composition according to the 2GH (see a summary chart of this outline – Figure 21 at the end of the chapter).[116] In this forthcoming volume on Mark's use of Matthew and Luke, the Research Team outlines their commentary on Mark's conflation of his two sources on the 2GH.[117] The Research Team divides Mark 1:1-15 into the following six units: 1)

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[114] Christopher Tuckett, "Review of McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew*," 365.

[115] Tuckett, "Review of McNicol," 365.

[116] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 212-239.

[117] Peabody, *Beyond the Impasse of Markan Priority: Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke*. I thank David B. Peabody, a member of the Research Team, for supplying me with a section of the unpublished manuscript.

Mark 1:1: The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; 2) Mark 1:2-3: A Conflated

Prophecy About John the Baptizer; 3) Mark 1:4-8: John Preaches and Baptizes; 4) Mark

1:9-11: Jesus is Baptized "The Beloved Son"; 5) Mark 1:12-13: Jesus' Temptation With

Wild Beasts; and, 6) Mark 1:14-15: John is Arrested/Jesus Begins to Preach the Gospel

of God. Mark's "alternating pattern of agreement" is readily seen in this narrative

sequence, and is most easily observed in the Research Team's synoptic presentation of

Mark 1:1-15 and parallels. For example, see Figure 19 below adapted from the Research

Team's presentation of Mark 1:4-8, John's preaching and baptism, with the shaded areas

indicating places where, according the Research Team, Mark is relying either on

Matthew or Luke:

Figure 19: Mark's Conflation of Matthew and Luke: Mark 1:4-8

Matt 3:1-12	Mark 1:4-8	Luke 3:1-20
¹Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις		¹Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετρααρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρῴδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετρααρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετρααρχοῦντος, ²ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα.
παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας	ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης [ὁ] βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. ³καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν [τὴν] περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
²[καὶ λέγων] μετανοεῖτε ἤγγικεν γὰρ	καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν
ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. ³οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.	[moved forward and already used by Mark (1:2-3)]	⁴ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ· ⁵πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείαν καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας· ⁶καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ

σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

[cf. Mark 1:6]

⁷Ἔλεγεν οὖν

τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·

[cf. Matt 3:4]

[Matt 3:7b-10]

[Luke 3:7b-9]

[Luke 3:10-16a]

¹⁶ᵇ ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς

[cf. Mark 1:8]

ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μού
ἐστιν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ
ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι· αὐτὸς
ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι
ἁγίῳ

καὶ πυρί·
¹²οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἄλωνα
αὐτοῦ καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ δὲ
ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ
ἀσβέστῳ.

καὶ πυρί·
¹⁷οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
διακαθᾶραι τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ
καὶ συναγαγεῖν τὸν σῖτον εἰς
τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ
ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ
ἀσβέστῳ.
¹⁸Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτερα
παρακαλῶν εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν
λαόν.
¹⁹Ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραάρχης,
ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ
Ἡρῳδιάδος τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ
πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ
Ἡρῴδης,
²⁰προσέθηκεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ
πᾶσιν [καὶ] κατέκλεισεν τὸν
Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ.

Above, it is relatively easy to see Mark's pattern of alternating agreement

between Matthew and Luke, similar to what Longstaff described two decades earlier. In

the whole narrative sequence of Mark 1:1-15 and parallels, the figure below illustrates

Mark's sources and his alternation between them:

Figure 20: Mark's Alternating Pattern of Agreement in Mark 1:1-15

Matthew	Mark	Luke

1. Beginning of the Gospel

2. Conflated Prophecy

3. John Preaches, Baptizes

4. Jesus is Baptized

5. Jesus' Temptation

[illustration/obscured banner]
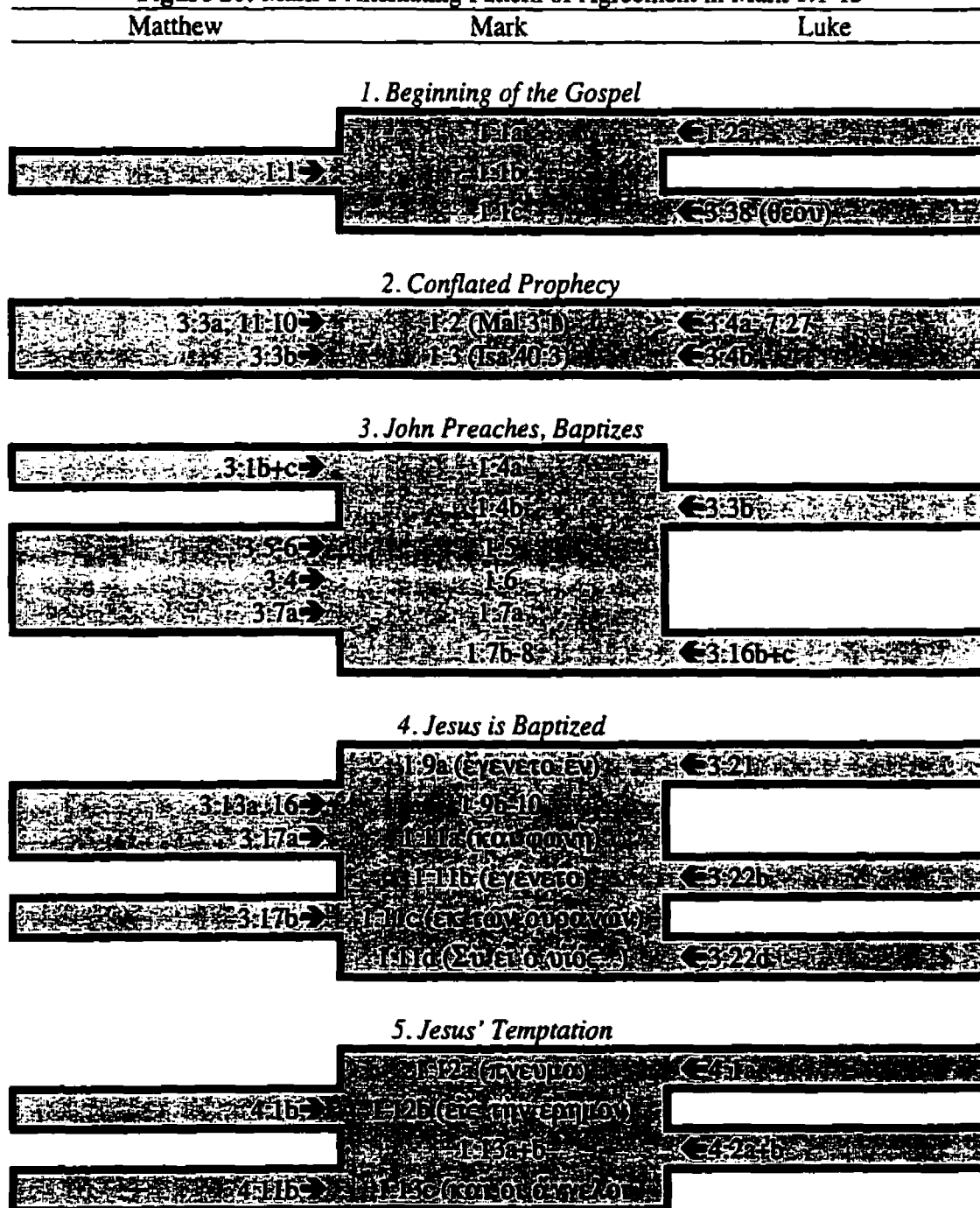
*6. John is Arrested/Jesus
Begins to Preach*

[illustration/obscured banner]

On Sections 1 and 2 (Mark 1:1-3), the Research Team states the following about

Mark's composition:

> Mk [Mark] adds the Mal. 3:1 quote about John in Mt 11:10//Lk 7:27 to the quote
> from Isa. 40:3 here at the beginning in his sources on the principle that these are
> both prophecies about John. Thus the very opening words of Mark reveal him to
> be a conflator. In the process, he creates an important "minor agreement."
> Structurally, Mk 1:1 is an *inclusio* which end at 1:14-15: "And after John had
> been imprisoned Jesus went to Galilee preaching the Kingdom of God...saying
> repent and believe 'The Gospel.'" In general, Mark's structure at the beginning of
> his narrative is identical to Luke, who also ends the opening section of his
> narrative with the story of John's imprisonment, after which come the stories of
> Jesus' Galilee ministry.[118]

The Research Team briefly "outlines" what Mark is doing with his sources,

Matthew and Luke, in the individual pericopes of Mark 1:1-15:

1. On John's ministry (Section 3, Mark 1:4-8), the Research Team states that "[i]n

   general, Mk is closer to Mt but he conflates from both Mt and Lk to create one

   coherent narrative of J[oh]n's ministry."[119]

2. On Jesus' baptism (Section 4, Mark 1:9-11), clearly Mark alternates between

   Matthew and Luke, with Mark "following Lk's lead" and "avoids Mt's potentially

   misleading dialogue; he also uses Lk's Voice from Heaven."[120]

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[118] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 214.

[119] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 214.

[120] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 214.

3. On the temptation (Section 5, Mark 1:12-13), Mark also alternates between his two sources and "severely curtails the story" by recasting it "as a martyrdom scenario that could be well familiar to [Mark's] Roman Christians: facing the 'wild beasts' in the Coliseum while being strengthened by angels," with the "reference to 'wild beasts'" being "a [negative] minor agreement."[121]

4. Finally, on Jesus' early ministry in Galilee (Section 6, Mark 1:14-15), Mark completes his *inclusio* with the "opening theme...repeated as a conclusion to Part One" of Mark's Gospel.[122] Here, Mark "follows Lk's abbreviation of the Matthean original, adding his own very Pauline phraseology and causing some important minor agreements [εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν (Matt 4:12//Luke 4:14); καὶ...Ναζαρά (Matt 4:13//Luke 4:16a)]."[123]

There are several observations worthy of mention on Mark's use of Matthew and Luke, particularly in Mark 1:1-15. First, while conflict between Matthew and Luke is often mentioned as a reason for Mark deciding not to include material paralleled in both of his sources (e.g., the genealogies or infancy narratives[124]), Mark often *does* include parallel sections in Matthew and Luke that are otherwise in conflict. In Mark 1:1-15 and parallels, conflict between Matthew and Luke within the pericopal level does not cause

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[121] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 214.

[122] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 214.

[123] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 214.

[124] "Jesus' line of relatives differs considerably when the genealogies in Mt and Lk are compared. The two genealogies would be difficult, if not impossible, to conflate" ("Outline of the Gospel of Mark," *Beyond the Impasse of Markan Priority*, p. 3 of unpublished manuscript). "On the Two-Gospel Hypothesis, Mark omitted virtually all the material from the opening two chapter of Mt and Lk about the conception, birth, infancy, youth and genealogy of Jesus.... The differences, not only in content, but also in location of these two differing genealogies... could have even given Mark the occasion to skip from the beginning of the earlier genealogy in Mt to the end of the later genealogy in Lk" (p. 5).

Mark to elimate material. For example, Matthew's "unworthy to carry his sandals" (Matt 3:11) versus Luke's "unworthy to untie the thong of his sandals" (Luke 3:16) does not cause Mark to eliminate this section. He instead chooses to adopt Luke's wording. Outside of Mark 1:1-15, see the similar phenomenon in the Great Commandment pericope (Matt 22:34-40//Mark 12:28-34//Luke 10:25-28): The Research Team argues that when"[c]onfronted by two drastically different versions of the same story, Mk has chosen to simply repeat them in turn, Mt's first and then Lk's."[125]

Second, more often than not there are places where Matthew and Luke *agree* where Mark decides to omit this agreement. In Mark 1:1-15, Mark chooses to omit very "harmonious" texts like John's preaching of repentance (Matt 3:7-10//Luke 3:7-9), John's threshing floor image (Matt 3:12//Luke 3:17), and much of the temptation story (Matt 4:3-10//Luke 4:3-12). Also, it is worth noting that the description of Mark as "harmonizing" Matthew and Luke (in part) seems to be problematic in light of the phenomenon of the MAs, which are places where Mark has clearly chosen to not be harmonious.

Third and perhaps most importantly, Mark's method of conflation is clearly one of alternating between his two sources, not just simply on level of episode or pericope, but *internally* within episodes or pericopes. This technique is paramount in Mark 1:1-15 on the 2GH. Yet this technique is not the sort of conflation undertaken by Josephus in his use of Dtr and Chronicles. Josephus conflates episodes found in each, sometimes

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[125] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 231. See the following comments by Kloppenborg: "Farmer's explanation of Mark's avoidance of conflicting stories is not especially convincing, for Mark *has* on various occasions chosen between conflicting versions of stories – for example, between Matt 3,13-17 and Luke 3,19-20.21-22, between Matt 4,18-22 and Luke 5,1-11 and between Matt 13,53-58 and Luke 4,16-30" (John S. Kloppenborg, "The Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem," in *The Four Gospels 1992* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck et al., eds.; BETL 100; Leuven: University

eliminating episodes found in his sources altogether while at the same time

supplementing his narrative with material found outside of his two biblical sources. The

sort of conflation suggested by the Research Team is not supported by other ancient

authors evidently undertaking the sort of conflationary program Mark does on the 2GH.

While Tatian perhaps is the closest *ancient* literary analogy to Mark's sort of conflation

described by the Research Team, Tatian's method and program is considerably different

than Mark's on the 2GH.[126] As Longstaff himself has noted, one may heuristically

imagine two types of conflation: *inclusive* and *exclusive*.[127] Clearly, Tatian is striving to

be *inclusive*, harmonizing all four Gospel accounts, including all but a very few of the

Gospel stories of Jesus, resulting in, as Longstaff puts it, "considerable redundancy and

repetition."[128] The Research Team's Mark, on the other hand, is clearly and admittedly

exclusive, excluding virtually all of the sayings material found in Matthew and Luke,

along with their respective infancy and post-resurrection narratives. Neither is Mark

characterized by "considerable redundancy and repetition." Thus, Mark's conflationary

program is fundamentally different than Tatian's, in whose program one would expect to

see the careful "unpicking" and reassembly of his four sources.[129] Even Farmer has

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Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1992) 100.

[126] Tatian's "method of conflation was inclusive rather than exclusive," Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 10.

[127] *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 10.

[128] Lonstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?* 10.

[129] This has also been discussed briefly by Tuckett in his critique of Longstaff's work:
"In the case of Tatian, it is probably a justifiable conclusion to say that his work is charaterised in this way [i.e., the careful comparison of sources that leads to 'a number of rather minute verbal agreements – often consisting of only a single word or a brief phrase – between the author and a source other than that which he had been principally following']; but, on the other hand, Tatian's method is different from that of other conflators such as Benedict [of Peterborough] or Roger [of Hovedon] (or even Mark on the G[riesbach]H[ypothesis]), in that in any one given pericope, Tatian's specific aim was (probably) to

argued that "Tatian's work reflects a later situation in which four Gospels needed to be

worked together on the principle of 'inclusiveness' – that is, not only does Tatian include

what all have in common, but he also includes most of what is common to three or two,

and even most of what is unique to each."[130] Mark, on the other hand, operated in an

"earlier period, after the first Gospels had been written, but before all four of the

canonical Gospels were in existence," working with "the possibility of creating a new

Gospel out of existing Gospels on an 'exclusive' principle."[131]

In addition, Tatian's motivations appear to be very different than Mark's on the

2GH. Tatian scholars argue that there were a number of factors influencing him to

produce his Gospels harmony, one of the most important of which was Tatian's desire for

unity. In his *Oratio*, Tatian states that

> ...everything has a common origin...For the structure of the body results from a
> single plan...although one part differs from another, in the overall plan there is
> harmonious agreement.... It is possible to apprehend the details if one does not
> conceitedly reject the most divinely inspired interpretations, which from time to
> time have been expressed in writing and have made those who study them real
> lovers of God.[132]

Similarly, Tatian's own overarching historiographical concerns makes his literary

work radically different than Mark's conflation and abbreviation of Matthew and Luke on

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include every detail of his sources...

"However, in the case of Tatian, such a comparison of sources [by Tatian] is not surprising. It is in fact demanded by his overall aim. If he was trying to include every detail of his sources, then he must have carefully compared his sources and been eclectic in his choice of words within any one sentence" (Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis*, 42-43).

[130] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 280.

[131] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, 280.

[132] *Or.* 12, as translated by M. Whittaker, *Tatian. Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments* (OECT; Oxford: University Press, 1982) 25.

the 2GH. Petersen, in summarizing and agreeing with T. Baarda, states the following

about Tatian's historiographical concerns:

> When confronted with contradictory or inconsistent information, the historian's
> task was to reconstruct "the true events." This was done (and still is done) by
> carefully evaluating the reliability of each account. The one judged most reliable
> forms the framework of the narrative; where possible and probable, what appears
> less reliable is fitted into that framework. If a point of corruption can be detected,
> it is corrected. This, said Baarda[133], is precisely what Tatian attempted to do in the
> Diatessaron. When scrutinized by the trained eye of an historian, the historical
> confusion of the individual gospel accounts (both canonical and perhaps extra-
> canonical), would yield up the truth; the conflicts among the accounts would be
> resolved, and the *single*, the *true* account of what actually happened would be
> discernable. Consequently, Tatian saw himself principally as an *historian*, and his
> Diatessaron as a "scientific" work, the definitive account of Jesus' life.[134]

Unlike Tatian, Mark on the 2GH does not "correct" points of conflict between

Matthew and Luke, eliminating much of the contradictory material between the two.

Instead, Mark eliminates much of the common material Matthew and Luke share

together. It is not difficult, then, to conclude that Mark's historiographical concerns in his

conflation of Matthew and Luke were quite different than those of Tatian. Hence, his

conflationary methods likely reflected these different concerns. Besides, it is quite

possible that *Diatessaron* was originally written in Syriac. Thus, the value of Tatian as an

appropriate literary analogy to Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke (begun and

developed by Longstaff) needs to be reassessed.

A case should be made, too, for a reassessment of Longstaff's other examples of

conflation: the Medieval chroniclers Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hovedon,

two conflators who clearly fall outside the boundaries of the Greco-Roman world. Even

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[133] T. Baarda, *Vier = Eén: Enkele bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de harmonistiek der Evangeliën* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1969) 12.

[134] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 75-76 (emphasis original).

Dungan had to admit the following in his review of Longstaff's *Evidence of Conflation of Mark?*: "[I]t may be doubted that two case studies [i.e., Tatian and Benedict/Roger] are sufficient to develop 'characteristics' for anything as complex as copying habits in ancient Mediterranean culture, particularly when the main new examples [Benedict and Roger] falls outside that milieu entirely."[135] Similarly, Burton H. Throckmorton has offered the following in critique. Unlike Mark on the Griesbach theory,

> [i]t is quite clear that Roger of Hovedon's method of conflation is to quote a substantial block of material from one source, and then from the other, making very few verbal alterations as he goes along. He transcribes rather than rewrites; he copies rather than creates.[136]

Throckmorton continues:

> It seems evident that the parallels in the gospels are quite different in kind from those we find in the narratives about Thomas Becket, and that therefore one ought not make conclusions with regard to the gospel parallels based on what one knows about the use Roger of Hovedon made of his two sources....
>
> In the case of the Becket narrative, Roger of Hovedon has conflated two documents, one which, it is known, is itself based partly on the other; hence the threefold relationship that exists. But the argument that Mark conflated Matt and Luke assumes what is *not known* and what must be demonstrated – namely, a previous literary relationship between Matt and Luke, to account for *their* verbal similarities against Mark.[137]

Mark, on the 2GH, often will follow the order of one source, yet adapt the wording of the other.[138] This is a difficult process to imagine for a number of reasons.

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[135] *CBQ* 41 (1979): 164. See also Tuckett's critique in *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis*, 41-51.

[136] Burton H. Throckmorton, "Mark and Roger of Hovedon," 104. Throckmorton is writing in response to Longstaff's earlier article, "The Minor Agreements: An Examination of the Basic Argument."

[137] Throckmorton, "Mark and Roger of Hovedon," 106 (emphasis original).

[138] For example, the Research Team argues that while Mark chiefly follows Luke in the narrative sequence describing Jesus' early ministry (Mark 1:21-39//Luke 4:31-44), Mark will adapt wording from Matthew: "Although M[a]r[k] is following Lk's order [in this section], he may have gotten 'throughout all Galilee' [Mark 1:39] from M[a]t[t] 4:23..." (Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 215).

First, the physical limitations placed on what could be accomplished by a writer in terms of media and writing surfaces were dramatic. Mark (literally) moving between written sources, pictured by advocates of the 2GH, is difficult given this reality. Second and on a related issue, such a description appears to be anachronistic. In our analysis of Josephus' conflation, for example, he will consistently follow both the order *and* wording of *one source at a time*. This "simple" method of conflation likely had much to do with the problems created with working with more than one scroll, and working without something that functioned like a modern writing desk.

In addition, it becomes hard to imagine the sort of "micro-conflation" on Mark's part of two sources given the physical limitations of writing and working with written sources in antiquity. Josephus' pattern of "alternating agreement" is, of course, fundamentally at the pericopal/episodic level, where he may have occasion to alternate between sources between episodes. This sort of procedure seems difficult enough, given the physical limitations imposed on ancient writers in their non-use of writing desks to the difficulties in handling the scroll medium. This procedure has been described by the Research Team as Mark's ability to "'zig zag' *within* a single story."[139] How, then, does the Research Team imagine Mark physically working with his two written sources, often alternating between the two frequently *within* individual pericopes? Evidently, this question has yet to be addressed by any advocate of the Griesbach theory since and including Griesbach himself.

It is hard to imagine the author of Mark, working without a writing desk either squatting or seated on a stool, physically being able to accomplish this combination of

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[139] Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Composition of Mark," 222 (emphasis mine).

two written sources into one new narrative. Clearly, on the 2GH Mark is working with the written texts of Matthew and Luke, not some repository (or repositories) of Matthean or Lukan oral tradition. If Mark was alternating between his two sources on the pericopal level, then such a picture is not difficult to imagine, despite any given difficulties an author might have working with at least one written source. But on the 2GH, the phenomenon of the alternating pattern of agreements *within* individual pericopes requires an image of Mark, often in the midst of a thought or sentence, literally laying down one source and picking up the other in his conflation of Matthew and Luke. Such a practice sounds virtually physically impossible, given the physical conditions under which ancient writers worked.

In addition, there is the very puzzling phenomenon found in Markan conflation occurring in triple tradition pericopes. Obviously, the vast majority of pericopes in Mark are triple tradition, offering the general suggestion that Mark conflated Matthew and Luke on the 2GH. However, this conflationary procedure as described by the Research Team does not allow Mark to exclusively follow either Matthew or Luke within triple tradition pericopes. While Mark will choose to follow the pericopal order of one or the other, Mark is *always* alternating between the two internally within the triple tradition (see the Figure 21 below). This description appears to be both artificial and anachronistic; it is hard to imagine that Mark does not once exclusively follow one source as opposed to both in the triple tradition.

Finally, it should be noted that the Research Team never compares Luke to Lucian's "standards" for writing history in any detail in their volume on Luke's use of Matthew. This is unfortunate, given the general climate within Synoptic source critical

discussions across the board to ignore the compositional conventions of writers in

antiquity. The Research Team would have been better served to make conscious and

regular reference to Lucian in their detailed commentary on what Luke is doing with

Matthew on the 2GH, particularly since Luke has similar compositional "standards" in

his creation of "a smoothly flowing, well-proportioned narrative."[140]

Does the model of the ancient epitome aid advocates of the 2GH?

As is commonly known, epitomizing/condensing/abridging longer written works

was a regular practice in antiquity, occurring frequently in both the Greek and Latin

literary worlds (see discussion in Chapter Three, "Greco-Roman References to Sources

and Methods of Adaptation").[141] Clearly, on the 2GH, Mark is a type of "abbreviation" or

"abridgement" of Matthew and Luke. This assertion has its roots in Augustine, who

argued in *De consensu evangelistarum* that "Mark follows [Matthew] closely and looks

like his attendant and epitomizer [Marcus eum subsecutus, tanquam pedissequus et

breviator ejus videtur]."[142] An anonymous article appearing in 1781 argued that Mark, on

the Griesbach hypothesis, "had Matthew in front of him and epitomized him with a

drawing on Luke."[143] However, deeming Mark an "epitome" of Matthew and Luke in the

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[140] McNicol, *Luke's Use of Matthew*, 30.

[141] See M. S. Silk, "epitome (Greek)," and R. A. Kaster, "epitome (Latin)," *OCD*, 549.

[142] 1.2.4, as quoted and translated by David B. Peabody, "Augustine and the Augustinian Hypothesis: A Reexamination of Augustine's Thought in *De consensu evangelistarum*," in Farmer, *New Synoptic Studies*, 39-40.

[143] (Translated into English by David B. Peabody.) Anonymous, "Von Interpolation im Evangelium Matthaei," *Repertorum für biblische und morgenlandische Literatur* 9 (ed. J. G. Eichhorn; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1781) 144. This author is later identified as Friedrich Andreas Stroth by J. G. Eichhorn, in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, vol. 1 (2ⁿᵈ ed.; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1820) 465 n 1. The full quote by Anonymous (Stroth) reads as follows: "1. Der Evangelist Markus hatte in seinem Exemplar des Matthaeus die oben angeführten verdächtigen Stücke nicht. Ich setze hiebei voraus, was wohl keiner

classic sense quickly fell out of fashion among early source critics with J. B. Koppe's

1792 book, *Marcus non epitomator Matthai.*[144] However, recently Sanders and Davies

made the Markan epitome connection on the 2GH, stating the following:

> Why an ancient would do what Mark is said to have done [on the 2GH] is
> unrecoverable. Perhaps he wrote to synthesize competing gospels and thus
> achieve harmony. Perhaps he enjoyed the puzzle [*sic*] aspects of his task. In the
> Graeco-Roman world epitomes and abbreviated documents did exist, and possibly
> Mark should be seen as an epitome which achieves a dramatic impact, based on
> the miracle stories and the emphasis on 'immediacy'. Yet the epitome theory
> leaves most people unsatisfied...[145]

Even David L. Dungan used similar terminology, calling Mark on the 2GH "the

abridgment of Matthew and Luke."[146]

However, the question remains: Is it appropriate to describe Mark as an

"abridgment," "abbreviation," "condensation," or "epitome" of Matthew and Luke? Is the

description of Mark by advocates of the 2GH consistent with epitomes/abridgments from

antiquity? It appears the answer to both of these questions is "No." Like epitomes from

antiquity, Mark on the 2GH omits full sections from his sources. Yet unlike the typical

epitomizer, Mark does not adapt the conventional practice of following one source at a

time, as, for example, Diodorus evidently does. In addition, epitomizers (like the author

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laügnen kann, dass Markus den Matthäus vor sich hatte, und ihn mit Zuziehung des Lukas epitomierte." I
thank David B. Peabody for bringing this quotation to my attention. See Peabody's fuller discussion of this
quote in "Chapters in the History of the Linguistic Argument for Solving the Synoptic Problem. The
Nineteenth Century in Context," in *Jesus, the Gospels and the Church. Essays in Honor of William R.
Farmer* (ed. E. P. Sanders; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987) 54-56.

[144] J. B. Koppe, *Marcus non epitomator Matthaei* (Programme Univ. Göttingen; Helmstadii: C. G.
Fleckeisen, 1792). Koppe argued for a "Fragment Hypothesis," in which he assumed the existence of a
number of lost Greek and Hebrew fragments used by the Evangelists, a theory rejected by Griesbach (see
Griesbach, "A Demonstration," in Orchard and Longstaff, *Griesbach Studies 1776-1976,* 104).

[145] *Studying the Synoptic Gospels,* 92. The "unsatisfied" perception left by the 2GH causes Sanders
and Davies to adapt, at least in part, the Farrer-Goulder theory (i.e., "Mark without Q").

[146] See above and Dungan, "Mark – The Abridgment of Matthew and Luke."

of 2 Maccabees) strove (in theory at least) for concision and precision in their language.

This is typically not the case in Mark. As is well known, Mark is clearly shorter than

Matthew and Luke in total length but consistently longer than Matthew and/or Luke on

the pericopal level. One would not expect an epitomizer/abridger to exhibit this

phenomenon. Thus, it appears that (early and current) the attempt to suggest the ancient

epitome or abridgement as the appropriate literary analogy to Mark on the 2GH is, at

best, unhelpful and, at worst, flawed and anachronistic. Yet, as some early and current

advocates of the 2GH have demonstrated, it is very difficult to find another way to

describe Mark on the 2GH if one is going to assume the posteriority of Mark in the

Synoptic Problem.

IV. Conclusion

The assertion by E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies that Mark's conflation of

Matthew and Luke is "mechanically feasible" appears to be problematic.[147] In the current

(post-)modern literary culture of the contemporary West, it is certainly possible to

imagine an author undertaking the literary project as presented by advocates of the 2GH

in their description of Mark's use of Matthew and Luke. Yet it appears that for the most

part, Mark as described by advocates of the 2GH is inconsistent with what can be

observed in the works of ancient writers and their conventions. All would likely agree

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[147] "It [the Griesbach Hypothesis] seems to us mechanically feasible," Sanders and Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, 92. Sanders and Davies also later state that the 2GH is "technically possible" (117). Again, despite the "mechanical feasibility" of the 2GH, in the end Sanders and Davies adopt (at least in part) the Farrer-Goulder theory (i.e., "Mark without Q") as the best solution to the Synoptic Problem.

that most (if not all) redactional arguments in favor of particular solutions to the Synoptic

Problem are reversible. In addition, the so-called "one-way indicators" in the stylistic

argument may also suffer from the same problem, with the description of these indicators

as unidirectional being, in the end, incorrect. However, it seems that advocates of all

solutions, including the 2GH, could make a better case if compositional methods, ancient

book production, and the use of written texts as sources were included in the discussion.

So far, advocates of the 2GH have yet to explore this in any detailed fashion. Moreover,

the portrayals by advocates of the 2GH appear to be somewhat anachronistic in its

description of Luke's and Mark's compositional procedures, at least in terms of what

limited materials have been analyzed in the first part of this dissertation.

When Farmer's book, *The Synoptic Problem*, was published in 1964, it was

largely received negatively. Most reviewers did not appreciate Farmer's contribution to

Synoptic Problem scholarship, particularly his important discussion of the historical,

cultural and ecclesiatical forces at work shaping source-critical analysis since the

eighteenth century. Instead, criticism has (and continues to be) focused on the last two

chapters of the book where Farmer revives Griesbach's theory: "A New Introduction to

the Problem" (Chapter Six) and "Notes for a History of the Redaction of Synoptic

Tradition in Mark" (Chapter Seven). This rather lopsided critique of Farmer's book led to

comments like the following polemical remarks by F. W. Beare in his review of *The*

Synoptic Problem:

> The attempt [by Farmer] to show how Mark could have been composed by an
> editor bent on conflating Matthew and Luke must be regarded as a total failure.
> We are asked to suppose that Mark wiggled back and forth from Matthew to Luke
> in a fashion that is quite incredible; in fact, I was included to say that anyone who
> could imagine any editor at any time or in any place going about his job as Farmer

describes Mark as doing would have to make a habit of believing sixteen impossible things before breakfast.[148]

Beare's sarcastic remarks clearly overstate Farmer's picture of Mark and miss the

valuable contribution that his analysis made to Synoptic Problem scholarship, which, at

the time, was clearly not interested in vigorous debate over the merits of the widely

accepted 2DH. Yet as acerbic as Beare's comments may be, what Mark and Luke are said

to do on the 2GH continues to appear to be difficult to imagine, particularly in light of

what we now know about the ways in which writers worked with source materials in

antiquity.

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[148] *JBL* 84 (1965): 296.

Figure 21: The Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition According to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis[149]

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Part One: The Appearance of Jesus Christ, the Son of God	1:1; 3:3b; 11:10	Introduction 1:1-3	1:1-4; 3:38; 3:4b-6; 7:27
	3:3b-6, 11-12	Ministry of John 1:4-8	3:2b-3b, 3a
	3:13-17	Appearance of Jesus; Baptism 1:9-11	3:21f
	4:1-11	Temptation 1:12-13	4:1-13
	4:12-17	Jesus Begins Ministry 1:14-15	4:14-15
Part Two: Jesus the Great Teacher and Healer	4:18-22	Call of Four Disciples 1:16-20	(cf. 5:1-11)
	(4:13)	Jesus Teaches/Heals in Synagogue 1:21-28	4:31-37
	(8:14f)	Heals Simon's Mother-in-law 1:29-31	4:38-39
	(8:16-17)	Heals Many Sick 1:32-34	4:40f
	(4:23)	Preaching/Teaching Tour 1:35-39	4:42-44
	8:1-4	Healing of the Leper 1:40-45	5:12-16
Part Three: Jesus' Conflict with the Scribes and Pharisees		Transition Passage 2:1-2	
	9:1-8	Heals Paralytic 2:3-12	5:17-26
	9:9	Call of Levi 2:13-14	5:27-28
	9:10-13	Eating with Sinners 2:15-17	5:29-32
	9:14-17	Controversy over Fasting 2:18-22	5:33-39
	12:1-8	Working on the Sabbath 2:23-28	6:1-5
	12:9-14	Healing on the Sabbath 3:1-6	6:6-11
	12:15-16 (cp. 4:23-25)	Great Crowds, Great Healings, Jesus' Fame Spreads 3:7-12	(6:17-19)
Part Four: Jesus Creates a Brotherhood of Twelve Closest Disciples to Whom He Openly Teaches the Mystery of the Kingdom of God	(10:1-4)	Choice of Twelve 3:13-19a	6:12-16
		Jesus' Own Family Think He is Insane and Come to Take Him Away 3:19b-21	
	12:22-37	Beelzebul Controversy 3:22-30	(11:15-23)
	12:46-50	Jesus' True Mother, Brothers 3:31-35	(8:19-21)
	13:1-9	Jesus Teaches in Parables 4:1-9	8:4-8
	13:10-23	Jesus Explains the Parable to His Disciples 4:10-20	8:9-15
	(13:12)	Hidden Sayings on Light/Seeing 4:21-25	8:16-18
		The Seed Growing Secretly 4:26-29	
	13:31-32	Mustard Seed 4:30-32	(13:18-19)
	13:34-35	Conclusion 4:33-34	
	(8:23-27)	Stilling the Storm 4:35-41	8:22-25
	(8:25-34)	Gerasene Demoniac 5:1-20	8:26-39
	(9:18-26)	Jairus' Daughter, Bleeding Woman 5:21-43	8:40-56
	13:53-58	Retrospective Passage on Jesus' Wisdom and Miracles 6:1-6a	(4:16-30)
Part Five: Initial Mission of the Twelve, Execution of John the Baptist	(9:35; 10:1-14)	Sending Out of the Twelve 6:6b-13	9:1-6
	14:1-2	Herod's View of John 6:14-16	9:7-9
	14:3-12	Death of John the Baptist 6:17-29	
	14:12-13	Return of the Twelve 6:30-33	9:10
Part Six: The Food that Satisfies	14:13-21	Feeding of the 5000 6:34-44	9:11-17
	14:22-33	Jesus Walks on the Water 6:45-52	
	14:34-36	Healings at Gennesaret 6:53-56	
	15:1-20	Clean and Unclean Foods 7:1-23	
	15:21-28	The Syrophoenician Woman is Satisfied with Crumbs from Jesus' Table 7:24-30	
	15:29-31	Jesus Heals Many Others 7:31-37	
	15:32-39	Feeding of 4000 8:1-9	
	16:1-12	Pharisees' "Bread" is to be Avoided 8:10-21	
Part Seven: On the Way: Preparation for Death and Transfiguration		Healing of the Blind Man in Bethsaida 8:22-26	
	16:13-20	Peter's Confession 8:27-30	9:18-21
	16:21-23	First Prediction of Jesus' Passion; Peter's Rebuke 8:31-33	
	16:24-26	The Costs of the Gospel 8:34-38	9:23-26

[149] Adapted from Farmer et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition," 212-239. Bold lines indicate agreement in order.

	16:28-17:13	Seeing the Kingdom 9:1-13	9:27-36
	17:14-21	The Meaning of Resurrection from the Dead 9:14-29	9:37-43a
	17:22-23	Second Prediction of Crucifixion/Resurrection 9:30-32	9:43b-45
	18:1-5	A Series of Community Regulations 9:33-50	9:46-50
	19:1-15	More Regulations: marriage/divorce/children 10:1-16	(18:15-17)
	19:16-30	Teachings on Wealth 10:17-31	18:18-30
	20:17-19	Third Prediction of Suffering/Resurrection 10:32-34	18:31-34
	20:20-28	Response of the Sons of Zebedee 10:35-45	(cp. 22:24-27)
	20:29-43	Healing of Bartimaeus 10:46-52	18:35-43
Part Eight: The End of the Temple Era	21:1-9	Entry into Jerusalem 11:1-10	19:28-40
	21:10-22	Cursing the Fig Tree = the Old Temple 11:11-25	19:45-48
	21:23-46	By Whose Authority Did Jesus Act? 11:27-12:12	20:1-19
	22:15-22	Did Jesus Preach Treason? 12:13-17	20:20-26
	22:23-33	Do You Really Believe in the Resurrection? 12:18-27	20:27-40
	22:34-40	What is the Greatest Commandment? 12:28-34	(10:25-28)
	22:41-46	On David's Son 12:35-37a	20:41-44
	23:1-6	Watch Out for Scribes! 12:37b-40	20:45-47
		The Widow Who Gives Her Whole Life 12:41-44	21:1-4
	24:1-2	The End of the Temple 13:1-2	21:5-6
Part Nine: Jesus Warns: Watch! The End of History Is Almost Here!	24:3	When Will the End Come? 13:3-4	21:7
	24:4-8	The Beginning of the Final Tribulation 13:5-8	21:8-11
	(10:17-24) 24:9-14	Persecution Will Increase 13:9-13	21:12-19 (12:11-12)
	24:15-25	The Final Sacrilege 13:14-23	21:20-24
	24:26-31	Deliverance with the Son of Man 13:24-27	21:25-28
	24:32-36	Learn The Parable of the Fig Tree 13:28-32	21:29-33
	24:37-26:30	Conclusion: So Watch! 13:33-37	21:34-36 (12:37-38, 41, 44)
Part Ten: The Arrest, Crucifixion and Resurrection	26:1-5	The Conspiracy Continues Against Jesus 14:1-2	22:1-2
	26:6-16	A Woman Anoints Jesus; Judas Betrays Him 14:3-11	(22:3-6)
	26:17-19	The Preparation for Passover 14:12-16	22:7-13
	26:20-29	The Last Supper 14:17-26	22:14, 21-23
	26:31-35	Peter's Denial 14:27-31	22:31-34
	26:36-46	Gethsemane 14:32-42	22:40-46
	26:47-56	Arrest and Abandonment of Jesus 14:43-52	22:47-53
	26:53-75	The Preliminary Trial 14:53-72	22:54-57 (56-62); 63-65
	27:1-2; 11-14	Jesus Before Pilate 15:1-5	22:66-23:5
	27:15-16	The Barabbas Incident 15:6-15	23:13-25
	27:27-32	Mocking of the Soldiers and Carrying the Cross 15:16-21	23:26
	27:33-44	The Crucifixion 15:22-32	23:33-43
	27:45-54	The Death of Jesus 15:33-41	22:44-49
	27:57-61	The Burial of Jesus 15:42-47	23:50-56
	28:1-8	The Empty Tomb 16:1-8	24:1-9
	(28:9-20)	Resurrection of Jesus 16:9-20	(24:13-53)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FARRER-GOULDER HYPOTHESIS

I. Introduction

Along with the previously discussed 2GH, the Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis (FGH)
offers a significant alternative to the standard Two-Document theory of Synoptic
relationships. However, acceptance of the FGH is essentially a British phenomenon, with
the theory largely being dismissed, or even ignored, in North America and continental
Europe.[1] In addition, occasionally when the theory is engaged by North American and
European source critics, it is often misrepresented and too briefly discussed.[2] Still, the
theory first introduced by Austin Farrer and more fully explored by his protégé, Michael
D. Goulder, has been received and advocated (with some reservation) by several Gospels
scholars including E. P. Sanders and Mark S. Goodacre.[3]

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[1] One notable exception to this trend is E. P. Sanders, and his continued advocacy and defense of
the FGH. For his most recent justification of the theory, see Sanders and Davies, *Studying the Synoptic
Gospels*, especially Chapter 6, "Further Hypotheses: Simple and Complex," 93-111.

[2] For example, see the following comments by David Dungan under the heading "The
Continuation of B. C. Butler's Proposed Solution." Dungan deals with Goulder's theory in his "history" of
the Synoptic Problem: "After B. C. Butler attacked Streeter's defense of the Two Source Hypothesis, a
small number of English scholars sought to develop his [!] arguments further. Foremost among them has
been Austin Farrer and his student Michael Goulder, whose *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 2 vols. (1989) is the
most extensive redactional analysis of the Gospel of Luke from this [Butlerian] perspective in the
literature." (*A History of the Synoptic Problem*, 384-385). Dungan's comments both wrongly associate
Butler with Farrer and Goulder and deal with Farrer/Goulder far too briefly.

[3] See Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 133;
Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

The influence on Michael Goulder by his academic mentor, Austin Farrer, is significant. Like Farrer, Goulder has published extensively his theories on the lectionary origins of the Gospels.[4] And like Farrer, Goulder has maintained a solution to the Synoptic Problem that posits Markan priority, Matthew's use of Mark, and Luke's use of Mark plus Matthew, a theory labeled by some as "Mark without Q."[5] However, Farrer's published development of his "Mark without Q" theory on Synoptic literary relationships is quite limited, most explicitly discussed in his St. Matthew and St. Mark, and in his essay entitled "On Dispensing with Q."[6] It was left to Michael Goulder to guide the theory into maturity and wider acceptance among scholars. While Goulder has referred to Farrer as "a genius as well as a saint,"[7] Goulder's continuing influence is clearly more profound and significant than that of his academic mentor.[8] Still, the methodological and conceptual groundwork was laid for Goulder in his academic work with Farrer.

Thus, this chapter will analyze Goulder's theory on Synoptic relationships in light of ancient compositional practices on two fronts, that is, the two "phases" of Goulder's

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[4] See Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974); *The Evangelists' Calendar: A Lectionary Explanation of the Development of Scripture* (London: SPCK, 1978). See also Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 147-177. For Farrer's work on lectionary theories and the Gospels, see *St Matthew and St Mark* (London: A. and C. Black, 1954).

[5] See, for example, Mark Goodacre's internet site: "Mark without Q: A Synoptic Problem Web Site," n.p. [cited 2 November 2000]. Online http://www.bham.ac.uk/theology/q.

[6] Originally published in D. E. Nineham, ed., *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955) 55-88. Reprinted in Arthur J. Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985) 321-356.

[7] Michael Goulder, with John Hick, *Why Believe in God?* (London: SMC Press, 1983) 16.

[8] Dennis Nineham argues that it "would be quite wrong to overdo the debt to Farrer: Michael [Goulder] is a professional, linguistically fully qualified, and widely recognized biblical scholar – indeed a major biblical scholar – in a way that Farrer never was" ("Michael Goulder – An Appreciation," in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* [S. E. Porter, et al., eds.; Biblical Interpretation Series 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994] xiii).

theory of Markan priority without Q – 1) Matthew's (Midrashic) use of Mark; 2) Luke's

use of Mark and Matthew.

II. Matthew's Exclusive Use of Mark:

The First Phrase of Goulder's "Mark Without Q" Hypothesis

Introduction: The origin and purpose of Mark's Gospel according to Goulder

Goulder's conclusions, as described generally (and understatedly) by Nineham,

"have tended to be against the current."[9] However, an example of where Goulder's

conclusions are conventional has to do with the identity of the author of the second

Gospel. Goulder argues that Mark's Gospel likely originated in Rome "where Peter and

Paul gave their lives for the faith."[10] In addition, it "carries (if Papias' account is either

true or current) the preaching message of Peter," for its "simple and detailed narrative is

self-authenticating."[11] As such, Mark's Gospel, argues Goulder, "contained the full

wealth" of the Peter-James-John [PJJ] tradition at Jerusalem."[12]

A fundamental tenet of Goulder's on-going work on the origin of the Synoptic

Gospels is the lectionary purpose and design of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Goulder's so-

called "lectionary theory" posits that each of the Synoptic Gospels was designed to be

used liturgically in the early church, with the construction of each following a specific

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[9] Nineham, "Michael Goulder – An Appreciation," xiv.

[10] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 453.

[11] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 453. On the "PJJ tradition," see Goulder, "A Pauline in a Jacobite Church," *The Four Gospels 1992* (F. Van Segbroeck et al., eds.; BETL 100; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1992) 2:859-875.

[12] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 151.

religious calendar (or a portion thereof). While Goulder has written extensively on the

liturgical/lectionary nature of Matthew and Luke, Mark has been viewed similarly: Mark

is a "lectionary book" that (uniquely) spans six and a half months of an early church's

religious calendar – from New Years to Easter. However, given Mark's only partial

coverage of the liturgical year, Goulder explains that

> [s]ix and a half months' readings are not satisfactory: well, Mark only promised to
> give us 'the beginning of the Gospel,' and very likely (he may have felt) someone
> else might like to write a second volume about Pentecost, and the continuance of
> the Gospel in the Church. Mark's unsatisfactoriness is Matthew's invitation.[13]

Thus, Goulder develops this "invitation" by exploring Matthew's use of Mark on the

FGH. Matthew's main motivation for reordering and reworking Mark, argues Goulder,

was to create a "satisfactory" lectionary book for the liturgical life of his community.

Essentially, what Matthew does to Mark "is to add a first half...: Matt. 12-28 follows

Mark 3-16 with occasional insertions, Matt. 1-11 borrows forward and elaborates."[14]

For Goulder, the main evidence in support of his lectionary theory and the

liturgical nature of the Gospels comes from the Passion narrative in all three Synoptics:

"It cannot escape the simplest hearer of the Passion story that it is divided into three-

hourly units: they are marked almost continuously in the text, and where there are

differences between the Gospels ...the events are timed to fall on the watches."[15] In other

words, the Passion Narrative is arranged and timed to correspond to a 24 hour vigil

period that the earliest Christians would observe annually on 14th/15th Nisan.[16]

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[13] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 201.

[14] *Midrash and Lection*, 201.

[15] *Evangelists' Calendar*, 297.

[16] *Evangelists' Calendar*, 297-306.

The rest of Matthew's Gospel corresponds to the remainder of the liturgical year.

Goulder observes that the 69 divisions in the text of Matthew in Codex Alexandrinus

betrays a liturgical use for the Gospel – these 69 divisions correspond to lectionary

readings throughout the liturgical year.[17] It is a liturgical arrangement of Matthew that

Goulder illustrates as follows:[18]

Figure 22: Matthew's Liturgical Arrangement (Goulder)

Text in Matthew	Contents	Calendar
Matthew 23-28	Pharisees, Ready for Parousia, Passion and Resurrection	Nisan (Passover)
Matt 1:1-4:16	Birth, John the Baptist, Baptism, Temptations	Iyyar
Matt 4:17-7:29	Call of the Four; Sermon on the Mount	Sivan 1-15 (Pentecost)
Matt 8:1-11:1	Healings, Mission Charge	Rest of Sivan; Tammuz; Ab; Elul 1-17
Matt 11:2-30	Those sent by John; Upbraiding of cities; Cornfield	Elul 24 (New Year)
Matthew 12	Forgiveness; Jonah	Tishri 1-14 (Day of Atonement = Tishri 10)
Matt 13:1-14:21	Harvest Parables; John and Herod; Loaves and Fishes	Tishri 15-30 (Feast of Tabernacles = Tishri 15-22)
Matt 14:22-15:31	Walking on water; Transgression of God's commandment; Canaanite woman; Crowds healed	Cheshvan
Matt 15:32-19:2	Jesus' final Galilean ministry	Kislev
Matt 19:3-22:46	Jesus' pre-Passion Judean ministry	Tebeth; Shebat; Adar

Thus, in *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (1974) and *The Evangelists' Calendar*

(1978), Goulder developed and defended the notion that the Synoptic Gospels were

designed around specific annual lectionary cycles. For, in the case of Luke (and

presumably Matthew and perhaps Mark), it is a Gospel "too long and too rich" to be read

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[17] *Midrash and Lection,* 180-183.

[18] Adapted from "Appendix A: The A Divisions of Matthew and a Jewish-Christian Year,"

in one sitting.[19] Instead, the Synoptics are best understood as organized around some sort

of lectionary cycle that corresponds to the Jewish-Christian year.

The bulk of criticism directed at Goulder between the publication of *The*

Evangelists' Calendar (1978) and *Luke: A New Paradigm* (1989) was directed against his

lectionary theory. Mark Goodacre has summarized succinctly this criticism, and divides it

into five specific objections to the theory. First, while some have accepted Goulder's

"midrashic" understanding of Matthew's (or Luke's) use of Mark, they have not been

convinced of the validity of the lectionary side of the theory.[20] In other words, a

"midrashic" understanding of Matthew does not also require a lectionary theory. Second,

some have argued that Goulder places too much significance on the Alexandrinus

divisions as the key to unlocking the supposed lectionary structure and purpose of

Matthew.[21] Third, some have questioned the extent to which the readings in Luke (and

Matthew) correspond to the OT readings connected to the various seasons and festivals

within a (Jewish) liturgical year.[22] Fourth, some have questioned the type of lectionary

Goulder has imaged – one that begins with Passover (i.e., at the Passion in Matthew and

Luke),[23] or, one that spans only part of a liturgical year (six and a half months for

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Midrash and Lection, 195-198; and, *Evangelists' Calendar*, 214.

[19] Goulder, *Evangelists' Calendar*, 3.

[20] E.g., Henry Wansbrough, "Review of Michael Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*," *ScrB* 5 (1974-1975): 49; and, J. Drury, "Review of Michael Goulder, *Evangelists' Calendar*," *JSNT* 7 (1980): 72-73.

[21] E.g., J. A. Sherlock, "Review of Michael Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*," *TS* 36 (1975): 340; and, C. L. Mitton, "Review of Michael Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*," *ExpTim* 86 (1976): 98.

[22] E.g., Morna Hooker, "Review of Michael Goulder, *Evangelists' Calendar*," *Epworth Review* 7 (1980): 91-93; and, Mitton, "Review of *Midrash and Lection*," 98.

[23] E.g., Hooker, "Review of *Evangelists' Calendar*," 92.

Mark).[24] Fifth, Goulder has been criticized for not treating Luke's second volume (Acts)

in the same lectionary fashion as he treats the first.[25]

This criticism caused Goulder to restate part of the theory and temporarily

"shelve" another. In 1989, Goulder wrote the following:

> Of the two books which I have written on the Gospels, one was partly given to
> calendrical claims (*Midrash and Lection in Matthew*), and the other wholly (*The
> Evangelists' Calendar*). These proposals were generally greeted with scepticism,
> and this scepticism has forced me to re-examine them, and to make a distinction
> which was unclear to me at the time. For I was in fact making two suggestions:
> one that the Synoptic Gospels were designed to be read in sections round the year,
> with suitable *festal* lessons at proper intervals; and the other that it was possible to
> reconstruct week-by-week *sabbath* readings in the first-century synagogue, and to
> see them echoed serially in Mark and Luke. The most serious criticisms ... were
> of the second hypothesis; and it is now clear to me that is was unwise to bind the
> two theories together as I did. In the present state of knowledge the sabbath
> readings in the synagogue are speculative, and the correspondences with the
> Gospels are in any case patchy: so the sabbath hypothesis needs to be shelved,
> though it does not need to be abandoned. But the evidence of correspondence
> between the Gospels and the main feasts and fasts of a (Jewish-) Christian Year is
> much stronger.[26]

Recently, Goulder took his "sabbath" hypothesis "off the shelf" in his 1999 article

"Sections and Lections in Matthew."[27] As before, Matthew is divided up into 64 sections,

each "marked" with at least one citation from the OT. This allows Goulder (again) to see

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[24] E.g., C. F. Evans, "Goulder and the Gospels," *Theology* 82 (1979): 430.

[25] See Goodacre's own discussion of the problems with Goulder's theory at this point (*Goulder and the Gospels*, 313-314.

[26] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 147 (emphasis original).

[27] *JSNT* 76 (1999): 79-96. This "un-shelving" of the theory has occurred despite the significant criticism by Mark Goodacre, who otherwise adapts the FGH as the best "solution" to the Synoptic Problem." Goodacre states that "Goulder's reconstruction of an annual cycle beginning in Nisan is rather too hopeful, although there is probably enough in Goulder's case to warrant shelving it, as he recommends [in 1989], rather than abandoning it. Particularly impressive are the correspondences he adduces between *sidrôt* from Genesis and passages in Matthew. Nevertheless, most of Goulder's evidence for the reading of the Pentateuch in an annual cycle beginning in Nisan is indirect and at best suggestive rather than probative" (*Goulder and the Gospels*, 339; see also pp. 294-362).

Matthew correspond to weekly lectionary readings throughout a liturgical year –

beginning with Easter (Passover). Goulder's "lectionary cycle" in Matthew "has exactly

the right number of lections for a Jewish-Christian year: 64, less eight Passover and one

pre-Paschal reading (since these days are normally week-days), makes 55, the number

required for a 13-moon year."[28] For Goulder, this "lectionary cycle" becomes the impetus

for Matthew's reworking of Mark, as we will see below.

The origin, purpose and techniques of Matthew's Gospel according to Goulder

Goulder's understanding of the first Gospel (Matthew) can be summarized in

three interrelated points:

1) Matthew exclusively uses Mark (Matthew's only written source is Mark);

2) Matthew generally and consistently reflects the Rabbinic literary technique of

   midrash; and,

3) the purpose of Matthew's Gospel (like Mark's) was liturgical, structured to

   provide lectionary readings throughout the religious year of Matthew's

   community.

These points are discussed below, beginning with a brief description of Matthew and

Midrash in Goulder's theory.

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[28] Goulder, "Sections and Lections," 95.

Midrash as defined by Goulder

Matthew, argues Goulder, is "neither a free paraphrase of Mark, nor a mere commentary, but a *re-writing*, a *second edition*."[29] But in this "re-writing" of Mark, argues Goulder, Matthew utilizes Mark as his sole written source. The non-Markan material in Matthew, says Goulder, is simply "an amplification of Mark, because it was Matthew's midrash."[30] In other words, all of the non-Markan material (i.e., the so-called "M" and "Q" material on the Two-Document Hypothesis) originated with and was "created" by Matthew himself as a trained scribe or *sōphĕr*. Like other scribes during the first century Rabbinic period, Matthew "made his living by teaching and copying scripture." Interestingly, Goulder argues that Matthew was also familiar with Paul's letters, "the stock of rabbinic wisdom," and, of course, the OT (see below).[31]

Like other scribes, Matthew regularly practiced the Rabbinic technique of *midrash*, the broad purpose of which is two-fold, described by Goulder as follows: first, the scribe has "the duty to edify, to proclaim God's word in the community, to interpret;"[32] and second, the scribe has "the duty to reconcile," since with "time come developments in theology, and midrash is necessary in order to square the old with the new."[33] Thus, in Matthew's literary work "...we see exemplified the three general traits of midrash...: creativity, inspiration, and willingness to expand by a few words, a few

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[29] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 34 (emphasis added).

[30] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 151.

[31] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 151.

[32] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 29.

[33] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 29.

verses, or a few chapters. Matthew makes stories up: [for example:] the Infancy stories,

the Temptations, the details of Judas."[34]

Matthew's reasons for "amplifying" Mark are perhaps two-fold and related. First,

while "Matthew had...an authoritative account of the Lord's ministry [i.e., Mark's

Gospel]," as "a scribe, he had the midrashist's double motive for expanding it. The

people need teaching, and Mark is short of teaching."[35] Second, as a scribe, the "mantle

of authority" would have fallen on Matthew (the author) for liturgical leadership.[36] Thus,

Matthew would be required to "amplify" through the technique of midrash, gradually

transforming an "unsatisfactory" and incomplete "lectionary book" (Mark) into a

complete and useful liturgical work. Goulder describes Matthew's liturgical *Sitz im Leben*

as follows:

> In the 70s worship would be revolutionized by the arrival of Mark['s Gospel]. The
> full wealth of PJJ [the Peter-James-John tradition at Jerusalem] was now at
> Matthew's disposal. The skilful *sôphēr* found himself able, week after week, to
> expound OT texts in terms of the new tradition, and vice versa: drawing
> sometimes on the Pauline letters, and sometimes on the stock of rabbinic wisdom,
> especially in the matter of parables. The narrative was the Marcan narrative, for it
> supplanted a thin thing, a Form-critics' PJJ, worn down to its bones: the full body
> of Mark's story, backed by the authority of Peter, left nothing of the older
> tradition worth preserving. The additional matter [i.e., the "non-Marcan
> traditions"] was an amplification of Mark, because it was Matthew's midrash. As
> year followed year, a more and more perfect amplification could be provided: and
> when its author felt it could not be bettered, it could be written down and passed
> out to other churches....[37]

Thus, the liturgical needs of Matthew's community dictated his treatment of his single

literary (and lectionary) predecessor.

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[34] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 33.

[35] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 32.

[36] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 11.

While Matthew's midrashic traits can generally be described as creativity,

inspiration, and a willingness to expand (see above), Goulder suggests a more detailed

catalogue of Matthew's midrashic techniques, drawing as an analogue the Chronicler's

use (midrash) of the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr) in the OT.[38] These techniques are

twelve in number:

1) *transcription* (i.e., places where Matthew borrows unaltered from Mark);

2) *omission* (occurs more infrequently in Matthew than in other examples of

midrash);

3) *abbreviation*;

4) *inconsistencies* (i.e., minor contradictions are a common but insignificant

occurrences in Matthew's introduction of his own material with that of Mark);

5) *fatigue* (i.e., Matthew is more willing to freely create at the beginning of a

Markan pericope than at the end, where "the magnet of the text he is

following pulls him into more docile reproduction"[39]);

6) *doublets* (i.e., "the glossing of one context with another later in the story, so

that the author is involved in borrowing forward from his own material"[40]);

7) *explanatory changes* (places "where any phrase likely to cause difficulty or

offence is liable to be glossed, paraphrased, or otherwise explained"[41]);

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[37] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 151.

[38] See Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 34-46.

[39] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 35. See Mark Goodacre's development of the "fatigue" idea in "Fatigue in the Synoptics," *NTS* 44 (1998): 45-58.

[40] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 36.

[41] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 38.

8) *modification*;

9) *deliberate change of meaning;*

10) *added antithesis* (i.e., "Matthew often adorns Marcan prose with antitheses of

his own making"[42]);

11) *expansion*; and,

12) *composition miracles* (i.e., places where "Matthew combines elements from

different Marcan miracles"[43]).

Goulder's definition of Midrash is quite general, and therefore does not agree

with more technical approaches. Gary G. Porton argues that more general/less technical

understandings of Midrash have to do with two problems in the definitions offered by

most Midrash scholars. First, many "have ignored the possibility of midrash's being a

scholarly, holy game."[44] Second, Midrash could be "anything" if one does not require "a

clear connection between the comment and the verse."[45] Given this problem, Porton's

Doktorvater Jacob Neusner argues that Midrash is usually understood in one of three

ways: 1) "the types of scriptural exegesis carried on by diverse groups of Jews from the

time of ancient Israel to nearly the present day"; 2) "a compilation of scriptural

exegeses"; and, 3) "the written composition (e.g., a paragraph with a beginning, middle,

and end, in which a completed thought is laid forth)."[46] Consequently, Neusner adapts the

definition of his student Porton as the best definition of Midrash: "Midrash is a type of

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[42] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 41.

[43] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 45.

[44] Gary G. Porton, "Midrash," *ABD* 4: 818.

[45] Porton, "Midrash," 818.

[46] Jacob Neusner, *What is Midrash?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 8.

literature, oral or written, which has its starting point in a fixed canonical text, considered

the revealed word of God by the midrashist, and his audience, and in which the original

verse is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to."[47]

Neusner argues that Midrash can be either "paraphrase," "prophecy," or

"parable":

> [In *Midrash as paraphrase*, t]he exegete would paraphrase Scripture,
> imposing fresh meanings by the word choices or even by adding additional
> phrases or sentences and so revising the meaning of the received text....
>
> In *Midrash as prophecy* the exegete would ask Scripture to explain
> meanings of events near at hand, and Scripture would serve as a means of
> prophetic reading of the contemporary world. Midrash as prophecy produces the
> identification of a biblical statement or event with a contemporary happening....
>
> In *Midrash as parable*, the exegete reads Scripture in terms other than
> those in which the scripture writer speaks.... The basic principle is that things are
> never what they seem to be. Israel's reality is not conveyed either by the simple
> sense of Scripture or by the obvious realities of the perceived world. A deeper
> meaning in Scripture preserves the profound meaning of the everyday world of
> Israel even now.[48]

Porton presents the varieties of midrashic activities as various sub-genres within

the general category of Midrash, including midrash in the Hebrew Bible, the *Targumim*,

the "rewriting" of Biblical narratives, and *Pesher*.[49] What is most relevant to this chapter

is his discussion of both of the following sub-genres: the "Midrashic activity within the

Hebrew Bible;" and, the "Rewriting of the Bible." While one may disagree with

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[47] Gary G. Porton, "Defining Midrash," in *The Study of Ancient Judaism* (ed. Jacob Neusner; New York: Ktav, 1981) 1:62. Neusner quotes Porton on pp. 9-10, *What is Midrash?*

[48] Neusner, *What is Midrash?* 7-8. Neusner utilizes this same threefold approach in *A Midrash Reader* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990). Neusner also offers a similar threefold definition in *Invitation to Midrash* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989): "Midrash works in three dimensions: first, as explanation of meaning imputed to particular verses of Scripture; second, as a mode of stating important propositions, syllogisms of thought, in conversation with verses or sustained passages of Scripture; and, third, as a way of retelling scriptural stories that imparts new immediacy to those stories" (3-4).

[49] Gary G. Porton, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible in the Greco-Roman Period," *ANRW* 2.19.2 (1979): 118-127.

Chronicles-Dtr analogy for Matthew's Midrash of Mark (see below), Goulder's point that

what the Chronicler is doing with Dtr as a source can be seen as Midrash is potentially

sound. While unmentioned in Goulder's *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, several

scholars have argued that 1 and 2 Chronicles is, in fact, "midrash," including L. Zunz,[50]

E. Schürer,[51] J. Weingreen,[52] and T. Willi.[53] However, Porton cautions the reader to

refrain from anachronistically describing what Chronicler is doing in the technical sense

of "midrash" since Porton's research "indicates that only in the first centuries of the

common era did the terms $dr\check{s}$ [$d\bar{a}r\bar{a}sh$ = 'to seek' or 'to resort to'] and $mdr\check{s}$ attain the

technical meaning of searching Scripture and producing comments upon the Holy

Text."[54]

Porton argues that one can also see the sub-genre of "rewriting" Biblical texts

within a post-biblical context, seen most readily in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*

(*LAB*) and the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[55] This type of midrash "retells the biblical story by

adding details, explaining difficult passages, rearranging material, and the like."[56] Porton

states that, for example, *LAB* "rewrites biblical history" by adding "details which are

missing and edits the material it reproduces by omitting, shortening, lengthening, or

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[50] *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (Hildesheim: Olm-Hildesheim, 1892) 38.

[51] *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (trans. J. MacPherson; New York: Schocken Books, 1891) I, div. 2, 340.

[52] "The Rabbinic Approach to the Study of the Old Testament," *BJRL* 24 (1951-1952): 186-187.

[53] *Die Chronik als Auslegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).

[54] Porton, "Defining Midrash," 58.

[55] Porton, "Midrash," 819.

[56] Porton, "Midrash," 819.

paraphrasing the original text."[57] Thus, *LAB* is consistent with Porton's description of

midrash, and is likely to be "one of the oldest midrashic works in our possession" (I or II

c. CE).[58]

Is Goulder's Matthew engaging in a Midrash of Mark?

Connecting Matthew and the Rabbinic technique of midrash is nothing new.

Robert H. Gundry broadly described Matthew's technique, in part, as a midrashic

expansion and embellishment of his main source Mark.[59] Even Neusner argues that

Matthew's Gospel exhibits characteristics of "Midrash as prophecy," particularly where

Matthew follows a brief episode with "a citation of a verse of the Hebrew Scriptures that

has been fulfilled in the preceding saying or story."[60] For Matthew, "Midrash involves *the*

reading of the verses of ancient Israel's Scriptures in light of their meaning in the life and

teachings of Jesus."[61] Neusner continues:

> What we have in all of the New Testament Gospels, as in the Essene library of
> Qumran, is an entirely distinctive sort of exegesis: a reading of the verses of
> ancient Scripture in light of an available scheme of concrete events. The exegete
> relates Scripture from the past to things that have happened in his own day.
> ...[Thus, the] compiler or evangelist wished to present amplification of the
> meaning of a verse of Scripture, no word-for-word or phrase-for-phrase
> interpretations.[62]

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[57] Porton, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible," 123.

[58] Porton, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible," 122.

[59] E.g., Matthew's redactional "features exhibit such a high degree of editorial liberty that the adjectives 'midrashic' and 'haggadic' become appropriate" (R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art*, 628).

[60] Neusner, *What is Midrash?* 37. Neusner gives four examples from Matthew: Matt 1:18-23; 2:1-6; 2:16-18; and 3:1-3.

[61] Neusner, *What is Midrash?* 39 (emphasis original).

[62] Neusner, *What is Midrash?* 40.

But both Gundry and Neusner differ dramatically from Goulder in their use of the term

"Midrash." Whereas Gundry and Neusner both argue that Matthew exhibits the

techniques of Midrash, they do not state or imply that Matthew's Gospel should be

characterized by the literary *genre* of Midrash, as Goulder does. This is where Goulder is

on his own: Matthew not only *exhibits* the *techniques* of Midrash, but should be *classified*

as such.

Neusner and Porton have worked to provide a clear and specific definition of

Midrash, the foundation of this definition being Jewish exegesis of *biblical* texts. In other

words, whatever Midrash is or whatever sub-genres of Midrash there may be, Midrash is

a technique *always* connected to a "canonical" or biblical text. As Porton argues:

"Midrash is based on a canonical text."[63] Technically speaking, Goulder's Mark was not

"canonical" or "biblical" for Matthew and his community, at least in the modern

understanding of the terms. However, Goulder does argue that Mark was a longtime-

known "authoritative" text for the Matthean community, and as such, could be considered

a "canonical" text that in turn could be used midrashically. As Porton continues:

> For our purposes, canon designates those texts which are accepted as authoritative
> by the community.... If the original passage is canonical or proto-canonical, its
> later use is properly designated as midrash. However, if the prior text had not
> achieved canonical status, the later comment is not midrash.[64]

On this issue, the following question remains: Can a text deemed "unsatisfactory" and

"imperfect," thus obsolete and inferior, still be seen as "canonical" or authoritative?

Besides, Goulder's case that the Matthean community was familiar with Mark as an

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[63] Porton, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible," 111.

[64] Porton, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible," 111.

authoritative text for a decade or so prior to the composition of Matthew's Gospel is

entirely speculative and an unsubstantiated claim. Similarly, Gundry is criticized for

using the term "midrash" in connection with Matthew's literary technique. P. B. Payne,

in his criticism of Gundry, argues that

> Midrash clearly indicates the OT *text which is being interpreted*. The purpose of
> the midrash is to comment on, embellish, and apply the OT text. In contrast,
> Matthew and the other evangelists were[, as X. Léon Dufour has stated,]
> "concerned not with interpreting the OT, but with interpreting an *event* in terms of
> the OT."[65]

Thus, it is probably safe to conclude that Goulder's use of the term "midrash" to describe

the literary genre of Matthew is troublesome, given the consistent connection between

Midrashim and the OT.

This leads us to the next point: Nowhere is midrashic literature described as a

literature that arises because of the supposed inferiority or obsolescence of a particular

biblical text. Neither is midrashic literature ever characterized, both by the Midrasists

themselves and their contemporary analysts, as a "replacement" for the Biblical text upon

which it is commenting and exegeting. Thus, Goulder's description of Matthew as a

"second edition" of Mark is problematic if Matthew is, in fact, practicing Midrash in his

use of the Markan source. Subsequent editions, whether ancient or modern, are, by

definition, replacements for their predecessors. The publication of an updated, revised or

subsequent edition always, either implicitly or explicitly stated by the author, renders the

earlier edition obsolete and therefore unusable. Thus to speak of Matthew as both Mark's

midrash and "second edition" is anachronistic. One cannot deem a work of midrash as a

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[65] P. B. Payne, "Midrash and History in the Gospels with Special Reference to R. H. Gundry's *Matthew*," *Gospel Perspectives: Studies in Midrash and Historiography, Volume III* (ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) 201 (emphasis original). Payne quotes from Dufour, *The Gospels and the Jesus of History* (London: Collins, 1968) 215.

subsequent edition of the work upon which it is commenting. In other words, the realities

of publication in the Greco-Roman literary world mean that Goulder can have midrash

without Matthew as the second edition, or vice versa, but not both.

Third, deeming Matthew's Gospel within the boundaries of Midrash may, in fact,

be somewhat anachronistic. For Goulder, the problem is the lack of written Midrash

contemporary with Matthew. This is similar to the criticism leveled against Gundry's

arguments for the "midrashic" character of some of Matthew's exegetical techniques.

Payne argues that Gundry's "use of the term *midrash* as a literary genre in Matthew's day

would appear to be anachronistic"[66] for the following reasons: first, H. L. Strack's

assertion that the "writing down of the Midrash, i.e. of Halachoth and Hagadoth,

commenced with the second century of our era, and ended with the eleventh century;"[67]

and, second, Gundry's own admission of the "paucity of rabbinic materials...before A.D.

70."[68] In addition, the volume in which one finds Payne's essay contains two other

articles in which each author argues that "midrash was not a literary genre familiar to

first-century Jews."[69]

In terms of the compositional techniques of writers in antiquity, there are few

items worth noting as this section concludes on Matthew's exclusive (midrashic) use of

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[66] Payne, "Midrash and History in the Gospels," 196.

[67] Strack, "Midrash," *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge* (3 vols.; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883) 2:1504.

[68] Gundry, *Matthew*, 601.

[69] Payne, "R. H. Gundry's *Matthew*," 197. In the same volume, see R. T. France, "Jewish Historiography, Midrash, and the Gospels" (pp. 99-127); and, Bruce Chilton, "Varieties and Tendencies of Midrash: Rabbinic Interpretations of Isaiah 24.23" (pp. 9-32): "'Midrash' is not... a genre within the New Testament: it is definable only within Rabbinica, and may be applied to the New Testament only when a pronounced similarity to Rabbinica is evident. All of the extant Midrashim stem from the period of Rabbinic Judaism; that is, they were composed no earlier than during the second century" (9).

Mark: First, clearly, Goulder's midrash/lectionary theory has not escaped the criticism of

many scholars[70] – on Matthew, Goulder is at his non-conformist best. On the positive

side, despite the nearly wholesale rejection of this theory, Goulder is to be commended

for suggesting a literary *Sitz im Leben* for Matthew and his community that comes from

the breadth of possible first century scenarios. Negatively, Goulder's description of

Matthew as essentially a "second edition" of Mark is a misnomer and potentially

misleading (see above). Surely, on any of the main solutions to the Synoptic Problem, the

secondary Gospel(s) is (are) clearly not a simple"re-writing" of their literary

predecessor(s), let alone a "second edition." Goulder could strengthen his own cause by

avoiding such historical incongruity, a problem that he exhibits more blatantly in his

treatment of Luke (see below). Perhaps Goulder's own "paradigm" of Midrash is partly

responsible for this problematic description of Matthew: If Matthew's Gospel is

essentially his midrashic treatment of Mark and the OT, then Matthew could not be seen

as a unique and independent written work. But Goulder's problem, it seems, is that on the

one hand, he describes the need for a new Gospel (i.e., Mark is liturgically

"unsatisfactory"; it lacks the teaching material required by Matthew's community), yet he

posits a technique and genre (Midrash) that by its nature and definition does not

contribute to the rendering obsolete of older literary works. Yet this is precisely what

Goulder's Matthew has to do because of Mark's apparent manifold deficiencies.

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[70] For a helpful list of those scholars who have responded directly to Goulder's ideas, see
Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels*, 374-375.

Matthew's Techniques of Adapting Mark

Like advocates of the 2DH, Goulder advocates Markan priority. In general, then,

what Matthew is assumed to be doing with Mark on the 2DH is similar to what Goulder

assumes on the FGH, while the reason for such changes would likely differ between most

advocates of the two theories. Again, essentially what Matthew does to Mark "is to add a

first half...: Matt. 12-28 follows Mark 3-16 with occasional insertions, Matt. 1-11

borrows forward and elaborates."[71] In other words, Matthew's most significant reworking

of Mark occurs in the first half of his Gospel. For the FGH (and the 2DH for that matter),

the more significant instances of Matthew "borrowing forward" of Mark would be the

following three episodes, all from Mark 4-6:

1) the calming of the storm/Gerasene demoniac (Mark 4:35-5:20//Matt 8:23-34);

2) the healing of Jairus' daughter and the hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:21-
   43//Matt 9:18-26); and,

3) Jesus' instructions to the Twelve (Mark 6:8-13//Matt 10:5-16).

Clearly, Goulder's Matthew is motivated solely for liturgical reasons in his

reworking of his source, Mark. All three of these stories that have been "borrowed

forward" from Mark occur in the section in Matthew that would be read during the

months of Tammuz, Ab, and Elul leading up to and including the New Year that begins

the Tishri festal season. Thus, Goulder describes Matthew's liturgical motivation as

follows:

> Matthew believed that the New Age had begun with Jesus, and that Rosh-
> hashshanah [that begins Tishri] was the season for proclaiming, and for pointing
> to the signs of, the inbreaking of the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus had indeed
> wrought the signs of the kingdom: he had healed the blind and deaf and lame, and

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[71] *Midrash and Lection*, 201.

the Gospel of Mark had been largely filled with such wonders. ...But as the years went by, an improvement upon the Marcan order of healings would suggest itself. ...What Matthew has done, therefore, is to borrow the remaining healing stories forward, and to leave the controversial incidents [i.e., Mark 2:23-3:6; 3:22-30] in their traditional Tishri setting. He will then be able to proclaim the healing of the blind, deaf/dumb, and lame at New Year...[72]

Goulder summarizes the reasons for Matthew's reworking of Mark in this section:

It is not to be supposed that all this was planned by the evangelist in his study. It was the result of years of trial and error, arrangement and rearrangement, in actual liturgical practice. Some such theory as I have just suggested seems to be required by changes from Mark which Matthew has made, and it does not demand a sophistication in advance of the age of the Gospel. We cannot suppose it to be accidental that the fasting lection and the two discourses [lections] 10-11 [Matt 8:18-27 = Tammuz 13 and 20] so exactly fit the calendar, and these must be primary considerations: for the rest we have either to account for the Matthean healing order, or suppose that he changed Mark at random, an unlikely and unprofitable hypothesis.[73]

On the calming of the storm/Gerasene demoniac episodes (Mark 4:35-5:20//Matt 8:23-34) – lections 11-12 in Matthew – Goulder gives the following reasons regarding Matthew's reworking of Mark. The calming of the storm "is abbreviated from Mark by about a quarter, partly in view of the details used in" the previous reading (i.e, Matt 8:19-22).[74] Matthew's other changes are clearly motivated for liturgical reasons: "κύριε σῶσον introduces a liturgical note suggesting the Lord's divinity: Mark's πῶς οὐκ ἔχετε πίστιν becomes ὀλιγοπιστοί to lessen the reproach of the disciples."[75] The Garasene demoniac in Mark becomes two *Gadarene* demoniacs as Mathew joins to it Mark's other demoniac account from 1:23-28.[76]

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[72] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 313.

[73] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 318.

[74] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 323.

[75] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 323-324.

[76] Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 324.

On the healing of Jairus' daughter and the hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:21-

43//Matt 9:18-26) – lections 15 and 16 in Matthew – Goulder states the following:

> The second series of healings opens with the Levitically unclean woman and
> Jairus' daughter, together as in Mark 5. There is a tendency in all division in
> *lectiones continuae* for the division to be adjusted to the place where the new
> character is named for the first time, cutting across the logic of the story: this is
> true for OT divisions, such as the Noah story, which begins logically at [Genesis]
> 6.1, and not 6.9.... As 9.18-19 is an unsatisfactory unit, it seems likely that
> Matthew intended the story to go on to 9.22 with the healing of the haemorrhage,
> giving one healing to each sabbath.... The very great abbreviation, by two thirds,
> emphasizes the healing ministry seen as a whole, at the expense of individual
> details: Matthew was not concerned with history as such.[77]

Finally, Jesus' instructions to the Twelve (Mark 6:8-13//Matt 10:5-16) is a lection

that marks the beginning of the liturgical New Year. Goulder states the following

regarding Matthew's reworking of Mark at this point:

> In Mark the Twelve are called and named in Mark 3, sent on mission in Mark 6:
> Matthew's rehandling of the Marcan healings [see above] has taken him to Mark
> 5 and beyond, but Mark 3 is still ahead, so it is convenient to him to take the
> calling and sending together. New Year sees both the forming of a new Israel
> under its new patriarchs, and their commissioning to proclaim the presence of the
> kingdom.[78]

Again, Matthew's motivation for reworking Mark are liturgical – the New Year is

appropriate time for reading about the "commissioning" of "new patriarchs."

Clearly, Matthew's technique of adapting and reworking Mark is almost

exclusively for liturgical reasons – Matthew "borrows forward" certain Markan episodes

in order to create a more liturgically useable lectionary. While most would probably

quibble with Goulder's understanding of Matthew's motivation for making these changes

to Mark, it should be said that the sorts of changes that Goulder imagines Matthew

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[77] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 325-326.

[78] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 338.

making to Mark are technically feasible. Clearly Matthew's tendency is to move through

Markan episodes in the order in which he finds them. However on occasion, in the first

half of the Gospel, Goulder's Matthew will rework Mark – or "borrow forward" a

Markan pericope – for redactional (i.e., liturgical) reasons. This is consistent with the

known practices of Greco-Roman writers as we have seen in the early chapters of this

disseration.

However, Goulder's biggest problem is not Matthew's "borrowing forward" of

Markan episodes, but Matthew's "midrashic" technique of adaptation. What Matthew is

said to do with Mark (and the OT) is Midrash. What Luke is said to do with Mark and

Matthew, on the other hand, is somewhat different. It is where we turn next.

III. Luke's Use of Mark and Matthew:

The Second Phase of Goulder's "Mark Without Q" Hypothesis

The description of the Gospel writers' literary and life settings in stark and

seemingly simple terms continues with Goulder's portrayal of Luke's compositional

procedure. Goulder makes three assumptions about Luke, the author of the third Gospel

and Acts, that are important presumptions to his overall theory and are ones that largely

remain unsupported: 1) Luke is the "companion of Paul"; 2) Luke wrote his Gospel

sometime after 85 CE; and, 3) Luke was "an ἐπίσκοπος of the church at Philippi, or

another of the major Greek churches."[79] Working with these assumptions about Luke the

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[79] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 453.

author, Goulder first introduced in some detail Luke's compositional procedure in the

final chapter of *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*.[80] Here, Goulder introduced his theory

on Luke in largely general terms, describing Luke's technique in light of Matthew's

midrashic amplification of Mark through the following series of assumptions:

> If we make these [above] assumptions [about Luke's identity], then how should
> we expect Luke to have reacted to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew? Mark he
> has known and used in church for a dozen years. It is a document of the very
> highest authority. It comes (so we may believe) from Rome where Peter and Paul
> gave their lives for the faith. It carries (if Papias' account is either true or current)
> the preaching message of Peter. Its simple and detailed narrative is self-
> authenticating. On any question of comparison in Luke's eyes, Mark is bound to
> hold priority. On the other hand Matthew had attempted to rewrite Mark because
> liturgically Mark was unsatisfactory. The readings he provided were for only the
> half-year from New Year to Passover: and of what use is a six and a half month
> lectionary book? Luke's church needed what Matthew professed to supply, serial
> readings for the entire year. Furthermore, Matthew is a highly attractive work of
> art. It contains many epigrammatic sayings which are immediately memorable,
> and invaluable preaching material. If Mark has priority, it is plain that Matthew,
> once known, cannot be neglected.[81]

Similarly, Goulder stated the following in 1984:

> Let us suppose that Luke was a "minister of the word" writing in about 90; he has
> had a copy of Mark since the early 70s, and has used it regularly as the basis of
> his preaching; he has had a copy of Matthew since the early 80s, and has made
> much use of this too for instructing his congregation. He wishes now to write a
> Gospel of his own, and for this purpose will need to combine his two primary
> sources.[82]

Goulder gives two reasons why Luke modifies Matthew: First, "Matthew provides a

Festal cycle which the Greek church [of Luke] does not observe, and broadly neglects the

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[80] "Luke's Use of Mark and Matthew," 452-473.

[81] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 453.

[82] Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (C. M. Tuckett, ed.; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 111-112.

sabbath cycle which they do;" and second, "Matthew is doctrinally a highly

unsatisfactory book for a Philippian Christian."[83]

In addition to the closing chapter in *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, Goulder

revisits Luke's compositional procedure and motivation for altering Matthew a decade

later, in his 1984 essay entitled "The Order of a Crank."[84] In this essay, Goulder leaves

the lectionary argument to the side for a moment and devotes his argument to a

description of Luke's compostional procedure in working through Matthew and Mark.

Goulder's Picture of Luke's Compositional Procedure

Goulder describes Luke as a "harmonist" who was "concerned to get his order

right."[85] But unlike "modern harmonists," Luke's technique is distinct in at least four

areas: First, "[i]t is not so important [for Luke] for teaching material to be in order as for

the incidents [i.e., narrative material]."[86] Second, Luke often will "break up long units of

teaching material [from Matthew] into more manageable sections."[87] Third, since "Luke's

policy" is "to take Mark in large sections...without intrusions from Matthew, then of

necessity he will have to have the non-Marcan material out of the Marcan context."[88] And

fourth, Luke's procedure is not at all like Streeter's picture of Luke "conflating" Mark

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[83] *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 454.

[84] The title is Goulder's sardonic reuse of B. H. Streeter's term "crank," who, in arguing against Luke's knowledge of Matthew, posits that such a suggestion "would only be tenable if, on other grounds, we had reason to believe he [Luke] was a crank" (*The Four Gospels* [London: Macmillan, 1924] 183).

[85] "The Order of a Crank," 112. Cf. Luke 1:1-4.

[86] "The Order of a Crank," 112.

[87] "The Order of a Crank," 112. The example given by Goulder is Luke's abbreviation of Mark 4:1-34 into fifteen verses in Luke 8:4-18.

[88] "The Order of a Crank," 112.

and Q, where he takes "a phrase from here, a word from there."[89] Instead, Luke adopts

the policy of following one source at a time, seen in Goulder's imaginary picture of Luke

the writer:

> My Luke has probably a cramped writing table with space for his own scroll and
> the one he is using as his base-of-the-moment. Mark and Matthew take turns to go
> on the floor. Where there are overlaps and minor agreements and such things, it is
> from reminiscence of a familiar parallel text.[90]

Thus, from this description it is important to note four important details regarding Luke's

compositional procedure: First, Goulder imagines Luke working with one source at a

time. Second, the medium of Luke's sources, as well as his text, is the scroll. Third, Luke

is utilizing a writing table that is able to accommodate both his text and the particular

exemplar he is using at the time. And fourth, Luke will often rely on his memory while

having visual contact with his exemplar in the production of his Gospel.

Goulder outlines Luke's procedure as a "harmonist" of sorts who works with one

source at a time: for Jesus' infancy through to the Temptation (1:1-4:13), Luke is relying

on Matthew; for Jesus' early Galilean ministry (4:14-6:19), Luke is using Mark; for the

Sermon on the Plain through to the description of Jesus' female disciples (6:20-8:3),

Luke turns again to Matthew; then, from the Parable of the Sower through to just prior to

Luke's Travel Narrative (8:4-9:50), Luke returns to Mark; for the Travel Narrative (9:51-

18:8), Luke utilizes Matthew, chapters 13-23 of which are used in reverse in Luke 13:22-

18:8 (see discussion below); and, for the Passion Narrative (18:9-24:53), Luke follows

Mark closely, save for at least two instances where he turns quickly to Matthew (Parable

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[89] "The Order of a Crank," 112-113.

[90] "The Order of a Crank," 113.

of the Pounds [Luke 19:11-27]; the Judging of the Twelve Tribes of Israel [Luke 22:29-

30]). Otherwise, when Luke is following Mark and occasionally incorporates Matthean

wording (or vice versa), he is simply recalling his "source on the floor" through

reminiscence.[91]

In light of this summary of Goulder's description of Luke's compositional

practices, a number of items become apparent. First, Goulder's Luke generally follows

either Matthew or Mark for extended periods of time: Matthew's Gospel takes its place

on Luke's table on at least three occasions, as does Mark. Second, it is also clear that

when Mark takes its place on Luke's table, Luke *generally* follows the Markan order

closely, especially from Mark 4 onward. However, when Luke is following Matthew,

Luke is quite prone to reorder the Matthean pericopes, especially in Luke 9:51-18:8.

Again, Goulder's explanation for this phenomenon is that it "is not so important for

teaching material to be in order as for the incidents;" thus, Luke will "break up long units

of [Matthew's] teaching material into more manageable sections."[92]

Luke's Compositional Procedure at 13:22-18:8

Goulder's description of Luke's compositional procedure at Luke 13:22-18:8 is

both particularly unique and quite interesting. Here, Goulder imagines Luke working

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[91] Again, "Where there are overlaps and minor agreements and such things, it is from reminiscence of a familiar parallel text" (Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," 113). An example of this phenomenon would be the infamous "minor agreement" between Matthew and Luke in the episode of Peter's denial: καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς (Matt 26:75//Luke 22:62). Here, Goulder argues that Luke is following Mark, yet opts for Matthew's wording even though Matthew's scroll is presently on the floor of Luke's study (see *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 749-750). See also the Parable of the Mustard Seed and Leaven (Luke 13:18-21). Goulder states that here Luke "opts for the Matthean version," yet "an echo of Mark's parable rings in his [Luke's] mind, with its double question opening, 'How are we to liken the kingdom of God, and in what parable shall we set it?' (4.30)," (*Luke: A New Paradigm*, 566).

[92] Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," 112.

backwards through the scroll of his Matthean exemplar. It is a scenario that Goulder

describes as follows, first in 1984:

> [A]ccording to our hypothesis, Luke has [up to 13:21]... run through the non-
> Marcan sections of Matthew [1-12 and 23-25]. Sometimes he has copied the
> material word for word (especially in the early sections, the Baptist's Sermon and
> Temptations); sometimes he has emended freely, so much so that we need our
> Ariadne's thread to find our way through the labyrinth after him. But he has gone
> through Matt. 1-12 and 23-25, we may feel, carefully and in order, even if he has
> made a number of surprising omissions. And now, dear reader, you are St Luke,
> and there is the scroll of Matthew on the table before you, and the rolled up
> portion is Matt. 1-25, and the next words in Matt. 26 open the Passion narrative.
> You are aware that you have not even been through Matt. 13-22 for non-Marcan
> gems: what would be your policy? Well, I hope you will not think me a crank for
> suggesting it; but the obvious move seems to me *to go back through the rolled up
> scroll, and to take the missing pieces as they come, backwards* [in Luke 13:22-
> 18:8]. It is true that this will involve sacrificing the principle of order; but then
> Luke has only teaching, no incidents, to concern himself with in the gleaning
> process – and in fact his leap from Matt. 12 to Matt. 23 necessarily involved
> gleaning in some form, and therefore the sacrifice of the Matthean order *in toto*.[93]

Goulder argues that this is a "psychologically believable" process,[94] one that he illustrates

in 1989 in the table contained in the outline (see Figure 23 below).[95] The table does not

include "all the references," states Goulder, "but they are the most obvious ones, and

almost all of them are Mt.R. [Matthean redaction]. Their combined impact makes a

Lucan policy of reverse gleaning through Matthew 25-16 very probable."[96]

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[93] Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," 121 (emphasis original).

[94] Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," 129.

[95] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 582.

[96] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 582.

Figure 23:

Luke's "Systematic Procedure" of Working through Matthew 16-25 in Reverse:[77]

Luke		Matthew
13:22-33	Closed door, Two days to Passion	25:10ff; 26:2
13:34f	Jerusalem, Jerusalem	23:37ff
14:1-14	Pharisees, chief seats, proud/humble	23:2ff, 6, 12
14:15-24	Great Dinner	22:1-14
14:25-35	Tower-builder	21:33
15:11-32	Father and Two Sons	21:28-32
16:1-13	Steward remitting Debts	(18:23-35)
17:1-10	Offences, Forgiveness, Faith	18:6-21; 17:20
17:20-18:8	The coming of the Son of Man	16.4-28, with 24

The Use of "Memory" in Literary Productions

While much of Luke's source in 13:22-18:8 is a sort of "reverse

contextualization" of Matthew 16-25, Goulder's Luke often draws from elsewhere in

Matthew "by reminiscence."[98] In fact, the use of memory is a consistent practice of

Goulder's Luke elsewhere in his Gospel. For example, the so-called "Minor Agreements"

between Matthew and Luke against Mark in the Triple Tradition are created when Luke

"stick[s] to what Mark says on the scroll in front of him, while allowing the parallel

Matthean account to influence him from memory..."[99] Also, on at least one occasion, the

memory of the "text-on-the-floor" "draws Luke's mind away from" the text in front of

him.[100]

The study of the role that memory plays in literary compositions of ancient

authors has been seldom explored, despite the frequent reference to the procedure by

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[77] Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 582. See also Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," 129-130.

[98] Cf. e.g., Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 581.

[99] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 428.

[100] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 521.

Greco-Roman writers. Jocelyn Penny Small, in her important book *Wax Tablets of the*

Mind,[101] offers one of the few studies on the role that memory plays in the composition of

texts in the ancient world. Small, an archeologist with an interest in cognitive

psychology, argues that in antiquity, memory functioned as a repository or "store house"

of information, much in the same way we use memory in contemporary culture.

However, the ancients differed from us in one very important way: While writers in the

contemporary literary world of the west tend to *organize* their thoughts visually and

tangibly through the use of 3 x 5 cards and the like, the ancients instead often used their

memories for the organization of the data stored therein. For example, Cicero states that

one's memory is "the treasure-house of all things;"[102] it is "the guardian of all parts of

rhetoric" and "the treasure-house of ideas supplied by Invention."[103] As well, Cicero

describes his searching the repository of his memory as much like flower picking:

> [W]hen the inclination arose in my mind to write a text-book of rhetoric, I did not
> set before myself one model which I thought necessary to reproduce in all details,
> of whatever sort they might be, but after collecting all the works on the subject I
> excerpted what seemed the most suitable precepts from each, and so culled the
> flower of many minds.[104]

Thus, Small draws the following picture from her study of memory by classical writers:

"One extracts some thought, idea, or fact from a larger [written] work and deposits it in

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[101] Jocelyn Penny Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997).

[102] Cicero, *De or.* 1.18 (Sutton and Rackham, LCL).

[103] *Rhet. Her.* 3.16.28 (Caplan, LCL).

[104] Cicero, *Inv.* 2.4 (Hubbell, LCL). See Seneca for a similar image: "We should follow, men say, the example of the bees, who flit about and cull the flowers that are suitable for producing honey, and then arrange and assort in their cells all that they have brought in....We also, I say, ought to copy these bees, and sift whatever we have gathered from a varied course of reading, for such things are better preserved if they are kept separate; then, by applying the supervising care with which our nature has endowed us...we should so blend those several flavours into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origin, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came" (*Ep.* 84.3, 5 [Gummere, LCL]).

one's own storehouse, that is, memory, from which it can be recalled whenever needed, like withdrawing money from a treasury."[105]

Small concludes that ancient writers, before beginning their writing, would "go over all the relevant sources," followed by a combination of those sources into a "new whole," keeping "items separate."[106] This was necessary "for retrieval, since according to the art of memory each item is stored in its own place."[107] Again, while both ancient and modern writers utilize their memories for retrieval of data, ancient writers evidently differ from modern in terms of utilizing memory for the organization of this data.[108]

Goulder's picture of Luke's use of his memory in the production of his Gospel is generally supported as well by the work of C. B. R. Pelling on Plutarch's use of memory. Based on his careful study of Plutarch, Pelling argued that an ancient author

> would generally choose just one work to have before his eyes when he composed, and this work would provide the basis of his narrative. ...Items from the earlier reading would more widely be combined with the principal source, but a writer would not normally refer back to that reading to verify individual references, and would instead rely on his memory, or on the briefest of notes. Alternatively, it may be that an author, immediately before narrating an episode would reread one account, and compose with that version fresh in mind. ... Stray facts and additions would be recalled from the preliminary reading, but it would be a very different matter to recall the detail of an episode's presentation, and combine versions independently and evenly.[109]

What we have just described seems, at least initially, consistent with Goulder's picture of Luke. However, there are a few problems that arise upon a closer analysis of

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[105] Small, *Wax Tablets*, 179.

[106] Small, *Wax Tablets*, 181.

[107] Small, *Wax Tablets*, 181.

[108] Small, *Wax Tablets*, 180-181.

[109] C. B. R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives," *JHS* 99 (1979): 92.

the passages where Luke is evidently relying both on the text of Matthew visibly

accessible and other portions of Matthew from memory. In Luke 13:22-18:8, there are

several occasions where Luke's connection with Matthew is strongest in the texts that are

evidently being recalled from memory. Take for example Luke 13:22-35 ("The

Condemnation of Israel;" Figure 24): Here, Goulder imagines Luke beginning to work

through his scroll of Matthew in reverse, having visual contact with Matthew 23-26.

Clearly at Luke 13:34-35 ("The Lament Over Jerusalem"), on Goulder's theory Luke has

a clear visual contact with Matthew 23:37-39 given the extensive verbatim agreement

between the two. However, the contact seems almost as strong at Luke 13:28-30, where

Luke evidently is working from memory with Matt 8:11-12 and 20:16. Here, the verbal

similarities are quite strong, considerably stronger than where Luke is relying on the text

visually "in front of him" (i.e., Matt 25:10-12).

A similar phenomenon exists at Luke 17:20-18:8 (see Figure 25). Here, Goulder

states that his theory provides an explanation for the presence of two verses that are not in

Matthew 24, specifically the introductory statement in Luke 17:20 and the saying on

losing one's life (Luke 17:33). At 17:20, Luke visually "borrows" from Matt 16:1-2 the

motif of the Pharisees questioning of Jesus and Jesus' subsequent answer.[110] At 17:25,

Goulder argues that the presence of the phrase "great suffering" and the preposition ἀπό

is "a sure sign of the presence of Matthew 16[:21] on Luke's table as he writes."[111] At

17:33, Luke "borrows" from the text in front of him – Matt 16:25 – the saying on saving

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[110] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 649.

[111] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 652. Goulder continues: "'This generation' is an abbreviation for the elders, etc., who feature in other forms of the saying; it is likely to stem from the 'wicked and adulterous generation' which we have already noted from Mt. 16.4" (652).

and losing one's life.[112] For it is the visual presence of Matthew 16 on Luke's "table" that

causes Luke to track its sequence and "not follow exactly the (excellent) order of

Matthew 24 because Luke is drawing on Matthew 24 only secondarily."[113] Yet when one

observes the parallels between Luke 17:20-18:8 with Matthew 16 and 24, the data seems

to suggest that of the two choices, it is Matthew 24 that Luke has "in front of him," not

Matthew 16, given the rather strong parallels between Luke 17 and Matthew 24

throughout Luke 17, both in terms of general order and wording. If memory is at work

here with Luke, it appears that Matthew 16, not chapter 24, is drawn upon secondarily.

Goulder himself, perhaps unconsciously, seems to "lapse" into thinking that Matthew 24

is open in front of Luke when he describes Luke's copying of "the Matthean version [of

Matt 24:37-39] almost verbatim" at Luke 17:26-27, a place where Goulder otherwise

describes Luke's use of Matthew from memory.[114] Thus, in terms of the use of memory,

Goulder's Luke, when "remembering" the Matthean text that is not "in front of him," is

often closer to the wording of that text from memory then the Matthean text open on his

"table."

As an alternative to both Goulder's theory and the Two-Document hypothesis, the

Neo-Griesbach or "Two-Gospel" hypothesis becomes implausible when one observes the

self-described "pattern of alternating agreements" in Mark's gospel, where Mark

repeatedly "zigzags" between his two sources, Matthew and Luke.[115] Again, this habitual

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[112] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 654. Interestingly, Goulder makes no mention of Matt 10:39 which provides an equally strong verbal parallel to Luke 17:33.

[113] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 649.

[114] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 652.

[115] W. R. Farmer describes this as "a pattern of alternation in wording, where Mark agrees closely

pattern of moving from one source to another regularly within individual pericopes is

difficult to imagine in light of the tendency of ancient authors to prefer to follow one

source at a time, perhaps for mechanical reasons of working with scrolls and without the

benefit of a writing table. While Goulder is clearly not imaging a scenario for Luke and

his two sources exactly like that of Mark on the Two-Gospel hypothesis, Goulder does

describe for Luke an "alternating pattern of agreement" of sorts: Luke regularly and

habitually will move from one source to another, i.e., from his text with which he has

visual contact to texts "stored" in his memory. While Goulder is technically correct in

arguing that his Luke "follows one source at a time," functionally, Luke repeatedly jumps

between two "sources" – the "base-of-the-moment" (i.e., the text physically and visually

"in front of him") and the treasury of texts in his memory.[116] Thus, while Goulder's

simple description of "one source at a time" does, in fact, sound "simple" and is

consistent with the general practice of ancient writers, it is in reality a more complicated

procedure of regularly moving back and forth between the physically present visual text

to text "stored" in memory within individual pericopes, often just for brief phrases or

words.

What about Luke's movement through Matthew 16-25? Is Luke's use of Matthew

in this section backwards in movement? Goulder's table of *selected* parallels does seem

to support this assertion (see outline). However, when one looks at all of the episodes in

Luke 13:22-18:8, along with their Matthean (and Markan) parallels, the sequence is not

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now with one of his sources and then suddenly just as closely with the other" (*The Synoptic Problem*, 241).

[116] Goulder, "The Order of the Crank," 113. In response to Downing, Goulder describes Luke's technique as follows: "one Gospel at a time, reminiscences from the other, no attempt at word-for-word reproduction where the sources agree, the importation of the author's own interpretations or those familiar to him" ("Luke's Compositional Options," 151).

as unidirectional as Goulder would like to imagine. Figure 26 illustrates Luke moving

both backwards and forwards, often within individual episodes. In addition, on at least

two occasions, Luke appears to follow the *Markan* wording in particular pericopes:

Parable of the Salt[117] and possibly the Divorce Statement.[118] Even if Goulder's Luke is

recalling these sections "by reminiscence" it makes a scenario that originally seemed to

be rather *simple* quite complicated.

It is also worth noting places where Luke is not consistently moving backwards

through Matthew 25-16, despite Goulder's general description to the contrary. For

example, take Luke's account of the parables of the Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1-13) and

the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:14-31). Goulder argues that the main inspiration for

both of these parables comes from Matt 18:23-25, The Parable of the Unmerciful

Servant, the text open to Luke at that point as he works in reverse through Matthew's

scroll. However, Goulder also states that Luke, in his writing of the Rich Man and

Lazarus parable, is also inspired by his "eye ...fall[ing] on" Matt 19:24, Jesus' statement

regarding the easier time a camel would have going through an eye of a needle than a

"rich man" would have entering the Kingdom of Heaven. Thus there appears to be some

forward turning in Matthew's scroll as Luke is working through the scroll in *reverse*.[119]

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[117] Luke 14:34-35//Matt 5:13; Καλὸν [οὖν] τὸ ἅλας comes from Mark 9:50.

[118] Luke 16:18//Matt 19:9; the lack of an unchastity exception clause and the statement regarding women and divorce may come from Mark 10:11-12.

[119] C. M. Tuckett has noticed this as well. Tuckett states that "this seems both difficult to envisage in itself and also contradictory of Luke's alleged general policy. Luke is meant to be working backwards, not forwards, through Matthew, and also ignoring Matthew's treatment of Markan material. Yet Goulder's theory suggests that Luke's eye was caught by a saying 24 verses ahead of the point in Matthew he has reached (and 24 verses is not just one line!)..." ("The Existence of Q," in R. A. Piper, *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995], 44).

In addition, it is worth mentioning that by the time Luke gets to writing 13:22-18:8 where he is working through Matt 16-25 in reverse, he has already had some visual contact with that section from Matthew. For example, the Lukan "Woes" (Luke 11:37-54) were written by Luke having visual contact with Matthew's "Woes" found in chapter 23.[120] Likewise, at Luke's statements on watchfulness and faithfulness (Luke 12:35-48), Luke has "advance" visual contact with Matthew 24. For the first part of this pericope, Luke has Matthew 16 open in front of him; Luke utilizes Matt 24:43-44 from memory as he writes 12:39-40. However, at 12:42, Luke turns to Matthew 24, and through direct visual contact utilizes vv 45-51 as he writes 12:42-51.[121] Thus, perhaps Goulder's picture of Luke should be modified to account for Luke's visual contact with sections of Matthew 16-25 *prior* to its reverse contextualization at Luke 13:22-18:8, as well as accounting for Luke's occasional deviation from the unidirectional movement in reverse through Matthew 16-25.

Goulder is imagining Luke working *backwards* through the sequence of the scroll of Matthew at this point, but *forwards* through each individual pericope. This may in fact be *psychologically* believable, as Goulder argues. However, is it *technically* feasible? In attempting to answer this question, allow me to utilize an analogy from modern audio media: Goulder's description of Luke at 13:22-18:8 is comparable to recording the song sequence from an another cassette tape in *reverse* onto a blank audio cassette tape, but recording each individual song *forwards*. This is a scenario that one could easily

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[120] For example, Goulder states that at Luke 11:43, Luke has "the Matthean version in front of him at [Matt] 23.6f" (*Luke: A New Paradigm*, 521.).

[121] Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 549-551. "Luke (the text assures us) has at this point [i.e., Luke 12:40] had enough of retelling Matthew 24-25 from memory: he rolls the scroll on to the parable of the Servant (Mt. 24.45-51), and 83 out of 102 words in the two versions are identical" (549).

accomplish with a compact disk as the audio source, since a compact disk player can be

programmed in this fashion and offers the listener random access to the song selection. It

is an unnecessarily difficult task, however, to attempt this scenario with two audiocassette

tapes – one as the source tape and the other as the recording tape. All in all, it is a

tremendously difficult scenario to imagine. As far as I can tell, Goulder provides no

convincing explanation as to why Luke is working backwards rather than forwards. If the

sequence of the Matthew's teaching material for Luke is not as important as Mark's

narrative material, why not just roll the scroll back to Matthew 16, and work from there

following the scroll's sequence? Luke, instead, opts for the more technically difficult

procedure of working through Matthew in reverse, a procedure that would appear to be

quite peculiar in the ancient literary world. In fact, it is a technique that is very different

from Luke's other movement "through Matt. 1-12 and 23-25...carefully and in order,"[122]

as well as Luke's rather consistent use of Mark in sequence.[123] The pericope that precedes

this section in Luke (13:22-18:8) is the Parable of the Mustard Seed and Leaven (Luke

13:18-21). Goulder argues that here Luke "opts for the Matthean version" (Matt 13:31-

33).[124] Instead of moving on to the next pericopes in the Matthean sequence (the

Kingdom Parables of Matthew 13), Luke advances his Matthew scroll to Matthew 25,

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[122] "The Order of a Crank," 121.

[123] *Pace* C. M. Tuckett: "[Goulder's] discussion of Luke's order still provides no very convincing explanation for why Luke should have selected and divided up the material in Matthew in the way he must have done if he knew it in its Matthean form and order. When one couples this with Luke's very conservative treatment of the order of Mark, the problem becomes even more acute. Why should Luke have had so much respect for the order of Mark, scarcely changing it at all, and yet change the order of Matthew at almost every point? Streeter's comment that such a procedure seems like that of a 'crank,' although expressed somewhat polemically, still has force. Not even Goulder's defence of the 'order of a crank' seems sufficient to meet this problem" ("The Existence of Q," 44-45; cf. also Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 30-31).

[124] *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 566.

and from that point works backwards through Matthew's scroll to Matthew 16.[125] Given

the above discussion, it seems that this sort of procedure is somewhat implausible,

particularly given the limitations of scroll design. In addition, this backwards reading of

Matthew by Luke would be rendered even more problematic if one is to imagine that

Matthew was written *scripta continua*, making Luke's ability to easily locate the

beginnings and endings of individual pericopes difficult (though not impossible).

Does the Medium of Codex Aid Goulder's Case?

Most codicologists argue that the codex did not come into regular use until the

late second century at the earliest. However, we do find primitive literary ancestors in the

form of wax tablets and notebooks in the first century. Goulder does imagine that

Matthew's Gospel was composed and originally circulated as a scroll. What about

Matthew in (early) codex form? Does this medium help Goulder's case at all? Again, the

modern analogy of the compact disk allows one to imagine Goulder's procedure

differently. Goulder's picture of Luke would become more believable if he imagined

Luke's copy of Matthew (and Mark, but less so) was in some sort of early codex format.

This would allow Luke *random* access to Matthew, which is the implicit procedure that

Luke often follows with Matthew on Goulder's theory. However, the scroll had the

advantage over its literary counterpart – the codex – in allowing the reader to control to a

certain degree how much of the text could be displayed.[126] "With a codex," Jocelyn

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[125] It should be noted that Goulder imagines, at Luke 13:22-30, Luke moving not just simply backwards from Matthew 25 onwards, but moving between Matt 9:35, 25:10-12, 7:13-14, 7:22-23, 25:41, 8:11-12, 19:30. See *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 570-575.

[126] See T. C. Skeat, "Roll versus Codex – A New Approach?" *ZPE* 84 (1990): 263-268.

Penny Small states, "you are locked into what is on the obverse and reverse of each page."[127] If the Matthean pericopes in Luke's exemplars were overly long, then the scroll theory could have more currency than the codex. But Matt 22:1-10 appears to be the longest section of text that Luke is adapting (Luke 14:15-24) in Luke 13:22-18:8. Thus, a codex prototype could be imagined the medium for Luke's Matthew. But, of course, Goulder does not imagine codices but scrolls.[128]

Goulder's Picture of Luke: Conclusion

By way of conclusion, the following can be said about Goulder's picture of Luke, particularly at Luke 13:22-18:8: First, the conception of Luke's utilization of a writing table needs to be reevaluated. Assuming that the literary and artistic evidence is both accurate and representative, we should conclude that likely none of the Evangelists had access to a writing table. This is a relatively minor point of contention, since most Synoptic source critics are equally guilty of presupposing writing tables for the Synoptic evangelists. Whatever source critical solution one assumes, one is not exempt from having to explain realistically how a later author brings together two sources without the aid of a writing table, be it Matthew and Luke on the 2GH, Mark and Q on the 2DH, or Matthew and Mark on Goulder's theory. Second, the notion that Luke is "systematically" and consistently working through Matthew 16-25 in reverse needs to be rethought. There are places where Luke appears to have visual contact with *other* sections from Matthew, as opposed to contact through memory. Besides, this "backwards" movement is not

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[127] Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, 155.

[128] *Contra* Downing ("A Paradigm Perplex," 18) where he states the following: While the codex is

consistently followed, since Luke will on occasion move *forward* in his exemplar, then

back again. Third, the use of scrolls (particularly without the aid of a writing desk) placed

severe restrictions on what exactly Luke could accomplish. Operating a scroll in reverse

strikes me as both peculiar, irregular, and unnecessarily difficult in a technical sense. If

Luke were free to "resequence" the sayings material in Matthew, why would he choose

such an odd method, that is, the "systematic" reverse contextualization of Matthew 16-

25? I think Goulder would be better served describing a non-systematic, non-sequential

use of Matthew at Luke 13:22-18:8, one where Luke is free to move in his scroll where

and when he pleases in order to incorporate Matthew's material prior to the Passion

narrative. However, if this is the case, then Luke does, in fact, look a bit like a "crank,"

no matter how polemical and dated Streeter's description is.

IV. Conclusion

As we have seen, Goulder's theory of "Mark without Q" is problematic given

what can be known about compositional practices in antiquity. While Matthew's general

mechanical technique of adapting Mark is both feasible and consistent with the practices

of Greco-Roman writers, the *exegetical* technique of Midrash in composition needs to be

reevaluated. Again, Midrash as an exegetical "genre" does not begin to appear in

Rabbinic literature until at least a century after Matthew is composed. What Goulder says

Matthew is doing to Mark is something other than Midrash in a technical sense,

especially if Matthew is said to be a "second edition" of Mark.

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the "easier path" for Goulder's Luke, he is "firmly confined to scrolls."

Goulder's Luke has more problems than Matthew in a mechanical sense.

Goulder's picture of Luke behind a writing desk is anachronistic.[129] A "reverse

contextualization" of Matthew is not a technically feasible option. Nor is Luke's method

of appropriating texts apparently from memory where Luke follows the order of Mark yet

the wording of Matthew, or vice versa. If the FGH is to remain a credible theory on

Synoptic relationships, its advocates need to take these observations into question, and

seriously reevaluate some of the assumptions of the theory in light of the compositional

conventions of the Greco-Roman world.

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[129] It should be noted that Goulder has conceded this point to me in our discussion at the Michael Goulder Symposium at Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore), February 5-6, 2000. He has, however, yet to retract this assertion in writing, which he may do in his written response to the Symposium papers, due to be published at some point in the near future.

Figure 24: The Sources for Luke 13:22-35 (The Condemnation of Israel) according to Michael D. Goulder[130]

Luke 13:22-35	Visual Contact With Matthew	Matthean Texts By Reminiscence
[22] Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [Thematic link with Matt 9:35] [23] Εἶπεν δέ τις αὐτῷ· κύριε, εἰ ὀλίγοι οἱ σῳζόμενοι; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· [24] ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας, ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσιν. [25] ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης [cf. Matt 24:43] καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν καὶ ἄρξησθε ἔξω ἑστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν λέγοντες· κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ. [26] τότε ἄρξεσθε λέγειν· ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας· [27] καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα [ὑμᾶς] πόθεν ἐστέ· ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀδικίας. [28] ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ὄψησθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω. [29] καὶ ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. [30] καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἳ ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἳ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι. [31] Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ προσῆλθάν τινες Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες αὐτῷ· ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι Ἡρῴδης θέλει σε ἀποκτεῖναι.	25:10-12: [10] ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγοράσαι ἦλθεν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ αἱ ἕτοιμοι εἰσῆλθον μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς γάμους καὶ ἐκλείσθη ἡ θύρα. [11] ὕστερον δὲ ἔρχονται καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι λέγουσαι· κύριε κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν. [12] ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς.	9:35: Καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. 7:13-14: [13] 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 ζωὴν καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες αὐτήν. 7:22-23: [22] πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; [23] καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν. 24:43: Ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης [cf. Luke 13:25] ποίᾳ φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ. 8:11-12: [11] λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἥξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, [12] οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. 20:16 οὕτως ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι. 14:1-14: [1] Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἤκουσεν Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραάρχης τὴν ἀκοὴν Ἰησοῦ, [2] καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰωάννης... [5] καὶ θέλων αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἐφοβήθη τὸν ὄχλον,... [12] καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ... καὶ ἐλθόντες

[130] See Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 571-581.

		ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. [13] Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν …[14] Καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἶδεν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν.
[32] καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς πορευθέντες εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ ἰδοὺ ἐκβάλλω δαιμόνια καὶ ἰάσεις *ἀποτελῶ σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι.*	26:1-2: [1] Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους, εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ·	
[33] πλὴν δεῖ με σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἐχομένῃ πορεύεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω Ἰερουσαλήμ. [Theme of two days followed by the Passion in Matt 26:2]	[2] οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι.	
[34] <u>Ἰερουσαλὴμ Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφήτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν, ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι τὰ τέκνα σου ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις τὴν ἑαυτῆς νοσσιὰν ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας, καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε.</u> [35] <u>ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν. λέγω</u> [δὲ] <u>ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με ἕως</u> [ἥξει ὅτε] <u>εἴπητε εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.</u>	23:37-39: [37] <u>Ἰερουσαλὴμ Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφήτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν, ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας, καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε.</u> [38] <u>ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος.</u> [39] <u>λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μή με ἴδητε ἀπ᾽ ἄρτι ἕως ἂν εἴπητε εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.</u>	

Sigla: <u>underline</u> = verbatim agreement; dotted underline = near or partial verbatim agreement; *italics* = agreement in thought or idea

Figure 25: The Sources for Luke 17:20-18:8 (The Coming of the Son of Man) according to Michael D. Goulder[131]

Luke 17:20-18:8	Visual Contact With Matthew 16	Matthean Texts By Reminiscence (Matthew 24)
[20] Ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, [21] οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε ἤ ἐκεῖ, ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν. [22] Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς· ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε. [23] καὶ ἐροῦσιν ὑμῖν ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ, [ἤ] ἰδοὺ ὧδε· μὴ ἀπέλθητε μηδὲ διώξητε. [24] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἀστράπτουσα ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐρανὸν λάμπει, οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ]. [25] πρῶτον δὲ δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης. [26] καὶ καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· [27] ἤσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο, ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμὸς καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας. [28] ὁμοίως καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λώτ· ἤσθιον, ἔπινον, ἠγόραζον, ἐπώλουν, ἐφύτευον, ᾠκοδόμουν· [29] ἤ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξῆλθεν Λὼτ ἀπὸ Σοδόμων, ἔβρεξεν πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας. [30] κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔσται ἤ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται. [31] ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ	[1] Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι πειράζοντες ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν σημεῖον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτοῖς. [2] ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· [ὀψίας γενομένης λέγετε· εὐδία, πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός· [3] καὶ πρωΐ· σήμερον χειμών, πυρράζει γὰρ στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός. τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γινώσκετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε;] [4] γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ. καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπῆλθεν. [28] ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσίν τινες τῶν ὧδε ἑστώτων οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται θανάτου ἕως ἄν ἴδωσιν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον [cf. Luke 18:8] ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. [21] Ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς δεικνύειν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι. [22] καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ λέγων· ἵλεώς σοι, κύριε· οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο. [23] ὁ δὲ στραφεὶς εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ· ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ· σκάνδαλον εἶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. [24] Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι.	[23] Τότε ἐάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ· ἰδοὺ ὧδε ὁ χριστός, ἤ ὧδε, μὴ πιστεύσητε· [24] ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς. [26] ἐὰν οὖν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐστίν, μὴ ἐξέλθητε· ἰδοὺ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις, μὴ πιστεύσητε· [27] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· [28] ὅπου ἐὰν ᾖ τὸ πτῶμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ ἀετοί. [37] Ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. [38] ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐκείναις] ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες, γαμοῦντες καὶ γαμίζοντες, ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, [39] καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμὸς καὶ ἦρεν ἅπαντας, οὕτως ἔσται [καὶ] ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. [40] τότε δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται· [17] ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ

[131] See Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 648-664.

ἡμέρᾳ ὃς ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, μὴ καταβάτω ἆραι αὐτά, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὁμοίως μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. ³² μνημονεύετε τῆς γυναικὸς Λώτ. ³³ ὃς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιήσασθαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ ζῳογονήσει αὐτήν. ³⁴ λέγω ὑμῖν, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἔσονται δύο ἐπὶ κλίνης μιᾶς, ὁ εἷς παραλημφθήσεται καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται· ³⁵ ἔσονται δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἡ μία παραλημφθήσεται, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀφεθήσεται. ³⁷ καὶ ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ποῦ, κύριε; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅπου τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀετοὶ ἐπισυναχθήσονται. ¹⁸:¹ Ἔλεγεν δὲ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν, ² λέγων κριτής τις ἦν ἔν τινι πόλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ φοβούμενος καὶ ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἐντρεπόμενος. ³ χήρα δὲ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσα· ἐκδίκησόν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μου. ⁴ καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ· εἰ καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὐ φοβοῦμαι οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπομαι, ⁵ διά γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζῃ με. ⁶ Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος· ἀκούσατε τί ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας λέγει· ⁷ ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βοώντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς; ⁸ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει. πλὴν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐλθὼν	²⁵ ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὑρήσει αὐτήν. ²⁶ τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ; ἢ τί δώσει ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ;	κατάβατω ἆραι τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, ¹⁶ καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω ὀπίσω ἆραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ.
	²⁷ μέλλει γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ. ²⁸ ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσίν τινες τῶν ὧδε ἑστώτων οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [cf. Luke 17:22] ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ.	⁴⁰ τότε δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται· ⁴¹ δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ, μία παραλαμβάνεται καὶ μία ἀφίεται. ²⁸ ὅπου ἐὰν ᾖ τὸ πτῶμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ ἀετοί. ⁴⁴ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι, ὅτι ᾗ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται. ⁴⁵ Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ; ⁴⁶ μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει οὕτως ποιοῦντα·
ἆρα εὑρήσει τὴν πίστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;		

Sigla: underline = verbatim agreement; dotted underline = near or partial verbatim agreement; *italics* = agreement in thought or idea

Figure 26: Luke 13:22-18:8//Matt 25-16
Section 6: The Second Half of the Journey[i]

Subsection	Unit Title	Luke	Visual Contact with Matthew	Matthean Texts by Reminiscence	Other Parallels	Luke's Sources on the 2DH
41. Israel and the Gentiles (Luke 13:22-14:24)	Condemnation of Israel	13:22-35	25:10-12 (26:1-2)[ii] 23:37-39	Matt 9:35 Matt 7:13-14 Matt 7:22-23[iii] Matt 24:43(?)[iv] Matt 8:11-12 Matt 20:16[v] Matt 14:1-14	Mark 10:31 Matt 19:27-30 Matt 8:11-12 Matt 19:30	Q 13:24, (25), 26-27, 28-30 "L" (=Luke 13:31-33) Q 13:34-35
	The Dropsical Man	14:1-14	23:2,4,6,12 22:1-14	Matt 12:9-13	Mark 3:1-6	Q 14:11
	The Great Dinner	14:15-24	22:1-14			Q 14:16-24
42. The Cost of Discipleship (Luke 14:25-16:13)	Leaving All	14:25-35	21:33-46	Matt 10:37 Matt 16:24 Matt 19:29 Matt 22:7 Mark 9:50 Matt 5:13	Mark 8:34-35 Mark 9:49-50 Mark 10:29-30 Matt 10:38-39 Matt 16:24-25 John 12:25	Q 14:26-27 Q 14:34-35
	Joy at Repentance	15:1-32	21:28-32 18:10-14			Q 15:4-7 [Q 15:8-10] "L" (=Luke 15:11-32)
	The Unjust Steward	16:1-13	(18:23-35)	Matt 6:24		"L" (=Luke 16:1-12) Q 16:13
43. The Law and the Gospel (Luke 16:14-17:19)	Dives and Lazarus	16:14-31	(18:23-35) 19:24[vi]	Matt 5:20 Matt 11:12-13[vii] Matt 11:5 Matt 4:17 Matt 5:20 Matt 5:18 Matt 19:24 Matt 5:32 Matt 19:9 Matt 15:27[viii]	Mark 10:11-12	"L" (=Luke 16:14-15) Q 16:16-18 "L" (=Luke 16:19-31)
	Faithfulness	17:1-10	18:6b 18:6a 18:7 18:15-17 18:21-22 17:19-20	Matt 21:21 Matt 15:13	Mark 9:28-29, 42 Mark 11:22-23	Q 17:1b-2 Q 17:3b-4 Q 17:6b "L" (=Luke 17:7-10)
	The Ten Lepers	17:11-19	17:22 17:9,14 17:15	Matt 8:1-13		"L" (=Luke 17:11-19)
44. The Coming of the Son of Man (Luke 17:20-18:8)	The Son of Man's Day	17:20-37	16:1-4 16:21-28	Matt 24:23-24 Matt 24:26-28 Matt 24:37-39 Matt 24:40 Matt 24:17-18 Matt 24:40-41 Matt 24:28	Matt 10:39 Mark 13:15-16, 21-23	[Q 17:20b-21] Q 17:23-37b
	The Unjust Judge	18:1-8	16:27-28	Matt 24:44-46		"L" (=Luke 18:1-8)

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[i] Cf. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 571-664.

[ii] *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 576.

[iii] Goulder states that Luke "cites" Matt 7:23 (*Luke: A New Paradigm*, 576).

[iv] *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 573.

[v] *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 575.

[vi] Goulder, "The Order of a Crank," 125.

[vii] *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 629.

[viii] *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 634.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TWO-DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS

Introduction

Since the demise of Griesbach's theory on Synoptic interrelationships in the middle part of the nineteenth century, in some form or another, the theory that posits Markan priority and the independent use of a Sayings tradition by Matthew and Luke has been the dominant "solution" to the Synoptic Problem. While there has been considerable variation between two-source theorists on the particularities of the theories,[1] its advocates have remained committed to the priority of Mark and the independence of Matthew and Luke.[2]

While the literature on the Synoptic Problem from the perspective of the Two-Source (or Document) Hypothesis has been plentiful, if not sporadically cyclical over the past 150 years, descriptions of the interrelationships of the Synoptic Gospels from the perspective of compositional practices has virtually been absent (see Chapter One). Two-source theorists have largely been occupied with the following: 1) a general description

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[1] As Neirynck has rightly argued: "...within this fundamental solution, adopted by so many scholars, a considerable amount of variety can be observed. The assumption that Mark is the first Gospel does not close the debate on its composition and its sources (the pre-Markan passion narrative, pre-Markan collections or individual pericopes and sayings), about the unity of its style and its theology. Mutatis mutandis, such questions are raised also concerning the Q source. The Q hypothesis is in some sense a subsidiary hypothesis – subsidiary to Markan priority – and there is a great diversity with regard to the unity of the source, its nature and its extent" ("The Two-Source Hypothesis," in Dungan, *Interrelations of the Gospels*, 4).

[2] It should be noted that there are a few two-source theorists who have argued that in addition to his knowledge of Mark and Q, Luke also had knowledge of Matthew. These include Gundry and Morgenthaler.

of the theory with a simultaneous attempt to discredit other (previous) solutions to the

Synoptic Problem (e.g., Streeter); 2) a source-critical approach that relies heavily on the

redaction-critical method as a way of explaining what Matthew and Luke are "doing"

with Mark (and Q) (e.g., Fitzmyer on Luke or Gundry on Matthew); and, 3) the

development and propagation of "Q studies" – a subsidiary scholarly endeavor that

investigates the composition of the Q document, its theology, the social history of the Q

community, etc. Despite the production of numerous books, monographs, essays, and

articles on the Two-source theory, little attention has been paid by two-source theorists to

the compositional methods of Matthew and Luke in light of what can be known of how

books were produced in antiquity. Thus, this chapter is an attempt to begin to work

through Matthew's and Luke's use of Mark and Q (i.e., the Two-Document Hypothesis

[=2DH]) in light of the earlier chapters of this dissertation on the compositional methods

of writers in the Greco-Roman world.

Luke's Use of Mark and Q

On the 2DH, Luke's method of adapting his two sources is relatively simple and

rather uncomplicated, particularly when compared to Matthew's method of adaptation

(see below). As seen in Figure 36 at the end of the chapter, Luke regularly adapts the

sequence of both his sources as he finds them.[3] He tends to work in blocks, following one

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[3] While the pericopal sequence is clearly laid out in Mark's Gospel, the order of the Q material has been contested. While there have been some notable arguments in favor of Matthew best reflecting the order of the Q material (e.g., Adolf von Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus* [trans. J. R. Wilkinson; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Williams & Norgate, 1908], 172-182; P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage und der Weg seiner Lösung* [Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1890], 27-33; and, James Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* [Rev. ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1918], 195), I will be assuming the *opinio communis*, namely that the order of the Q material is best reflected in Luke. I will, however, not rehash the arguments in favor of this position. They have been clearly and ably laid out by a number of recent Q scholars, including John S. Kloppenborg (*The Formation*

source at a time, creating an order that reflects a five-fold movement between sources –

beginning with Mark, moving to Q, back to Mark, then back to Q, and finally, returning

to Mark:

1. In 4:1-6:19, Luke adapts the pericopal sequence of Mark 1:14-3:19.

2. In 6:20-7:50, Luke turns to Q and adapts the Sayings material in the order in
   which he finds it, adding to it some *Sondergut* ("L") material.

3. In 8:1-9:56, Luke turns once again to Mark, adapting most of Mark 4:1-9:41 in
   order, save for the so-called "Great Omission" of Mark 6:45-8:26.

4. For the Lukan travel narrative (Luke 9:51-18:14), Luke utilizes much of the rest
   of Q, following the order of the Sayings Gospel quite closely, interspersing his
   Sondergut ("L") material along the way.

5. Finally, in 18:15 to the end of the Gospel, Luke follows Mark 10-16 quite closely,
   turning briefly to Q to insert two sayings (Q 19:12-13, 15-24, 26, ?27?; 22:28,
   30). Luke makes a change to Mark's order, moving Mark 10:42-45 (dispute about
   greatness) to a later position in Luke's Last Supper episode (Luke 22:25-26).

Neirynck aptly summarizes Luke's technique of adapting Mark and Q:

> Luke follows the order of Mark throughout the Gospel. The blocks of Marcan
> material are interrupted by the interpolation of non-Marcan material. ...The Q
> passages in Luke are found almost exclusively, together with material peculiar to
> Luke (L passages), in two blocks of non-Marcan material – Luke 6:20-8:3 and
> 9:51-18:14 – which are inserted in the Marcan order at Mark 3/4 and 9/10.[4]

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of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 64-80) and C. M. Tuckett,
(*Q and the History of Early Christianity* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996], 34-37). It is this opinion that is
adapted by the International Q Project (IQP); their reconstructed text of Q generally follows the order of
Luke. See James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q:
A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and
French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Leuven: Peeters; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2000).

[4] Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," *NJBC*, 589, 592.

A few items are worthy of mention regarding Luke's redactional program in light

of what has already been observed about Greco-Roman compositional practices. First,

Luke follows a procedure much like that of Josephus: following one source at a time;

allowing the source's sequence to generally determine the sequence of his material; not

adopting the wording of one source while following the sequence of the other.[5]

Cadbury's "principle" of "one source at a time" is seen in Luke's use of Mark and Q on

the 2DH. Cadbury states

> [T]he method of Luke [following one source at a time] seems to be suggested by
> the evidence in his use of Mark. Instead of interweaving his sources as Matthew
> did, and as even the more mechanical editors of the Pentateuch appear to have
> done sometimes, Luke takes over the main sections of Mark in unbroken blocks.
> It is also possible that the alternating blocks are derived similarly from a
> continuous writing.[6]

Similarly, Cadbury argues that Luke took over Q "in long alternating blocks."[7]

Second, one does not find a sort of dominant technique of micro-conflation,

similar to the one described by advocates of the 2GH (and Goulder, but to a lesser

extent). The only places where there is potentially micro-conflation going on is at the

"Mark-Q Overlap" texts.[8] This phenomenon will be treated in more detail below.

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[5] Again, see Downing's work, particularly comparing Luke's technique to that of Josephus (e.g., "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' Antiquities and the Synoptic Problem, I;" and, "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' Antiquities and the Synoptic Problem, II)."

[6] Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 160. Cadbury states the following as well: "...Luke's use of Mark shows that for the period of which it deals he depended extensively and confidently upon it. For convenience, if for no other reason, he left its order of scenes largely intact. He copied Mark in blocks and interspersed other material in blocks also. His principal omissions from Mark form also a continuous block [i.e., Mark 6:47-7:26]. It is possible that his copy of Mark had already lost or had not yet received this passage, and there are other shorter passages or phrases in Mark in which we are not sure that our text is identical with the document that was in Luke's hands" (*The Making of Luke-Acts*, 94-95).

[7] Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 109. Cadbury also states that where Q "dealt with subjects found in Mark he [Luke] may have combined, suppressed or substituted its version" (*The Making of Luke-Acts*, 109).

[8] I.e., Jesus' Temptation (Mark 1:12-13//Q 4:1-13), the Beelzebul Controversy (Mark 3:22-30//Q

There are a few potential "Lukan transpositions" – places where Luke has deviated from the order of his sources. However, Lukan scholars disagree as to the precise number. For example, some would argue that at 10:25-28 (The Great Commandment), Luke utilizes and transposes Mark 12:28-34, moving the Markan text to an earlier location in the Gospel.[9] Others argue that Luke 10:25-28 is not a transposition of a Markan text, but one that Luke borrows from his "L" source.[10] Still others have argued that Luke's source for his Great Commandment pericope is neither Mark nor "L" but Q.[11]

Kloppenborg has noted that of G. B. Caird's count of 17 Lukan transpositions, only two qualify as "genuine transpositions" – Luke 12:1 (Mark 8:15) and Luke 22:25-27 (Mark 10:42-45) – since 11 (or 12) of the instances come from Q, and in "four cases (4:16-30; 5:1-11; 10:25-28; 7:36-50) the Lucan version differs so radically from Mark that the presence of a non-Marcan tradition must be suspected [i.e., 'L']."[12] Nevertheless, clearly Luke has transposed a small amount Markan (and Q) material, but still, for the

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11:14-23), the Parable of the Mustard Seed (Mark 4:30-32//Q 13:18-19), the Mission Charge (Mark 6:7-13//Q 10:1-16), the Request for a Sign (Mark 8:11-12//Q 11:29-30), parts of the Eschatological Discourse (Mark 13//Q 17:22-37). See also the Baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:9-11 par.); IQP sees this pericope in Q, but at a grade of "C."

[9] E.g., G. Schneider, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (2 vols.; ÖTKNT 3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Mohn; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1977-1978), 247.

[10] E.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (2 vols.; AB 28/28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981-1985), 877-878.

[11] See, for example, R. H. Fuller, "Das Doppelgebot der Liebe. Ein Testfall für die Echtheitskriterien der Worte Jesu," in *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie* (ed. G. Strecker. FS Hans Conzelmann. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1975), 317-329; and, Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr., "Q 10:25-28: Database and Evaluation," forthcoming in *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted and Evaluated* (ed. Milton Moreland; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

[12] Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 69 n 120.

most part, following the order of both of his sources, Mark and Q.[13] Thus, on the 2DH,

Luke's method of working with Mark and Q is relatively simple and straight-forward,

consistent with the known practices of writers in the Greco-Roman world.

Matthew's Use of Mark and Q

While Luke's method of composition on the 2DH is relatively "problem-free,"

Matthew's compositional practices provide a different set of challenges. Matthean

scholarship is generally interested in providing a description of *what* the evangelist is

doing with his sources. However, more often than not, little or nothing said on *how*

Matthew composes his Gospel. "Redactional" treatments of Matthew on a micro level

abound;[14] however, a detailed description of Matthew's macro-redactional treatments of

Mark and Q are few and far between. More often than not, when commentators describe

what Matthew is doing with Mark and Q, most state what is already implicit – Matthew is

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[13] This does not preclude the possibility of Markan influence when Luke is evidently following a Q-block. See, for example, F. Neirynck, "Recent Developments in the Study of Q," in *LOGIA: Les paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1982) 47-48. Neirynck states: "It should be observed ... that in the so-called non-Markan block [in the central section of Luke] a great deal of the narrative framework is Mark. The journey to Jerusalem (and the main division of the central section at 9,51; 13,22; 17,11) is an adaptation of the Markan motif: Mk 10,1.(17).32.(46); 11,1. Lk 10,1 can be compared with Mk 6,7: ἀνὰ δύο δύο, cf. δύο δύο in Mk 6,7 (omitted in Lk 9,3); πόλιν καὶ τόπον, cf. τόπος in Mk 6,11 (diff. Lk 9,5). The return of the disciples at Lk 10,17 echoes Mk 6,30 (par. Lk 9,10). A new section at Lk 10,25ff. opens with Lk 10,25-28 = Mk 12,28-34 (Lk 10,25b, cf. Mk 10,17). Compare also:

Lk 11,16	Mk 8,11
11,(14-26).27-28	3,(22-30).31-35
11,37-38	7,1-5
11,53-54	8,11.(12-13)
12,1	8,15
14,1-6	3,1-6
15,1-2	2,15-16
17,11-19	1,40-45."

[14] For example, see Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), and W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988-1997).

more willing than Luke to rework the Markan and Q material, creating his distinct overall

alternating pattern of narrative and discourse.[15] For example, Neirynck puts it thusly:

"The different arrangement of the Q material in Matt can be explained by Matt's editorial

compilation of great discourses and the insertion of the Q passages in Marcan contexts."[16]

The few narrative sections in Q are combined with Mark's narrative (e.g., The Healing of

the Centurion's Servant [Q 7:1-3, 6-9, ?10?] is combined with other Markan narratives to

form Matthew's second major narrative section, i.e., Matt 8:1-9:36). Likewise, Markan

teaching material is combined with Q material to form some of the great discourse

sections in Matthew's Gospel (e.g., Matthew 13).

Of the handful of scholars who have delved more deeply into the compositional

question of what Matthew is doing with his sources on the 2DH, most fall into two

camps: 1) those who argue that Matthew utilizes different *recensions* of his sources,

Mark and/or Q (e.g., Luz, Sato, Kosch [i.e., Q^{Matt}]; Koester and Schmithals [Proto-Mark];

Fuchs [Deutero-Mark]); and, 2) those who argue that Matthew's compositional procedure

can be explained without appealing to the recensional arguments (e.g., Kümmel, Taylor,

Neirynck).

In thinking about various "recensions" or "editions" of Q, C. M. Tuckett offers

helpful clarification of the complicated issue. He admits (rightly) that "it is surely

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[15] For example, see Daniel Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (SP 1; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 7: "It is generally admitted that Matthew was freer than in dealing with the wording and the order of Q. Matthew used Q especially in constructing the speeches of Jesus. Since Q consisted mainly of discourse material presented with little or no context, Matthew had to construct a setting for Q sayings if he was to used them in his narrative about Jesus. And he did so by weaving the sayings into discourses like the Sermon on the Mount (chs. 5-7), the mission discourse (ch. 10), etc."

[16] Neirynck, *NJBC*, 590.

difficult to conceive of two identical versions of Q being available to Matthew and Luke

respectively."[17] Tuckett continues:

> The very nature of the writing of texts in the first century, before the days of
> printing presses and the availability of any sort of technology for producing
> multiple, identical copies of texts, simply precludes the possibility as nonsense.
> Further, it strains credulity to conceive of a single manuscript copy of Q, whether
> in the form of scroll or a codex, being used by Matthew and Luke successively
> (unless we are to think of Matthew and Luke working in far closer geographic
> proximity to each other than is usually assumed). Any kind of consideration of the
> physical realities of the situation seems to indicate that there must have been more
> than one copy of Q. Matthew's copy would not have been the same as Luke's
> copy, and hence, given the nature of text production at the time, it is highly likely
> that Matthew's version of Q was not identical to Luke's.[18]

As well, Kloppenborg has recently noted the following:

> At a minimum, is should be conceded that the copies of Q used by Matthew and
> Luke differed in at least some minor respects. After all, among the thousands of
> manuscripts of the New Testament there are hardly two that agree in all respects,
> despite the fact that those who copied these works held them to be sacred
> Scripture and that many of the manuscripts were copied by professional scribes.
> That Q, which was neither "scriptural" nor copied by professionals, could have
> been preserved in identical forms in two or more copies simply strains credulity.
> Not only slight differences in wording but even the occasional variation in the
> placement of sayings might be explained through scribal adaptation.
> ...Examination of other literature indicates that *authors themselves* were
> sometimes responsible for multiple recensions of their works. ...Hence, the
> suggestion of two (or more!) recensions of Q has good historical analogies.[19]

While Tuckett concludes that different *versions* of Q were available to Matthew

and Luke, these two *versions* were likely nearly identical in terms of content, wording

and order of the pericopes. For example, places where there is virtually complete

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[17] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 96.

[18] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 97.

[19] Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, 109 (emphasis original). While Kloppenborg's general point is certainly sound and logical, one could argue that his unqualified comments on the non-"scriptural" nature of Q and its non-"professional" duplication are in need of some qualification – Q *probably* was not viewed as "scripture" by Matthew's and Luke's communities, and *probably* was not copied professionally. Nevertheless, the "production" ("publication" [?]) of Q did not cease until at least after two copies of Q

verbatim agreement in the double tradition (e.g., Q 3:7-9) suggests "that, at least at some

points in Q, the versions of Q available to Matthew and Luke must have been all but

identical."[20] Places where the agreements in wording are not as extensive (e.g., The Great

Supper, Q 14:16-24) possibly point to greater differences in wording between Matthew's

and Luke's versions of Q: "the theoretical possibility that some kind of copying or

transmission process may well be the reason behind some of the verbal disagreements

between Matthew and Luke in Q material, whilst bearing in mind too the striking

phenomenon of close verbal agreement in some passages."[21] Thus, it appears that

implicitly for Tuckett, different *versions* of Q may only be different in terms of the

wording of the documents, not in terms of the *extent* and *order* of the pericopes within

the documents – here, Tuckett is thinking of *recensions* (or "editions").

Tuckett nuances the issue a bit more: In terms of distinct *recensions* of Q, Tuckett

argues that a very different problem is raised. For Tuckett, this "concerns the possibility

that some *Sondergut* passages may not have been present in the Q material available to

both evangelists (and hence omitted by one of them...)...."[22] Thus, one is faced with the

possibility of "expansions of the Q tradition which took place in the 'trajectories' of the

tradition history leading to our present texts of Matthew and Luke."[23] As a result, some

scholars (e.g., U. Luz and M. Sato; see below) speak of a recension of Q used by

Matthew (i.e., Q^{Mt}) and a recension of Q used by Luke (i.e., Q^{Lk}). For Tuckett, "such a

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circulated into the possession of Matthew and Luke.

[20] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 97.

[21] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 97.

[22] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 97-98.

[23] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 98.

theory about a developing Q is rather different from ... the possibility that in the process

of copying, different versions of the same material were produced."[24]

Ulrich Luz is one such scholar who has attempted to solve the problem of

Matthew's use of Q (in part) by positing two different *recensions* (to use Tuckett's

terminology) for Q, i.e., a Q^{Mt} and a Q^{Lk}. Luz outlines his conclusions about Q in his

commentary on Matthew.[25] Like virtually all current Q scholars, Luz assumes Q to be a

written document. However, it was a written document that "circulated in different

recensions, whereby QMt is closer to the 'common' form than the version of the Sayings

Source used by Luke, which was most likely enlarged substantially."[26] Luz continues:

> In my opinion, we observe with the Sayings Source a process of expansion which
> began with smaller collections, as, e.g., the Sermon on the Plain, and proceeded
> by way of different steps of redaction as far as the version of the Source which
> can be reconstructed from Matthew and Luke, and from there led on to the very
> much enlarged version, QLk. QMt is a version of Q which is altered and enlarged
> only minimally. The so-called "final redaction" of Q has to be distinguished
> fundamentally from the redaction of the Synoptics. In intensity and dignity it was
> not different from earlier redactions of the source. It did not make a literary
> document from the collection of Q material.[27]

In terms of the medium for Q^{Mt} (and Q^{Lk}), Luz agrees with his student, Migaku

Sato (see below):

> Paleographically one might assume [the following, like Sato]: the collection of Q
> material was a rather large notebook, bound together with strings on the margin. It
> permitted an insertion of new leaves at any time. The Gospel of Mark, however,

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[24] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 98.

[25] *Matthew 1-7: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 46-47. This volume was originally published originally in German under the title *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 1. Teilband (EKK; Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neunkirchener Verlag, 1985).

[26] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 46.

[27] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 46.

was a solidly bound codex and therefore a literary work which for this reason continued to be handed down even after its expansion by Matthew.[28]

In terms of various recensions of Mark, it should be noted as well that Luz is inclined to support the notion a Deutero-Mark (like Fuchs), particularly as a solution to the problem of the Minor Agreements (MAs).[29] In addition, Andreas Ennulat, in his own work on the MAs, has argued for a Deutero-Mark.[30] Ennulat divides the MAs into four categories that correspond to the significance of each MA. Category One MAs are those that point to the existence of Deutero-Mark; Category Two MAs are those that provide less significant support for the Deutero-Mark theory; Category Three MAs are those that are neutral for the theory of Deutero-Mark; Category Four MAs are those that can be explained easily as Matthew's and Luke's independent redaction of Mark, as the influence from Q, as the influence from oral tradition, and as evidence of textual corruption. (See further discussion of the MAs below.)

Further detail on the various recensions of Q and Matthew's technique of incorporating Q were only very generally treated in Luz's work until his recent article

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[28] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 46-47.

[29] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 47-48: "In my opinion, there is only one problem that poses serious difficulties for the two-source hypothesis. It consists of minor agreements between Matthew and Luke. They are numerous and in many places not even 'minor.' But it is my view that the minor agreements do not necessitate a basic revision of the two-source hypothesis. Since they do not show a clear common linguistic and/or theological profile, it is not necessary to limit their explanation to one single hypothesis. Often one may assume corrections of the Markan text by Matthew and Luke which were done independently. But we should also seriously consider that there could have been slightly differing versions of Mark. Why should that which is taken for granted for other semi-literary documents from a religious marginal culture or subculture, e.g., for the hortatory speeches of 1 Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Life of Adam and Eve, the Testament of Job, the Sayings Source, the Epistula Apostolorum, the Didascalia, the Apocryphon of John, the book of Acts, etc., not apply to the Gospel of Mark? It seems to me that Matthew and Luke made use of a recension of Mark which in a number of points is secondary to our Mark."

[30] Andreas Ennulat, *Die "Minor Agreements"*.

written for the Paul Hoffmann Festschrift.[31] Here, Luz discusses the extent of Q, the

contents and nature of Q^{Mt}, Matthew's technique for incorporating Q, and the

"theological significance" of Q for Matthew. Most significant to this present study are

Luz's comments on Matthew's technique for incorporating Q (see "Summary Outline"

below). Here is a summary and paraphrase of Luz's five points regarding Matthew's

incorporation of Q, illustrated in the table that follows:[32]

1. Matthew "basically has two different techniques for the incorporation of Q": either

   Matthew could take over whole Q paragraphs "block-by-block" (= B, the "block

   technique"), or, Matthew could "excerpt" Q paragraphs (= E, the "excerpt

   technique"), i.e., "an individual saying [Einzellogien] incorporated into its own

   context."

2. When Matthew incorporates the "block technique" (i.e., "B"), he usually did not

   preserve the blocks as they are found in Q, "changing over" the order of the Q-blocks

   (= *). "Thus, Matthew had no independent interest in the order of the Jesus material

   in Q."[33]

3. If the sequence of large blocks of material in Q is preserved by Matthew, this

   phenomenon often "corresponds to related blocks of material in Mark's Gospel."

4. In addition, Matthew on occasion will depart from his "excerpt technique,"

   preserving completely, or to a large extent, the sequence of his Q-material" (= +).

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[31] U. Luz, "Matthäus und Q," *Von Jesus zum Christus* (R. Hoppe and U. Busse, eds.; BZNW 93; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 201-215.

[32] Luz, "Matthäus und Q," 208-209.

[33] "Matthäus hatte also an der Reihenfolge der Jesusüberlieferungen in Q kein selbständiges Interesse," Luz, "Matthäus und Q," 209.

5. All of the above techniques can be most readily observed if one imagines Matthew

    using Q in the medium of single sheets "that he could put and use individually next to

    each other." Thus, Q was probably "a note collection or a thread-bound notebook

    [einer Zettelsammlung oder eines fadengebundenen Notizheftes]," not a "tightly

    bound codex [festgebundenen Codex]."

    As a result, Luz offers the following three conclusions:

    First, the procedure of incorporating Q is "remarkably homogeneous" – in almost

all larger paragraphs shaped by Q, "the Evangelist proceeds similarly."[34] Second, these

observable techniques illustrate that Matthew has an "excellent grasp and knowledge" of

Q. Not only has Matthew excerpted Q sequentially and "integrated new connections into

larger Q-complexes," but also "directed individual sayings from completely different Q-

contexts into their own compositions, sometimes in key places." As a result, Matthew had

an "excellent overview" of Q, probably much better than Luke who incorporates his

sources in a "mechanically consecutive" manner.[35] Third and finally, Q obviously did not

have the same "character" as Mark's Gospel. Q was not a "closed book" or a

"Jesusgeschichte" like Mark. Matthew, in his incorporation of Q, in many cases retained

the wording of Q more faithfully than Luke, excerpting the text with "great

thoroughness." However, the "composition and arrangement" of the wording in Q was

not important to Matthew. He, instead, followed Mark's narrative structure,

supplementing it with sayings material. Matthew would usually follow the arrangement

of the wording found in Q only if it corresponded to Mark's sequence and only if it

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[34] Luz, "Matthäus und Q," 211.

[35] Luz, "Matthäus und Q," 211-212.

resulted in a "natural" flow as in the case of "sequential" excerption. Thus, Matthew read

Q as a "memoir," a document that "kept alive the words of the κύριος." Yet it was

important that the κύριος not be heard without the "'basis' of his history" – this Matthew

found in Mark's Gospel.[36]

Figure 27: Summary Outline of the Incorporation of Q in Matthew (Luz)[37]

	Mark	Q = Luke	Matthew
The Baptist's Proclamation	1:2-8	3:7-9, 16f	B 3:1-12
Jesus' Temptation	1:12f	4:1-13	B 4:1-11
Programmatic Proclamation	[1:21f]	6:20-49	B 5-7
The Centurion at Capernaum		7:1-10	B 8:5-13
John's Question to Jesus		7:18-35	B* 11:2-19
Follow-up and Sending	(6:7-13)	9:57-10:24; 9:57-60; 10:2-3,12; 10:13-15; 10:16; 10:21-22; 10:23-24	B 8:19-22; B 9:37; 10:5-16; 40; B* 11:20-27; E 13:16f
The Lord's Prayer		11:2-13	E+ 6:9-13; 7:7-11
Beelzebul Debate, Sign of Jonah	3:22-30	11:14-32	B 12:22-35
Light-Sayings		11:33-36	E+ 5:15; 6:22f
Woes	(12:38-40)	11:39-52	B 23
On Confession		12:2-12	B* 10:26-33
On Property		12:22-34	B* 6:19-33
Vigilance before the *Eschaton*		12:35-59; 12:39-40,42; 46; 12:[49],51,53; 12:58-59	B* 24:39-46; E 10:34-36; 5:25f
Parable	4	13:18-21	B 13:[30-33]
Eschatological Warnings		13:22-35; 13:24; 13:26-27; 13:28-29; 13:34-35	B* 7:13f; 22f; 8:11f; 23:37-39
Various Words	8:34	14:25-27; 34f; 16:13; 16-18	E(+) 6:24; 5:18; 11:12f; 5:32

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[36] Luz, "Matthäus und Q," 212.

[37] Adapted and translated from U. Luz, "Matthäus und Q," 208. It is in this chart where Luz attempts to illustrate how Matthew is reworking and adapting Q. However, the chart does not illustrate adequately the dislocated Q material in Matthew, since the Matthean texts are presented out of order, i.e., in the order in which they are found in Q. Thus, the shaded areas with arrows are a modification of Luz's chart, indicating places where there is some significant dislocation. See Figure 37: Matthew's Use of Mark and Q for a depiction of dislocated texts of Q (and Mark).

	9:42	[illegible]	E(?)18:6f 15...
			...17:19...
Eschatological Words	13	17:20-37	E(+) 24:23, 27, 17f
			B 24:37-41

Sigla:

Underlining:	The sequence of Q-blocks and Markan parallels or "hanger texts" ("Aufhängertexten") is the same
B	Block technique: Matthew takes over a closed Q-block, possibly with easy internal text conversions
✷	The block is changed over in relation to the Q sequence
E	Excerpt technique: Matthew excerpts Q-blocks and places its individual sayings at different places in the gospel
✦	The sequence of the Q-sayings is to a large extent preserved thereby with Matthew

In addition to positing a "notebook" medium for Q, along with describing in some detail Matthew's technique for incorporating Q, Luz argues that two different recensions of Q were available to Matthew and Luke. All of these arguments, it seems, are Luz's interrelated attempts at solving the problem of the order of the Q material in Matthew.

Luz's student, Migaku Sato, broke similar ground in his own work on Q in 1988. While Sato's published dissertation[38] is for the most part concerned with defending a *prophetic* (as opposed to *sapiential*) *Gattung* for Q, Sato does comment on the stages of composition and medium for the Sayings Gospel. For Sato, there are "three recognizable redactional blocks" or compositional stages in the formation of Q[39]:

1. Redaction "A" "shaped the first complex (Q 3:2-7:28) and did so with a[n] interest in the significance and place of Jesus especially in relation to the Baptist."[40]

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[38] *Q und Prophetie*.

[39] See Sato, "The Shape of the Q-Source," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. and trans. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 175.

[40] Sato, "The Shape of the Q-Source," 175.

2. Redaction "B" is restricted to the formulation of the large corpus in Q, namely the

   commissioning complex (Q 9:57-10:24). It is quite possible that Redactions "A" and

   "B" derived from the activities of the same redactor (or from the same circle). ...But

   in other respects the two complexes are independent of each other. Since they surely

   had different *Sitze im Leben*, one may with justification assume two different

   redactions.[41]

3. Redaction "C" "has brought together the two existing large blocks [i.e., 'A' and 'B'],

   by revising a sayings cluster (Q 7:31-35) and interpolating it between them..."[42]

   Sato notes that "[f]ollowing (or even before) Redaction 'C' there were probably

additional unsystematic accretions and additional strings" added to the text of Q.[43] He

concludes the following:

> [The] document Q was not fixed redactionally all at once but came into being
> through a long process of collection, addition, redaction, and editing. Q is
> characterized by *successive reformulation*. We have been able to detect a few
> steps in this process; a more detailed description of Q's process of growth is
> hardly possible.[44]

Sato's theory on the three distinct stages of composition for Q is made possible in

his potential medium for Q, briefly discussed in his book. Like his doctoral mentor, Sato

believes that Q originally was in the form of a notebook or "Ringbuch." Sato imagines

the following:

> [A Q-]redactor may have carefully laid the pages of existing notebooks on top of
> each other, and like wax tablets, bound them together with a cord or a ring. The
> notebook pages from parchment (second century)...[as well as] schoolbooks

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[41] Sato "The Shape of the Q-Source," 175-176.

[42] Sato "The Shape of the Q-Source," 176.

[43] Sato "The Shape of the Q-Source," 176.

[44] Sato "The Shape of the Q-Source," 177.

made of papyrus (fourth century) serve as examples of such a procedure. Q then would have been a kind of "looseleaf book." It is also possible, however, that what was assembled were partly individual pages and partly (newly written) sheets folded in the middle.[45]

For Sato, there are essentially two consequences for the "Ringbuch" form of Q:

First, simply put, such a format provides the reader quick and easy access to the written text of Q, much quicker than with a scroll:

> Man braucht nicht wie bei einer Rolle bis zur betreffenden Stelle aufzurollen, zu zitieren bzw. vorzulesen und dann wieder zuzurollen. Bereits dies erleichtert bzw. ermöglicht den vielfältigen Gebrauch der Quelle.[46]

Second, in this "booklet" (*Heftform*) or "Ringbuch" format, the pages are not permanently bound together. Rather, they are loosely (and temporarily) bound by small leather straps, allowing the reader to remove and replace individual sheets as needed. This points, as well, to varied and multiple *Sitze im Leben* behind Q, seeing the final compiler of Q as one who collects various Jesus-traditions from different geographic areas in Galilee.[47]

James M. Robinson has offered one of a very few detailed interactions with Sato's "Ringbuch" theory.[48] While the bulk of Robinson's critique is concerned with rebutting Sato's prophetic *Gattung*, Robinson argues the following regarding the "Ringbuch": First, while the notebook or "Ringbuch" medium is congruous with the literary world of the latter part of the first century, it appears that above all the "Ringbuch" theory serves

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[45] Sato "The Shape of the Q-Source," 178-179.

[46] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 390.

[47] Sato *Q und Prophetie*, 390.

[48] Most scholars who mention Sato's "Ringbuch" format do so in passing, avoiding any analysis and critique of the theory.

to bolster Sato's overall source theory.[49] Second, Robinson wonders how the later

redactor of Q would have inserted the later accretions (e.g., the Temptation Story [Q 4:1-

13]; Q 7:27; Q 10:12-15, 22). Robinson has a hard time believing that single verses,

particularly those that join earlier compositional blocks, would have occupied an entire

page.[50] Third, Robinson argues that the "Ringbuch" theory is problematic in light of

Sato's two recensions of Q – i.e., Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}: "Kann man bei den vielen kleinen

Ergänzungen zu Q hier und da wirklich noch an Einzelblätter mit ein paar Wörtern oder

Sprüchen glauben, die durch Glücksumstände am richtigen Ort zwischen dem Ende des

einen und dem Anfang des nächsten Blattes hätten eingelegt werden können?"[51]

Robinson's criticisms, although brief, are valid and helpful. However, one

wonders if Robinson's disagreement with Sato has less to do with Sato's understanding

of the potential *medium* of Q and more to do with Sato's description of the *compositional*

history (and genre) of Q. While Sato may be mistaken on the redactional (compositional)

history of Q, his description of Q as a "Ringbuch" is not invalidated by Robinson's

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[49] "Im Verlaufe seiner literarischen Quellenanalyze gewinnt man den Eindruck, die Ringbuchthese diene vor allem dem Zweck, seine Quellenscheidungstheorie zu ermöglichen" (J. M. Robinson, "Die Logienquelle: Weisheit oder Prophetie?" 378-379).

[50] "Satos weiteren redaktionsgeschichtlichen Befunden scheint allerdings die ganze 'Ringbuch'-Theorie dann eher in Wege zu stehen. Innerhalb von Redaktion A beispielsweise sei die Versuchungsgeschichte Q 4,1-13, später entstanden'. Wie hat man sich das aber vorzustellen? Wenn die Taufe Jesu am Ende der Rückseite eines Blattes mit 3,22 endete und die programmatische Rede am Anfang der Vorderseite eines Blattes mit 6,20 anfing, könnte eventuell ein loses Blatt mit der Versuchungsgeschichte einfach eingelegt worden sein. Danach müßte schon Redaktion A selbst aus einer Reihe von Flugblättern bestanden haben: pro Perikope ein Blatt. Wie aber steht es mit einem Einzelvers, der kein ganzes, aber immerhin teures Blatt beidseitig ausfüllen konnte? Sato zufolge ist nämlich Q 7,27 ebenfalls ,ein später Einschub'. Den Schluß der Redaktion A aber bildete der Einzelvers 7,28, der doch wohl kaum auf einem leeren Blatt gestanden hatte, so daß 7,27, ebenfalls auf einem völlig leeren Blatt, bequem eingelegt werden konnte. Auch in Redaktion B seinen Q 10,12-15 und 10,22 ,später eingefügt' worden – aber wie?" (Robinson, "Die Logienquelle," 379).

[51] Robinson, "Die Logienquelle," 379.

concerns. Even Robinson's own theories on the compositional history of Q could

potentially allow for the "Ringbuch" format.

Whatever compositional history one describes, the "Ringbuch" or notebook

medium for Q in its latter stages is a potential solution to the problem of understanding

Matthew's use of Q. It is possible to see the first evangelist literally "unbinding" the

notebook sheets and reworking them into an order closer to the Q material in Matthew.

Even further, as will be proposed below, imagining Matthew's copy of Q in the form of a

codex allows Matthew *random* access to the sayings material, rendering Sato's

"Ringbuch" medium unnecessary.

In light of the above discussion of recensional theories on Q, a few conclusions

are in order. Kloppenborg notes that "[r]ecensional models have special heuristic value

insofar as they imply a highly differentiated view of the redaction of the canonical

Gospels."[52] Certainly, the proposals of Luz and Sato have significant probative value and

are consistent with the known compositional/publication techniques of other writers in

the Greco-Roman world. However, they obviate the implicit need to provide a single

"text" for Q – a reconstructed text of Q is a logical consequence of the 2DH that

envisions Q as a written (Greek) document. In addition, the recensional theories of Luz

and Sato make the study of the "theology" of Q and the "Q-community" very difficult, if

not impossible, if Q is at least two different documents.[53] Thus, while a reconstructed

(single) Greek text of Q may, in fact, be an "abstraction" as Kloppenborg has argued, it

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[52] Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, 110.

[53] While not having Sato and Luz in mind, Kloppenborg notes that "[s]ome [unnamed] critics invoke the possibility of multiple recensions in a rather frivolous way, to sidestep the reconstruction of Q and to minimize Q's importance," Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, 110 n 117.

still "is a useful abstraction, functioning precisely in the same way that the idea of the

'text' of the New Testament has functioned for modern exegesis."[54] In other words and

germane to this dissertation, Luz's and Sato's models would restrict one's ability to test

the validity of the 2DH in light of ancient compositional practices if a reconstructed text

for Q is not possible. This is precisely what I will attempt to do at the conclusion of this

chapter.

Matthew's use of Mark does not present the same problems as for Matthew's use

of Q. Of the two evangelists, Matthew deviates more frequently from Markan order than

does Luke. But Matthew's deviation from the order of Q is much more significant than

his deviation from Mark's order (see Figure 36 at the end of the chapter). For example,

Matthew deviates from Mark's order in terms of placing the Sermon on the Mount (i.e.,

Q 5-7). After the Baptism/Temptation episodes (Mark 1:9-13/Matt 3:13-4:11), Matthew

continues to track Mark closely until just after the call of the first disciples (Mark 1:16-

20/Matt 4:18-22). At that point, Matthew skips over Mark 1:21-34 (he picks this up later,

after the Sermon), omits Mark's account of Jesus' departure from Capernaum (Mark

1:35-38), and adapts Mark 1:39 to introduce the Sermon (Matt 4:23-25). Matthew tracks

Q exclusively in chapters 5-7, interspersing "M" material with Q-sayings to create a

single sermon. Matthew closes the Sermon by leaving Q and returning to Mark, but this

time he picks up in Mark in an *earlier* text – Mark 1:21-28 (Matt 7:28-29) – a portion of

Mark that he skipped over previously.

It is in the next section in Matthew where one sees the greatest reworking of the

order of the Markan pericopes by Matthew in the grouping of Markan miracle/healing

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[54] Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, 110.

stories – Matthew's second narrative block (Matthew 8-9). After the Sermon on the

Mount, Matthew resumes with Mark where he left off, at the story of the healing of the

leper (Matt 8:1-4/Mark 1:40-45). He then turns to Q (7:1-3, 6-9, ?10?) for the healing of

the (Gentile) centurion's servant (Matt 8:1-13), which incorporates Jesus' sayings on

Gentiles in the Kingdom (Q 13:28-29). Matthew then returns to Mark for a series of

healing/miracles stories. He moves back to Mark 1:29-34 for the healings of Peter's

mother-in-law and the sick at evening, followed by the incorporation of another Q text (Q

9:57-60, the "would-be" followers of Jesus). Returning to Mark, Matthew moves *ahead*

in his source to the calming of the storm/Gaderene demoniacs accounts (Mark 4:35-5:20).

Matthew then moves *back* to the remaining Markan material yet to be incorporated (Mark

2:1-22, i.e., the healing of the paralytic/call of Levi/question about fasting), picking up in

Mark where he first left Markan order. Matthew then jumps ahead to the healings of

Jairus' daughter and the hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:21-43), summarizes two healing

stories (two blind men/demoniac) from Mark and Q that are picked up again later in the

Gospel (Matt 9:27-34),[55] continues with Mark's general statements on Jesus' healing and

teaching activities in Galilee (Matt 9:35-36), his sending out of the Twelve (Matt 10:1),

and moves from Mark 6:6-7 *back* to Mark 3:13-19a for the names of the disciples (Matt

10:2-4). This is followed by a conflation of Mark 6:8-13 and Q 10:3-12 (Matt 10:5-16),

and then the second major block of discourse material (i.e., Matt 10:17-11:28-30). In the

section that follows – Matthew's third narrative block (Matthew 12) – Matthew returns to

where he originally deviated from Mark's absolute order (i.e., Mark 2:23ff), and follows

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[55] Mark's story of the healing of blind Bartimaeus (Mark 10:46-52) shows up again in Matt 20:29-34, as does Q's account of the exorcism of the mute demoniac (Q 11:14-15), showing up again in the Beelzebul accusation (Matt 12:22-24).

Mark's content and order for the rest of the Gospel, save for the few Markan accounts

(i.e., Mark 3:13-19a; 4:34-5:43; 6:6-13, 34b) already incorporated by Matthew. Thus, in

the majority of pericopes (as numbered in Figure 37) where Matthew is using Mark (49

out of 61, or 80%), Matthew follows the absolute order of Mark, i.e., he does not deviate

from Mark's order. This figure (80%) should be compared to Matthew's use of Q: in 28

of the 73 Q-pericopes incorporated by Matthew, he follows Q's absolute order (i.e.,

38%).

While not the focus of this chapter or dissertation, the arguments around the

original order of Q are clearly relevant when thinking about the ways in which Matthew

and Luke independently incorporated Mark and Q. In discussing the original order of Q,

Kloppenborg noticed that

> [r]econstructing the original order of Q is in effect the obverse of understanding
> the redactional arrangement of Q by one or both of the evangelists. If the
> reconstruction is to be convincing, the solution must entail explanations which are
> both editorially plausible and in keeping with the redactional procedures
> evidenced elsewhere in the author's work.[56]

This ties into those scholars who are content with the "simpler" model that

Matthew merely reworked Mark and Q (as we have them) without appealing to

recensional models for Q (or for Mark for that matter, i.e., Proto- or Deutero-Mark), or to

a "pre-publication" medium the two soruces (i.e., a bound proto-codex, notebook, etc.).

Kümmel describes Matthew's general treatment of Mark and Q as follows: "Mt presents

large sayings sections: 5-7; 10; 11; 18:10ff; 23; 24:37ff; 25; when this material is set

aside, what remains is on the whole the Markan material."[57] Kümmel's observations are

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[56] Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 69.

[57] W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Rev. ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 65.

made while discussing the original order of Q and the general agreement in order that

Matthew and Luke share in their placement of the Q material. Picking up on Taylor's

findings, Kümmel developed the figure below (underlined numbers indicate places where

Matthew and Luke agree in the placement of Q material):[58]

Figure 28: Kümmel on the Placement of Q Material in Matthew and Luke

	Lk		Mt	
1	3:7-9, 16f	Baptist's Preaching	3:7-12	1
2	4:2-13	Temptation of Jesus	4:2-11	2
3	6:20-23, 27-30, 32-36	Sermon on the Plain I	5:3-6, 11f, 39-42, 45-48	3
4	6:27f, 41-49	Sermon on the Plain II	7:1-5, 16-21, 24-27	7
5	7:1-10	Centurion from Capernaum	8:5-13	9
6	7:18-35	John the Baptist's Sayings	11:2-19	13
7	9:57-60	Sayings on Discipleship	8:19-22	10
8	10:1-12	Mission Discourse	9:37-10:15	11
9	10:13-15, 21f	Woes and Joys	11:21-23, 25f	14
10	11:1-4	Lord's Prayer	6:9-13	5
11	11:9-13	On Prayer	7:7-11	8
12	11:14-23	Beelzebub Controversy	12:22-30	15
13	11:24-26	Saying on Backsliding	12:43-45	17
14	11:29-32	Against Request for Miracles	12:38-42	16
15	11:33-35	Sayings on Light	5:15; 6:22f	4
16	11:39-52	Against the Pharisees	23:4, 23-25, 29-36	19
17	12:2-19	Summons to Confession	10:26-33	12
18	12:22-34	Cares and Treasures	6:25-33, 19-21	6
19	12:39-46	Watchfulness	24:43-51	22
20	13:18-21	Mustard Seed and Leaven	13:31-33	18
21	13:34f	Predictions Concerning Jerusalem	23:37-39	20
22	17:22-37	Discourse on the Parousia	24:26-28, 37-41	21
23	19:11-28	Parable on the Talents	25:14-30	23

Kümmel concludes the following:

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[58] Kümmel, *Introduction*, 65.

By observing the different ways in which Mt and Lk have introduced the Q material into the Markan framework, we find that Mt has strung the Q material throughout the whole of his Gospel, while Lk has it largely in two great blocks (6:20-7:35; 9:57-13:34), so that Lk preserves the sequence of Q better than Mt. And Taylor's investigation of the sequence of Q material in the speeches in Mt confirms the conjecture that Lk has followed the Q order on the whole, while Mt has many times departed from the Q order, in keeping with the systematic recasting of his sources.[59]

In two very important articles, Vincent Taylor offered what are perhaps the most

sophisticated arguments to date regarding the original order of Q.[60] In his first article

(1953), Taylor attempts to demonstrate a common order shared by Matthew and Luke in

the Q material. In the second article (1959), Taylor details Matthew's literary techniques

in each of the six sections of Q material in Matthew. Taylor concluded that "Luke has

preserved the order of Q and has followed it with great fidelity."[61] Now this conclusion is

by no means "new" to Taylor.[62] Yet his arguments in support of the position already held

by a majority of Q scholars are quite unique. Taylor had to contend both with the (then

recent) argument of Luke's use of Matthew put forward by B. C. Butler[63] and with the

typical way of presenting the Q material visually in a double column chart, which

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[59] Kümmel, *Introduction*, 69.

[60] Vincent Taylor, "The Order of Q," *JTS* 4 (1953): 27-31; "The Original Order of Q," *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 246-269.

[61] Taylor, "Original Order," 266.

[62] This position is found as early as H. J. Holtzmann (see *Die synoptische Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichlicher Charakter* [Leipzig: Engelmann, 1863], 141). See also B. H. Streeter, "On the Original Order of Q," *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. W. Sanday; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 141-164.

[63] *The Originality of St. Matthew* (Cambridge: University Press, 1951). Butler advocated the so-called "Augustinian" solution to the Synoptic Problem – Matthean priority, Mark's use of Matthew, followed by Luke's use of Matthew and Mark.

typically conceals "the signs of a common order."[64] Instead, Taylor offered a seven

column list of the Q material, taking into consideration "Matthew's editorial methods."[65]

Figure 29: Parallel Passages in Matthew and Luke
Suggestive of the Use of the Document Q (V. Taylor)[66]

Luke	Matt 5-7 "Sermon on the Mount"	Matt 10 "Mission Charge"	Matt 13 "Discourse on Teaching in Parables"	Matt 18 "Discourse on Discipleship"	Matt 23-25 "Eschatological Discourse"	Rest of Matt
3:7-9, 16f						3:7-12
3:21f						3:16f
4:1-13						4:1-11
6:20-23	5:3-6, 11-12					
6:27-30	5:39-44					
6:31	(7:12)					
6:32-36	5:45-48					
6:37-38	7:1-2					
6:39						(15:14*)
6:40		(10:24)*				
6:41f	7:3-5					
6:43-54	7:16-20					12:33-35
6:46	7:21					
6:47-49	7:24-27					
7:1-10						8:5-10, 13
7:18-23						11:2-6
7:24-28						11:7-11
7:31-35						11:16-19
9:57-60						8:19-22
10:2						9:37-38
10:3-12		10:9-16*				
10:13-15						11:21-23
10:16		(10:40)*				
10:21f						11:25-27
10:23-24			13:16-17			
11:1-3	6:9-13					
11:9-13	7:7-11					
11:14-23						12:22-30

[64] Taylor, "The Order of Q," 28.

[65] Taylor, "The Order of Q," 28-29.

[66] Taylor, "The Order of Q," 29-30. Taylor omits from this list passages possible Q texts "in which the linguistic agreement is relatively small" (p. 28). These include The Great Commandment (Luke 10:25-28//Matt 22:34-39), Signs of the Times Saying (Luke 12:54-56//Matt 16:2f), Narrow Gate Saying (Luke 13:23f//Matt 7:13f), Shut Door Saying (Luke 13:25-27//Matt 7:22f, 25:10-12); Great Supper Parable (Luke 14:15-24//Matt 22:1-10), Lost Sheep Parable (Luke 15:4-7//Matt 18:12-14), and the Pounds Parable (Luke 19:12-27//Matt 25:14-30). Here, Matthew may be "dependent on a second source other than Q" (p. 28). "If, in these passages, Q and another source overlapped, it is reasonable to expect that the order of Q, as reflected in Matthew and Luke, may be obscured" (p. 28). Taylor also omits from his list some "short isolated sayings which, for editorial reasons, either Evangelist, but presumably Matthew, might be disposed to insert in another context" (p. 28). These include Luke 14:11, 18:14b//Matt 23:12, 18:4.

Luke	Mt 5-7	Mt 10	Mt 13/18	Mt 23-24	rest of Mt
11:24-26					12:43-45
11:29-32					12:38-42
11:33	(5:15)*				
11:34-35	6:22-23				
11:49-51				23:34-36	
12:2-3		10:26-27			
12:4-7		10:28-31			
12:8-9		10:32-33			
12:10					(12:32)*
12:11-12		(10:19-20)*			
12:22-31	6:25-33				
12:33b, 34	(6:20-21)*				
12:39-46				24:43-51	
12:51-53		10:34-36			
12:57-59	5:25-26				
13:18-21			13:31-33		
13:28-29					8:11-12
13:34				23:37-39	
14:11			(18:4)*		
14:26d		10:37-38			
16:13	(6:24)				
16:16					(11:12-13)
16:17	(5:18)				
16:18	(5:32)				
17:1-2			18:6-7		
17:3-4			18:15, 21-22		
17:5-6					17:20
17:23-24				24:26-27	
17:26-27				24:37-39	
17:33		10:39			
17:34-35				24:40	
17:37				(24:28)	
22:30b					19:28b

() denotes passages which break continuous sequence
* denotes passages in which conflation is possible

In addition to a final "catch-all" column ("the rest of Matthew"), Taylor's chart

listed the Q sayings in each of Matthew's five extensive teaching sections, i.e., chapters

5-7, 10, 13, 18, 23-25. Taylor found that when one looks at each column individually

(i.e., looks at a particular section of teaching material in Matthew's Gospel), Matthew

regularly *does* reproduce the Q material in the same order as Luke. Taylor notes that there

is "an astonishing range of agreement [in order], not continuous throughout, but visible in

groups or series of passages in the same order in both Gospels."[67] Taylor can then

conclude that "Matthew knew the same order [as Luke in Q] and was aware of it when he

made editorial adjustments and conflated Q with Mark and M."[68] Ultimately, then, Taylor

is able to presume that the generally common order of the sayings material shared by

Matthew and Luke raises the Q hypothesis "to a remarkable degree of cogency, short

only of demonstration."[69]

The transposition of Q material, Taylor argued, could be accounted for by

Matthew's own editorial technique. For example, regarding the "Mission Charge"

(Matthew 10), Taylor concludes the following:

> [In the Mission Charge, there are a] number of Q sayings (approximately four-
> fifths) [that] are in the same order in Matt. and Luke. Where there is a difference
> of order, the arrangement in Matt. (and possibly occasionally in Luke) is due to
> editorial reasons or the use of other sources...[70]

In addition, Taylor will posit a "Q-M" overlap to account for Matthew's redaction – for

example, the "Treasure" saying (Matt 6:20-21//Luke 12:33b-34);[71] and, the Parable of the

Lost Sheep (Matt 18:12-13//Luke 15:4-7, 10).[72] Here, Tuckett argues, Taylor is

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[67] Taylor, "Original Order," 248.

[68] Taylor, "Original Order," 267.

[69] Taylor, "The Order of Q," 31.

[70] Taylor, "Original Order," 256-257.

[71] "Apart from the closing words (Matt. 6:21 and Luke 12:34) the linguistic differences are considerable. These differences and the variation of the rhythm in the two forms suggest that Matthew is drawing upon M and Luke on Q. In this case the difference in position is not surprising," (Taylor, "Original Order," 252).

[72] "This parable is widely assigned to Q, but the opinion...that Matthew's version belongs to M and Luke's to L, is highly probable. ...An inordinate amount of editorial modification has to be assigned to Luke if both versions are drawn from a common source, whereas the differences are intelligible if they come from different cycles of tradition," (Taylor, "Original Order," 259).

essentially denying "to Q a saying which does not quite fit his pattern but which seems to be common to both gospels."[73]

A few current Q scholars have sought to deal with Taylor's arguments, recognizing their important contribution not only to understanding the original order of Q, but also understanding Matthew's technique in incorporating the Q material into his Gospel. Kloppenborg has described Taylor's solution of laying the Q material in six parallel columns alongside of Luke as "brilliant,"[74] while O. E. Evans argues that the 2DH "provides a completely reasonable explanation of [the] facts revealed by Taylor's investigation; indeed it is the only reasonable explanation..."[75] While Taylor's solution has been said to be both "brilliant" and "the only reasonable explanation," it has not escaped criticism. While complimentary of the solution itself, Kloppenborg notes the following:

> Despite the ingenuity of [Taylor's] solution, one caution must be observed. Given a sufficient number of scannings, *any two lists* of common elements can be reconciled in order. Put differently, the more scannings that are required, the more cumbersome and the less convincing is this kind of solution. Taylor, in effect, permits 15 scans [see table above]. Given the initial common order, it is hardly surprising that 15 scannings can reconcile the other disagreements.[76]

Similarly, Tuckett has criticized Taylor's solution. He states:

> Taylor's arguments are not fool-proof, and not all the evidence quite fits the facts. At times...he has to postulate...Matthew going through the Q material more than once to pick up in order the material he will use in his large discourses.[77]

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[73] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 37.

[74] Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 68.

[75] Owen E. Evans, "Synoptic Criticism since Streeter," *ExpT* 72 (1961): 298.

[76] Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 69 (emphasis original).

[77] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 37.

The question that arises is the extent to which Matthew's repeated "scannings" of Q (and Mark for that matter) is consistent with the known practices of writers in antiquity. Kloppenborg is indeed correct when he states any two lists of "common materials" can be "reconciled in order" when there are no limitations on the number of "scannings" involved. Innumerable "scannings" do also have the potential of rendering a particular source-critical theory "more cumbersome" and "less convincing" – this is precisely one of the fundamental problems with the 2GH and FGH. However, Taylor's solution still may hold up under scrutiny if one takes into consideration certain features of book production in antiquity, particularly ancient media and the role that memory may have played in the production of Matthew. Indeed, if one were to imagine Q in some "codex-like" format (e.g., Luz, Sato, and Birger Gerhardsson below), multiple scannings pose less of a problem, particularly in light of the feature of random access that a codex provided.

When memory and the mnemonic techniques of ancient writers is entertained, then the number of "multiple scannings" can diminish significantly. For the most part, it appears that most Synoptic source critics have imagined Matthew's contact with Mark and Q to be a visual one, that is, any and all use of Mark and Q by Matthew in the production of his Gospel has been accomplished with Mark and Q "open" in front of him. As a result, there has been no non-visual investigation of Matthew's use of Mark and Q, an inquiry that would explore the role that memory and mnemonics could play in book production. In theory, Matthew's use of Mark and Q both visually and mnemonically could allow his greater freedom to deviate from the order of his written sources, and thus help to begin the solve the problem of Matthew's reworking of the order of Mark and Q.

Reacting against what he perceived to be the historical minimalism of form

critics, Birger Gerhardsson described in 1961 the compositional techniques of the

Evangelists in light of Rabbinic techniques of the preservation of the Torah.[78]

Gerhardsson, who agrees with the traditional authorial designations for the Gospel

writers, describes the transmission of the traditions about Jesus leading up to the

composition of the Gospels as follows:

> [T]he actual transmission of ... collections of traditions about Jesus was a distinct
> activity... The traditionist/teacher passed on the tractate, passage or saying to his
> pupil or pupils by means of continual repetition; he taught the pupil to repeat it,
> after which he gave the required interpretation. We catch glimpses in the synoptic
> material – particularly in Matt., "the rabbinic Gospel" [pace Stendahl] – of certain
> teaching situations which are worthy of our attention in this context, since they
> certainly reflect teaching practice in the Church in which the tradition in question
> was formed. But there is little point in stopping at such a statement. It was
> precisely the teacher's pedagogical measures which were the object of special
> observation and imitation. It ought therefore to be possible, on the basis of the
> practice of these disciples, to draw certain conclusions as to the methods applied
> by their Master.[79]

Gerhardsson describes the actual process of writing the Gospels thusly:

> When the Evangelists edited their Gospels ...they did not take their traditions
> from [the orally transmitted sayings and teachings of Jesus]. They worked on the
> basis of a fixed, distinct tradition from, and about, Jesus – a tradition which was
> partly memorized and partly written down in notebooks and private scrolls[80], but
> invariably isolated from the teachings of other doctrinal authorities.[81]

While Gerhardsson's work was both controversial and groundbreaking in its

description of the preservation of "Christian tradition" in light of the Rabbinic techniques

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[78] *Memory & Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Lund: Gleerup, 1961); republished with *Tradition & Transmission in Early Christianity* (1964) (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Livonia, MI: Dove Booksellers, 1998).

[79] Gerhardsson, *Memory & Manuscript*, 334.

[80] I.e., unpublished texts.

[81] Gerhardsson, *Memory & Manuscript*, 335.

of (orally) preserving sacred tradition, his comments on the actual composition of the

Gospels are minimal. His study, however, is helpful for two reasons. First, Gerhardsson

provides detailed descriptions of the visual/written preservation of (Jewish) sacred

tradition through note taking (e.g., "unoffical written ὑπομνήματα"), written materials

that aided in the "transmission" of the "oral" Torah.[82] Second, Gerhardsson surveys

mnemonic techniques contemporary with the production of the Gospels, as a way to

counter the overly "visual" outlook of turn-of-the-century source critics and their unduly

minimalist successors – the form critics of the middle part of the twentieth century.

Some 23 years later, Gerhardsson picked up where his *Memory & Manuscript* left

off, in part discussing the composition of the written Gospels. Gerhardsson poses a series

of (rhetorical) questions in his article, originally given as a paper at the 1984 Jerusalem

Symposium on the Synoptic Problem:

> At the stage of the creation of the large written Gospels we have to ask how the Gospels were produced, technically speaking. How do we imagine that Mark, Matthew, Luke, John – let me call them so – actually proceeded, when they produced their famous books? ...How much did they have in the form of documents? How did they collect their material? Did they travel, search for collections, consult informants? And how did they actually proceed when compiling their books? Did they have the scrolls and codices before themselves? Did they know them more or less by heart? Did they feel a duty to copy visually from the columns in the Vorlagen or could they follow some freer model and adapt their texts in a more targumic way? Did they have in their memory oral versions of the pericopes present in their written sources, and, in such cases, did these versions have the same authority for them as the written versions? Did they use loose notes for the first phase of their attempts to combine their sources? Did they rewrite their drafts many times?[83]

Gerhardsson does not attempt to answer these questions, but concludes that

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[82] Gerhardsson, *Memory & Manuscript*, 163.

[83] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 533-534.

[s]uch questions are not unrealistic; I think we should try to find answers, and any case for our own silent use. If we cannot form a concrete conception of the process of compiling the Gospels we have reasons to surmise that something is wrong with our solution of the synoptic question and of many other related topics.[84]

Gerhardsson proceeds to begin to provide such a "concrete conception." He argues that

the departure of Jesus did not cause "the adherents of Jesus [to] immediately change the

[oral] medium of communication."[85] The followers of Jesus "do what we may expect

disciples in this milieu to do: they continue in the footsteps of their master, they follow

his aims, his behavior and teaching and perhaps even direct instructions given; they carry

on his work along his characteristic lines."[86] Despite the non-textually focused followers

of Jesus, Gerhardsson states that "it can hardly be doubted that notebooks began to be

used when the [oral] collections became more extensive than in the earliest period."[87]

"Human proclivity," "interest and necessity forced" the followers of Jesus to eventually

"collect" primitive texts about Jesus.[88] Gerhardsson states:

> Even the will to remember leads us to a conscious gathering and grouping of
> memory material. It is a precaution against forgetfulness. Other factors
> contributed as well, not least, the needs of the communities. It is easy to imagine
> that notebooks were more and more taken into use in this work with the texts.
> Great synthetical collections of the same type as the Q-collection or the Gospel of
> Mark are thus "in the nature of the case." And proper books had to come, sooner
> or later.[89]

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[84] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 534.

[85] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 538.

[86] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 538.

[87] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 539.

[88] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 540.

[89] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 540.

The "Q-collection," argues Gerhardsson, "hardly had as well a structured disposition as did the Gospel of Mark..."; it was "merely an extensive notebook (ὑπόμνημα)"[90] (again, cf. Sato and Luz). However, the author of Q "shows a desire to write for others, and his desire has taken him a step further than to the collection of material in a big notebook; he has arranged his texts in accordance with an overall view of Jesus and his work."[91]

While Gerhardsson is certainly correct regarding the need for "concrete conceptions" for "the process of compiling the Gospels," he only just begins to provide such a picture. He rightly argues that the literary culture of the Evangelists is one that saw the interplay between textuality and orality – one's memory could be greatly assisted in the preservation of tradition with the use of notebooks and other "private" media. It is also true that a variety of different social, political and geographic influences likely contributed to the eventual production of the written texts of the Gospels. However, Gerhardsson is rather short on the details of such an event.

Finally, it is worth noting the correlation between Matthew's deviation from the order of Q and the verbal agreement that he shares with Luke in the double tradition (i.e., "Minimal Q" pericopes). Robert Morgenthaler is responsible for cataloging the percentage of verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke in the double tradition.[92] Kloppenborg has recently summarized Morgenthaler's statistics in the figure below:

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[90] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 540.

[91] Gerhardsson, "The Gospel Tradition," 540.

[92] Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* (Zürich and Stuttgart: Gotthelf, 1971), 260-261.

Figure 30: Variations in Agreement in the Double Tradition[93]

Range	No. of pericopae	% of total words	Average Agreement	
			Luke	Matthew
98-80%	11	13.2%	86.7%	82.8%
60-79%	15	27.8%	68.9%	66.3%
40-59%	15	24.8%	46.4%	44.4%
20-39%	14	25.9%	28.5%	26.9%
0-19%	8	8.2%	12.4%	10.9%
	63	100%	50.6%	47.9%

When one looks at Morgenthaler's statistics (= MStat) in even more detail, and

includes Q pericopes not analyzed by him, an interesting trend emerges. In the chart

illustrating Matthew's use of Mark and Q (Figure 37 below), one counts some 73

pericopes that Matthew finds in Q and incorporates in his Gospel. A factor that accounts

for Matthew's deviation from the absolute order of Q (as reconstructed by the IQP) is

assigned to each pericope (0-15, least to the greatest deviation; = DvFtr). When these

factors are compared to Morgenthaler's statistics, the following general trend emerges:

As one *increases* the DvFtr, the MStat *decreases*, moving generally and on average from

about 58% agreement to 38% agreement in the double tradition (see Figures 38 and 39 at

the end of the chapter). This trend seems to suggest that as Matthew deviates from Q's

order, he is less inclined to follow the wording of Q. A logical conclusion would be that a

lower MStat would indicate that Matthew does not have visual contact with that

particular Q pericope. Instead, he is relying on his memory to supply the wording for the

Q text. It is also clear from the graph that there are exceptions to this general trend. For

example, at Matt 6:24 (Q 16:13; Jesus' saying on serving two masters), the MStat is 98%,

yet a DvFtr of 15. Conversely, where the DvFtr is 0, there are examples of low MStats

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[93] Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, 63. Kloppenborg notes (63 n 14) that Morgenthaler includes Luke 14:5b that very likely does not belong in Q.

(e.g., Q 4:16 = 4%; Q 17:4 = 6%). However, it should be noted that several of the Q texts that are given a DvFtr of 0 are dubiously attributed to Q and/or the original wording of Q nearly impossible to ascertain (e.g., Q 4:16; 7:?10?).

In sum, the Morgenthaler numbers suggest the following: The higher Morgenthaler numbers seem to indicate Matthew's visual contact with Q. For example, John's preaching of the coming one (Matt 3:11-12/Q 3:16-17 = MStat 88%), woes to unrepentant cities (Matt 11:20-24/Q 10:13-15 = MStat 90%), and the return of the unclean spirit (Matt 12:43-45/Q 11:24-26 = MStat 93%), are places where Matthew likely has visual contact with Q. On the other hand, the lower Morgenthaler numbers suggest Matthew's use of Q from memory. Thus, the parable of salt (Matt 5:13-14/Q 14:34-35 = MStat 9%) and the saying on coming persecutions (Matt 10:17-23/Q 12:11-12 = MStat 31%) are places where Matthew may *not* have visual contact with Q. In addition, the Morgenthaler numbers suggest that as Matthew deviates from the order of Q, his Q-texts have a lower MStat, suggesting that there is a connection between the use of memory and deviation from the order of Q.

Matthew's Conflation of Mark and Q

Within the 2DH, there is a phenomenon where Mark and Q overlap, that is, places where Mark and Q contain the same episode or saying in the life of Jesus.[94] Within this

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[94] Synoptic scholars disagree as to the precise number of overlap texts. H. T. Fleddermann numbers the Mark-Q overlap texts at 28 (*Mark and Q: A Study of the Overlap Texts. With an Assessment by F. Neirynck* [BETL 122; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeter, 1995], ix-xi, *passim*). In should be noted, however, that Fleddermann argues that Mark knew Q as well as Matthew and Luke. Much of the debate over the number overlap texts has to do with reconstructed texts of Q (in the end, a reconstructed text of Q may not include the potential overlap), and what exactly constitutes an overlap – is it a common word, similar idea, or more? For example, the "Minor Agreements" (MAs) between Matthew and Luke may indicate a Mark-Q overlap. The Great Commandment pericope contains a number of significant MAs

group of overlap texts, there are about ten or so where it appears that Matthew is actually

conflating his two overlapping sources. These include the following and may be seen in

Figure 37 (purple sections):

1.   The Coming of John the Baptist (Mark 1:1-6//Q 3:2-3)

2.   John's Preaching of the Coming One (Mark 1:7-8//Q 3:16-17)

3.   The Baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:9-11//[Q 3:21-22][95])

4.   The Temptation (Mark 1:12-13//Q 4:1-4, 9-12, 5-8, 13)

5.   The First Preaching in Galilee/"*Nazara*" (Mark 1:14-15//Q 4:16)

6.   Jesus' Instructions to the Twelve (Mark 6:8-13//Q 10:3-12)

7.   Accusations against Jesus (Mark 3:19b-22//Q 11:14-15, 17-20)

8.   A House Divided (Mark 3:23-30//[Q 11:21-22])

9.   The Parable of the Mustard Seed (Mark 4:30-32//Q 13:18-19)

10.   Woe: The Best Seats ([Mark 12:39-40[96]]//Q 11:43)

The overlapping of episodes from two sources utilized by a later author should

not be a surprise.[97] In fact, both the 2GH and the FGH have a similar phenomenon. On

the 2GH, Mark's two sources – Matthew and Luke – consistently and regularly overlap.

On the FGH, Luke's two sources – Mark and Matthew – frequently overlap as well. It

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that may point to this pericope being in Q. In November of 1995, Robert Derrenbacker argued for its inclusion in Q (albeit at the rating of "D") at the meeting of the IQP in Philadelphia. In the end, the IQP voted to exclude it from Q ("D"). Also, *parallel* texts could, at times, be confused with *overlap* texts.

[95] The IQP has included this pericope in Q. However, the reference is enclosed in square brackets, indicating that the vote to include it was no greater than "C."

[96] There is some question as to whether the agreements between Mark and Q at this point are strong enough to constitute an "overlap" text.

[97] At least one member of the Research Team for [the Renewal of] Gospel Studies (i.e., advocates of the Two-Gospel [Neo-Griesbach] Hypothesis) has communicated to me that the existence of Mark-Q overlaps is a phenomenon, like the "Minor Agreements," that poses a large problem for the 2DH.

should be noted that in both the 2GH and the FGH, the overlapping is far more extensive

than on the 2DH. For the 2GH, it is all the material shared in common by Matthew and

Luke. For the FGH, it is virtually all of Mark – the Markan passages adopted by Matthew

(these would be Luke's overlap texts on the FGH). However on the 2DH, it is just a small

portion of both Mark and Q that actually overlap – some dozen or so episodes.

Still, the phenomenon of Mark-Q overlaps could potentially present a problem

for understanding the 2DH from the perspective of Greco-Roman compositional

practices. It might appear, at least on the surface, that the relatively few Mark-Q overlap

texts constitute an *infrequent* "micro-conflation," a phenomenon that *consistently*

characterizes both the 2GH and the FGH, providing problems for both theories. Thus,

two questions arise: First, do we see the sort of (micro-) conflation in the overlap texts

that we see in the 2GH (or FGH)? Second, what are some alternative ways of

understanding the overlap texts in light of the compositional conventions of antiquity?

The answer to the first question appears to be a clear "No." On the 2DH, we do

not observe the sort of "zig-zagging" between sources, both on inter- and intra-pericopal

levels, that we see in the 2GH and FGH. Taking John's Preaching about the Coming One

(Mark 1:7-8//Q 3:16-17) as an example (see figure below), clearly Matthew continues to

track Q exclusively in the pericope, as he did in 3:7-1 – John's Preaching of Repentance.

The Markan pericope apparently does not influence Matthew's wording, which

exclusively comes from Q.

Figure 31: John's Preaching of the Coming One (Matthew)[98]

Mark 1:7-8	Matt 3:11-12	Q 3:16-17 (IQP)[99]
[7] Καὶ ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων·		
	[11] Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μού ἐστιν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι·	[16] Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω [ἐν] ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μού ἐστιν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τ[ὰ] ὑποδήματα [βαστα]σαι·
ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ.		
[8] ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.	*αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί·*	*αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν* πνεύματι [ἁγίῳ] *καὶ* πυρί·
	[12] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.	[16] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

Luke, on the other hand, does, at least on the surface, seem to "zig-zag" between Mark

and Q in the composition of his account of John's preaching of the one who is to come

(see figure below).

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[98] Underlined text = agreements between Matthew and Q; italicized text = agreements between Mark, Matthew and Q.

[99] Robinson et al., *Critical Edition of Q*, 14-17.

Figure 32: John's Preaching of the Coming One (Luke)[100]

Mark 1:7-8	Luke 3:16-17	Q 3:16-17 (IQP)[101]
[7] Καὶ ἐκήρυσσεν <u>λέγων</u>	[16] ἀπεκρίνατο <u>λέγων</u> πᾶσιν ὁ Ἰωάννης· ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς·	[16] Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω [ἐν] ὕδατι,
ἔρχεται ὁ *ἰσχυρότερός μου* ὀπίσω *μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς* κύψας <u>λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ.</u> [8] ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, *αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.*	*ἔρχεται* δὲ ὁ *ἰσχυρότερός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς* <u>λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ·</u> *αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* καὶ πυρί·	ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου *ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μού ἐστιν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς* τ[ὰ] ὑποδήματα [βαστα]σαι· *αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι* [ἁγίῳ] καὶ πυρί·
	[17] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ διακαθᾶραι τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συναγαγεῖν τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.	[16] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

The double underlined text indicates verbal agreements between Mark and Luke against Q. Neither λέγων nor ἔρχεται constitute a strong enough verbal agreement that would indicate Luke's use of Mark, since both forms are quite common.[102] However, λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν (ὑποδημάτων) αὐτοῦ ("to untie the thong of his [sandals]") is a strong verbatim agreement between Mark and Luke against Q. If a "zig-zagging"

between sources within pericopes is not typical of writers in the Greco-Roman world,

how does one explain the presence of this Markan phrase in Luke on the 2DH without

resorting to proto-Lukan (Streeter) or proto/ deutero-Markan theories (Koester; Fuchs) or

Mark's knowledge of Q (Fleddermann)? One obvious explanation would be that Luke is

simply a literary maverick of sorts here, in fact employing the atypical "zig-zagging"

technique of conflation. But this option is not satisfactory. What may be more likely is

that Luke is following Q closely – he does so in the account of John's preaching (3:7-9),

appeals to his own material in 3:10-14 (John's Preaching to Special Groups), and then

returns to Q for John's preaching of the one who is to come (3:15-18). In fact, Luke

follows Q rather closely in this pericope, save for the phrase "to untie the thong of his

(sandals)."[103] Here, we may see the "memory" of Mark influencing Luke – Luke is quite

familiar with Mark's account and opts for his more graphic description of John's

unworthiness, less Mark's phrase "to stoop down" (κύψας [Mark 1:7]).[104] Thus, the

account of John's Preaching of the Coming One may constitute a Mark-Q overlap in

which both Matthew and Luke are following Q closely while the "memory" of Mark

influences some of the phraseology of at least Luke.

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[103] While the IQP has adopted Matthew's wording ("to *carry* his sandals"), it is possible that the wording of Q 3:16 originally read "untie the thong of" (e.g., Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979], 28). Of course, this would simply shift the "problem" over to Matthew's column.

[104] A. Plummer argues that Luke's and Mark's wording is "more graphic" than that of Matthew. He states that to "unfasten shoes or sandals, when a man returned home, or to bring them to him when he went out, was the office of a slave.... John is not worthy to be the bond-servant of the Christ" (*The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 5th ed. [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922], 94).

In the Parable of the Mustard Seed and Leaven, we are faced with a similar problem, although this time it is in Matthew – not Luke[105] – where we (apparently) see a conflation of Mark and Q on the pericopal level.

Figure 33: The Parable of the Mustard Seed and Leaven (Matthew)[106]

Mark 4:30-32	Matt 13:31-33	Q 13:18-21 (IQP)[107]
³⁰ Καὶ ἔλεγεν· πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν; ³¹ ὡς *κόκκῳ σινάπεως*, ὃς ὅταν σπαρῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μικρότερον ὂν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ³² καὶ ὅταν σπαρῇ, ἀναβαίνει καὶ γίνεται μεῖζον πάντων τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ποιεῖ κλάδους μεγάλους, ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνοῦν.	³¹ *Ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων·* ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν *κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ·* ³² ὃ μικρότερον μέν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων, ὅταν δὲ αὐξηθῇ μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων ἐστὶν καὶ γίνεται δένδρον, ὥστε *ἐλθεῖν τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατασκηνοῦν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.* ³³ *Ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς·* ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ζύμῃ, ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου	¹⁸ ... τίνι ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίνι ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν; ¹⁹ ὁμοία ἐστὶν *κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ,* καὶ ηὔξησεν καὶ *ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.* ²⁰ Καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν· τίνι ὁμοιώσω τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; ²¹ ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζύμῃ, ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ

	ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον.	ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον.

For Streeter, the Parable of the Mustard Seed provides the classic example of Matthew's

conflationary method. While "Luke commonly accepts the Q version and ignores Mark's

[where Mark and Q overlap]," Matthew, on the other hand, "usually conflates Mark and

Q, though with a tendency to abbreviate."[108] Streeter argues that Matthew "not only

pieces together the substance of sayings that occur in different sources, but he combines

minute points of difference in their expression of the same thought."[109] Thus, Streeter can

conclude that "practically every word in Matthew is drawn from one or other of his

sources" at the Mustard Seed pericope.[110] Zeba Crook, in his helpful and recent "test

case" of the 2DH, 2GH, and FGH at the Parable of the Mustard Seed and Leaven,[111]

describes in some detail what both Matthew and Luke are doing with their two sources at

this point. The data, argues Crook, seem to suggest "Lukan independence from Mark

here."[112] Matthew, on the other hand, "conflates Mark and Q here as he is said to do

consistently."[113] Thus, Crook is able to conclude that this conflation of Mark and Q is

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[108] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 246. See pp. 186-191 for Streeter's detailed description of what Luke does with his sources when Mark and Q overlap.

[109] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 246.

[110] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 247.

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

[112] Crook, "The Synoptic Parables," 24.

[113] Crook, "The Synoptic Parables," 26.

"problem free."[114] Crook, however, may be overly optimistic, as we have in the Parables

of the Mustard Seed and Leaven Matthew's apparent (micro-)conflation of Mark and Q.

Yet Matthew's movement between his two sources is apparently not frequent. Matthew

follows Q through the entirety of v 31. While he may have opted for Mark's σπείρω

against Q's βάλλω in v 31c, Matthew does, as Crook argues, "consistently [use] the

correct terminology"[115] (i.e., σπείρω) when dealing with plants and agriculture. At v 32,

Matthew clearly begins to follow Mark, for at least half of the verse, borrowing

μικρότερον and τῶν σπερμάτων, as well as Mark's historic presents. However, when

faced with Mark's "large branches" (κλάδους μεγάλους; Mark 4:32b), Matthew

returns to Q for "tree," and remains with Q through the rest of the two parables. Thus, on

the 2DH, if one is to imagine Matthew's visual contact with Mark and Q, Matthew makes

two "movements" between his written sources: once from Q to Mark, then from Mark

back to Q.[116]

As well, it is worth noting the significant Markan vocabulary that Matthew

includes: "smallest...of the seeds" (μικρότερον... τῶν σπερμάτων) and "greatest...of

the shrubs" (μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων). This is clearly a memorable contrast, a parallelism

that emphasizes the irony of the "smallest" seeds producing the "largest" shrubs. This

ironic parallelism would be easily memorable, and as such, it is quite possible that

Matthew has no visual contact with Mark at this pericope. Instead, he may have visual

contact with Q only, and recall the ironic parallelism from Mark when faced with the

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[114] Crook, "The Synoptic Parables," 33.

[115] Crook, "The Synoptic Parables," 28.

[116] One could make the case that at Matt 9:32-34, Matthew conflates Mark with Q. However, the only vocabulary Matthew and Mark share against Mark are οἱ and ἔλεγον, hardly significant enough to

images of sowing and trees in Q. Thus, while the Parable(s) of the Mustard Seed (and

Leaven) clearly constitute a "Mark-Q overlap," Matthew, like Luke, may only have

visual contact with Q at this point. However, a potential problem for this conclusion is

that Matthew has *visual* contact with Q in a *Markan* context – the parable of the mustard

seed appears in Matthew as it does in Mark, *after* Mark 4:11-20 and *before* Mark 4:33-

34. Yet, this is precisely what Matthew does (or Luke for that matter) with the

Temptation – the bulk of the wording of the Temptation narrative comes from Q, yet it is

introduced in a Markan context. Thus, we have to imagine Matthew having visual contact

with Mark up to the point of the mustard seed parable. At that point, he verbally and

visually leaves Mark and uses Q for the mustard seed parable and its counterpart, the

parable of the leaven. At that point, Matthew resumes with Mark's Gospel – the text that

is providing his overall narrative structure.

Another Mark-Q overlap worthy of investigation is the Beelzebul accusation (Q

11:14-15, 17-20/Mark 3:19b-26). As a Mark-Q overlap, these texts and their parallels

could illustrate a conflation of Mark and Q by Matthew and Luke. However, upon closer

analysis, it appears that both Matthew and Luke follow exclusively the wording of Q.

Matthew has used a portion of the Q pericope already at Matt 9:32-34. The Beelzebul

accusation at Matt 12:22-28 is preceded by an extensive section of discourse material

(Matt 9:37-11:30), comprised predominately with Q material. Matthew then returns to

where he left off in the absolute sequence of Mark, and adapts the Markan accounts of

plucking heads of grain on the Sabbath, the healing of the man with withered hand, and

the healing of the multitudes (Mark 2:23-3:12/Matt 12:1-21). Matthew then comes to

suggest Markan influence at this point. Again, here Matthew shares much more in common with Q than he does with Mark.

Mark's Beelzebul accusation (Mark 3:19b-27), and returns to where he left off in Q, exclusively following Q's wording, at least through Matt 12:28 (see figure below). However, at Matt 12:29, it is not entirely clear if Matthew is following Mark or Q. Q 11:21-22 does show up in the IQP's text of Q. However, a reconstructed text for Q 11:21-22 is not provided since it is in Q at a rating of "C." Thus, Matthew could be following Q at this point, but a reconstructed text of Q is lacking. In addition, the verbal similarities with Mark 3:27 are quite strong at Matt 12:29, suggesting, without a reconstructed Q-text, that Matthew moves (briefly) to Mark at this point. Clearly, by Matt 12:30, Matthew has returned to Q (11:23), and stays with Q through Matt 12:45. If Matthew is, in fact, moving back (briefly) to Mark at Matt 12:29, he may be doing so through memory as opposed to visually. It is hard to imagine Matthew tracking Q closely and extensively for seven verses (i.e., Matt 12:22-28) and then return visually to Mark for the wording of one verse, only to return back to Q in the next verse (i.e., Matt 12:30). For the time being, a lack of a reconstructed Q text for Q 11:21-22 requires us to see Matthew's connection with Mark, likely through his memory of Mark 3:27. Even if Matthew is said to return *visually* to Mark at Matt 12:29, this is clearly more the exception than the rule – Matthew *normally* and *regularly* does not "zig-zag" between sources (like Mark normally and regularly does on the 2GH).

Figure 34: The Beelzebul Accusation: Matt 12:22-30 and Parallels[117]

Mark 3:19b-27	Matt 9:32-34	Matt 12:22-30	Q 11:14-15, 17-20, [21-22], 23 (IQP)[118]
[19] καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν. [20] Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν [ὁ] ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. [21] καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη.	[32] Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων ἰδοὺ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν δαιμονιζόμενον. [33] καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι λέγοντες· οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. [34] οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.	[22] Τότε προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν. [23] καὶ ἐξίσταντο πάντες οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ ἔλεγον μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ; [24] οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες εἶπον· οὗτος οὐκ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων.	[14] Καὶ ἐ[<ξέ>]βαλ[<εν>] δαιμόνιον κωφόν καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφὸς καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.
[22] Καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. [23] Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; [24] καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη· [25] καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι.		[25] εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται. [26] καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;	[15] τινὲς δὲ εἶπον ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια· [17] εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα [καθ'] ἑαυτῆ[ς] ἐρημοῦται καὶ πᾶσα οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται. [18] καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; [19] καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ

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[117] Underlined text = agreements between Luke and Q; italicized text = agreements between Mark, Matthew and Q; double underlined text = agreements between Mark and Matthew.

[118] Robinson et al., *Critical Edition of Q*, 222-237.

26 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στῆναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει		27 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν. 28 εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.	ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν. 20 εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
27 ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.		29 ἢ πῶς δύναταί τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἁρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον δήσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν; καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει. 30 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.	Q 11:[21-22] "minimal Q:" ... τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ... καὶ τὴν ... αὐτοῦ ... 23 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.

Luke, on the other hand, adapts the Beelzebul accusation in the midst of tracking a large block of Q (i.e., Q 9:57-17:35), which is interspersed with "L" material. Luke's account of the Beelzebul accusation (Luke 11:14-23) shows virtually no influence from Mark (the verbal parallels between Mark 3:27 and Luke 11:21-22 also comprise minimal Q for Q 11:21-22), with Luke tracking Q throughout (see figure below).

Figure 35: The Beelzebul Accusation: Luke 11:14-20 and Parallels[119]

Mark 3:19b-27	Luke 11:14-23	Q 11:14-15, 17-20, [21-22], 23 (IQP)[120]
¹⁹ καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν. ²⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν [ὁ] ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. ²¹ καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη. ²² Καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰεροσολύμων καταβάντες ἔλεγον ὅτι *Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει* καὶ ὅτι *ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.* ²³ Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; ²⁴ *καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη·* ²⁵ *καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι.* ²⁶ *καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν* καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στῆναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει. ²⁷ ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν <u>τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ</u> εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσῃ, καὶ τότε	¹⁴ <u>Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον</u> [καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν] <u>κωφόν·</u> ἐγένετο δὲ <u>τοῦ δαιμονίου</u> ἐξελθόντος <u>ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφὸς καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.</u> ¹⁵ <u>τινὲς δὲ</u> ἐξ αὐτῶν <u>εἶπον</u> *ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια·* ¹⁶ ἕτεροι δὲ πειράζοντες σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ¹⁷ αὐτὸς <u>δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν διαμερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται καὶ οἶκος</u> ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει. ¹⁸ εἰ δὲ <u>καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν διεμερίσθη, πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;</u> ὅτι λέγετε ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια. ¹⁹ <u>εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν κριταὶ ἔσονται.</u> ²⁰ <u>εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ</u> [ἐγὼ] <u>ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.</u> ²¹ ὅταν <u>ὁ ἰσχυρὸς</u> καθωπλισμένος φυλάσσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ· ²² ἐπὰν δὲ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἴρει ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπεποίθει καὶ <u>τὰ</u>	¹⁴ <u>Καὶ ἐ[«ξέ»]βαλ[«εν»] δαιμόνιον κωφόν·</u> καὶ <u>ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφὸς καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.</u> ¹⁵ <u>τινὲς δὲ εἶπον</u> *ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια·* ¹⁷ <u>εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα</u> [καθ'] <u>ἑαυτῆ[ς] ἐρημοῦται καὶ</u> πᾶσα <u>οἰκία</u> μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται. ¹⁸ <u>καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;</u> ¹⁹ <u>καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν.</u> ²⁰ <u>εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα</u> ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. Q 11:[21-22] "minimal Q:" ... ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ... καὶ τὰ ... αὐτοῦ ...

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[119] Underlined text = agreements between Luke and Q; italicized text = agreements between Mark, Matthew and Q; double underlined text = agreements between Mark and Luke.

[120] Robinson et al., *Critical Edition of Q*, 222-237.

| τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει. | σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν.
²³ Ὀ μὴ ὤν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει. | ²³ ὁ μὴ ὤν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει. |

While this survey of some Mark-Q overlap texts is not exhaustive, it does begin to demonstrate that Mark-Q overlaps may not, after all, present such a problem for the 2DH in light of the compositional conventions of the ancients. When one takes into account the role memory would have played in assisting the writer by supplementing the written exemplar, apparent problems with the overlap texts begin to diminish. As well, it is clear that advocates of the Neo-Griesbach theory (2GH) are imagining a conflationary technique for Mark where he *consistently* and *frequently* moves back and forth between his sources. This is a technique that characterizes the majority of Markan pericopes on the 2GH. As we have seen, this is a difficult technique to imagine, particularly given the physical limitations that writing media and environments placed on the author. However, on the 2DH, the true conflation of Mark and Q appears only to be practiced by Matthew. He does so rather infrequently (i.e, the 10 to 20 places where Mark and Q overlap) and, as we have seen in the Parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven, may actually have visual contact only with one of his sources, while allowing his memory of the other text to supplement his exemplar.

A Word on the "Minor Agreements" and Greco-Roman Compositional Conventions

Since the rise in popularity of Markan priority, the so-called "Minor Agreements" (MAs) between Matthew and Luke against Mark have been the greatest difficulty for two-source theorists. While E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies are surely overstating

their case when they argue that the MAs are the "Achilles' Heel" of the 2DH,[121] the MAs appear to be the biggest difficulty for the 2DH.[122] Advocates of the 2DH have a number of different explanations for the phenomenon of the MAs. The following solutions to the problem of the MAs have been suggested, in various combinations, by advocates of the 2DH:

1. Independent (therefore coincidental) redaction of Mark by Matthew and Luke[123]

2. The influence of Proto-Mark (or *Urmarkus*) (cf. Schmithals, Koester)[124]

3. The influence of Deutero-Mark (cf. Fuchs)[125]

4. The influence of Q (i.e., a Mark-Q overlap is suggested in some triple tradition texts that have a number of MAs – e.g., the Baptism of Jesus; the Great Commandment)

5. The influence of oral tradition

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[121] Sanders and Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, 79.

[122] For a helpful cataloguing and treatment of the MAs, see Frans Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark: With a Cumulative List* (BETL 37; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1974). This study was updated by Timothy Friedrichsen, "The Matthew-Luke Agreements against Mark: A Survey of Recent Studies: 1974-1989," in *L'Évangile de Luc – The Gospel of Luke* (ed. F. Neirynck; BETL 32; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1989), 335-392. See also Frans Neirynck, "The Minor Agreements and the Two-Source Theory," *Evangelica II: 1982-1991. Collected Essays* (BETL 99; Leuven: University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1991), 3-42; Ennulat, *Die "Minor Agreements."* See also the collected papers presented at the 1991 symposium on the MAs in Göttingen: Georg Strecker, ed., *Minor Agreements. Symposium Göttingen 1991* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1993).

[123] "A priori it is not unlikely that two independent redactions on the basis of Mark show some coincidences," (Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," *NJBC*, 593).

[124] "Matt and Luke used the same earlier version of Mark, shorter than our Mark (hence the negative agreements or common 'omissions') and different in wording (hence coincidences in content, vocabulary, style, and grammar)," (Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," *NJBC*, 593). See W. Schmithals (*Das Evangelium nach Markus* [ÖTKNT, 1/1-2; 2nd ed.; Gütersloh/Würzburg: Gerd Mohr/Echter, 1986]; *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* [ZBKNT 3; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1980]) and Helmut Koester (*Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* [Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990], 273-303).

[125] "The Marcan text used by Matt and Luke is slightly different from our Mark, because of textual corruption, revision, or edition. That Mark was already combined with in a Deutero-Marcan redaction has been suggested by Fuchs," (Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," *NJBC*, 593).

6. Textual corruption by scribes (i.e., later copyists are responsible for introducing some
   of the MAs – their knowledge of Matthew/Luke influences their copying of
   Luke/Matthew)

7. Luke's dependence on Matthew.[126]

Of these seven "solutions" to the problem of the MAs most have secondary

bearing on the study of the composition of the Gospels in light of Greco-Roman

compositional practices (e.g., coincidental redaction, Mark-Q overlap texts, etc.) or are

concerned with post-"publication" scribal activities (i.e., textual corruption). However,

three solutions seem to have direct relevance for the study of the compositional practices

of Matthew and Luke on the 2DH – the two recensional models (Proto-Mark/Deutero-

Mark), and the influence of "oral tradition." The latter already has been discussed in part:

the use of memory – memory of an oral "text" – is an important source in literary

composition in antiquity. However valid this solution is in the problem of the MAs, a

concrete demonstration of it in particular MA texts remains elusive. Similarly, like the

various recensional theories on Q, Markan recensional theories remain valid, historically

viable, and are quite likely in a general sense. Yet the Markan recensional theories remain

no more satisfactory than the similar suggestions around Q.

There is clearly overlap between the study of the problem of the MAs and this

present study on the compositional conventions of Greco-Roman writers. Like general

source critical discussion, the "solutions" advocated for the problem of the MAs need to

be consistent with what is known about the compositional practices in the classical

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[126] "Luke, who follows Mark as his basic source in the Triple Tradition, is also acquainted with
and influenced by Matt.," (Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," *NJBC*, 593). See R. H. Gundry, *Matthew*, 4 and
passim.

period. All the "solutions" generally appear to be logically consistent with what can be

determined about the writing practices in the Roman world. However, it appears that a

better understanding of the ways in which ancient writers worked with source materials

and the production of books in antiquity will not further assist in "solving" the problem

of the MAs. Instead, what can be concluded is that several of the "solutions" themselves

have historical analogies in the literary world of ancient Rome. Testing the validity of

each of these "solutions" will continue to take place beyond the purview of this

dissertation, on the pericopal level and within the general postulates of the 2DH.

Conclusion: Matthew's Use of Mark and Q – A Proposal

As stated earlier, Luke's use of Mark and Q provides few problems in light of the

compositional practices of writers in antiquity. Luke normally follows one source at a

time, taking over Mark and Q in alternating blocks in the order in which he finds the

material in both sources. Matthew, on the other hand, provides a unique set of problems

for the source critic, particularly one who is cognizant of the compositional methods of

Greco-Roman writers. Instead of taking over Q and Mark (in part) in blocks like Luke,

Matthew rearranges his sources (particularly Q) and rebuilds them into alternating blocks

of narrative and discourse.[127] As a result, Matthew frequently deviates from the order of

Q, and on a several occasions early in his Gospel, deviates from his Markan source as

well. Given this phenomenon, one should begin to draw the following conclusions based

on the features and limitations provided by the variety of ancient media. If Matthew's use

of Q whose order is best reflected by Luke is to be taken seriously, one is compelled to

imagine Matthew's Q in the form of a codex. Again, a codex would provide Matthew

with *random* access to Q, a feature not found in the scroll. On average, early (papyrus)

codices contained about 200 words per page. Given the length of Q (IQP) at just under

4000 words,[128] this would yield a 20 page codex. In its typical opisthographic format, a

20 page codex would be made of 5 folio sheets of papyrus or parchment. As described in

Chapter One of this dissertation, early forms of the codex are found in the first century

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[127] Most Matthean scholars recognize five great discourses in Matthew's Gospel, i.e., Matt 5:1-
7:7:29 (Sermon on the Mount), Matt 10:5-11:30 (Jesus' discipleship sayings), Matt 13:1-52 (Parables
section), Matt 17:20b-20:16 (Jesus' pre-Passion sayings), and Matt 23:1-25:46 (Apocalyptic discourse). In
between these sections, one finds six units of narrative material, beginning with the Infancy Narrative
(Matthew 1-2) and concluding with the Passion Narrative (Matthew 26-28). Thus, one can minimally say
that Matthew's structure revolves around an alternating pattern of narrative and discourse.

[128] See John S. Kloppenborg in the concordance section in Robinson et al, *Critical Edition of Q*:
"Q...has a size of 3519 words, excluding at least 400 occurrences of the definite article," 563.

Roman world (e.g., Martial's *artat brevibus membrana tabellis* [*Epig.* 1.2]). It certainly is

possible that a Q-codex could have been available to Matthew in Sato's *Ringbuch* format;

this medium would have provided Matthew the same feature of random access. However,

it is not necessary to posit such a format in this dissertation since Sato is interested in the

composition of *Q* as opposed to the composition of *Matthew*, when Matthew uses an

already composed Sayings Gospel.

Imagining Matthew's Mark in the form of a codex is also a possibility, although

demanded less by the data. A Markan codex might be 56 pages in length as an

opisthograhic booklet, i.e., 14 folio sheets.[129] This is a possibility with numerous

historical analogies. However, in the places where Matthew does deviate from the order

of Mark (see above), his deviation is less dramatic than in his use of Q.[130] It is also

possible to assume that Matthew, despite occasionally deviating from the order of Mark,

still has visual contact with Mark's absolute order – e.g., Mark 1:40-45 (healing of the

leper) ⇒ 1:29-34 (healing of Peter's mother-in-law and the sick at evening). These two

pericopes could conceivably be found on the same page of a codex, or on opposite pages,

or both open to Matthew in a scroll. However, given Matthew's customary tracking of

Mark's order (80% of the pericopes), suggesting a specific medium for Mark is less

crucial than with Q.

On a related issue, it is also important to consider the role that memory would

have likely played in the production of Matthew's Gospel. Given the interplay between

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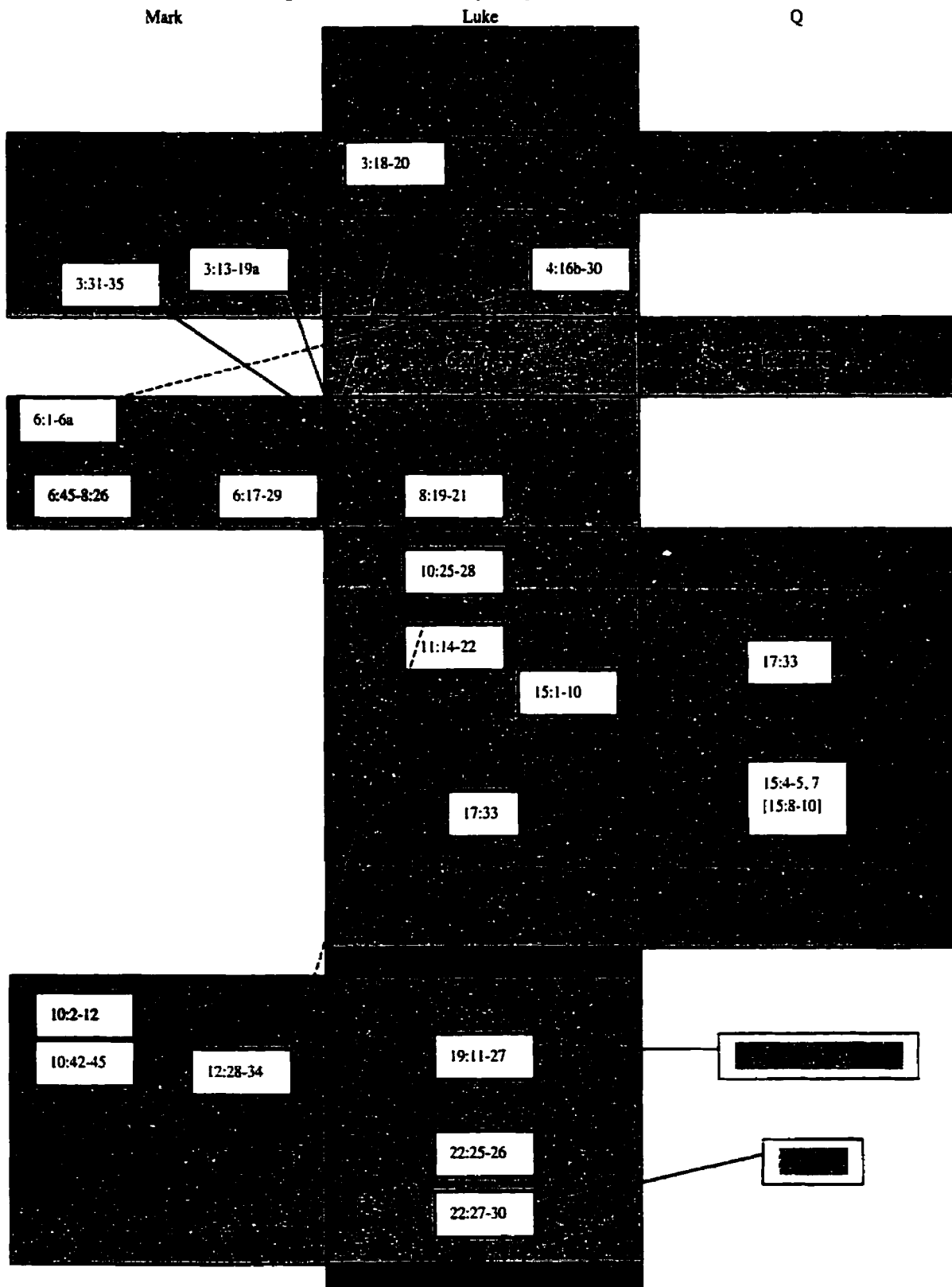[129] Mark contains 11,137 words without the longer ending of the Gospel (i.e., *sans* Mark 16:8b-20).

[130] Matthew never deviates more than three or four chapters in Mark. E.g., from Mark 6:8-13 (Matt 10:5-16), Matthew moves *back* to Mark 2:23-3:12, a movement of no more than six page turns in a 56 page codex.

textuality and orality in the literary cultures of the Greco-Roman world (see Chapter

Two), memory and mnemonic techniques should not be ignored for the sake of traditional

source critical understanding of later Gospel writers consistently having visual contact

with their written sources. The Gospels, like virtually all ancient literature, were designed

not just to be read, but to be *performed* publicly.[131] The oral character of the written word

aided in its memorization and recall. Thus, we may see places in Matthew's Gospel

where his contact with Q may be non-visual, i.e., recalling the wording from his memory

(see above).

In sum, the 2DH is not problem free in light of the compositional conventions of

antiquity. While Luke's use of his sources is straightforward and uncomplicated,

Matthew's use of Q (and Mark) seems to provide the most significant set of problems for

the theory. However, as has been demonstrated above, these problems are not

insurmountable. When one begins to imagine a variety of media (as opposed to one – the

scroll) and materials for Matthew's written sources, and the role the memory likely

played in his literary production, then the problems revolving around Matthew's use of

his sources lessen significantly for advocates of the 2DH.

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[131] As Kloppenborg has rightly argued: "[I]t is mistaken to conceive of the relationship between oral and written 'stages' as sequential and unidirectional. Ancient documents were written *scripta continua* – with no word breaks or punctuations [*sic*]. Under these circumstances, it was practically impossible to read a document silently (or very quickly). Since literacy levels were very low, most persons would know the contents of documents only through their oral recitation by readers who were capable of 'performing' them. Reading itself was an act of interpretation insofar as the reader prepared in advance for performance, deciding how to break the continuous string of letters into words and sentences, where to place 'paragraph breaks,' and which portions to emphasize. This implies that the written text was never a separate and discrete entity but always existed in the context of oral performance, functioning more like a musical script than a modern book." *Excavating Q*, 60.

Figure 36: Luke's Alternating Incorporation of Mark and Q

Mark   Luke   Q

3:18-20

3:13-19a   4:16b-30

3:31-35

6:1-6a

6:45-8:26   6:17-29   8:19-21

10:25-28

11:14-22   17:33

15:1-10

15:4-5, 7
[15:8-10]

17:33

10:2-12

10:42-45   12:28-34   19:11-27

22:25-26

22:27-30

Sigla: solid arrows: Lukan transposition of Markan or Q material; dotted arrows: possible Lukan transposition of Markan or Q material; yellow boxes: material omitted by Luke; blue boxes: blocks of Lukan special ("L") material.

Figure 37: Matthew's Use of Mark and Q[1]

Matthean Pericope	Mark	Matthew	Q (IQP)	MStat[2]	QPg[3]	DvFtr[4]
1. The Infancy Narrative				33	1/20	0
3. John's Preaching of Repentance		3:7-10	3:7-9	83	1/20	0
				88	1/20	0
				53	1/20	0
				51	1-2/20	0
				4	2/20	0
8. The Call of the First Disciples	1:16-20	4:18-22				
9. (Jesus Departs from Capernaum)	1:35-38					
10. A Preaching Journey in Galilee	1:39	4:23-25				
11. Introduction to Sermon on the Mount						
12. The Beatitudes		5:3-12	6:20-23,31	39	2-3/20	0
13. The Parable of Salt		5:13-14	14:34-35	9	17/20	14
14. The Parable of Light		5:15-16	11:33	40	11/20	8
15. Words of Jesus on the Law		5:17-20	16:17	27	18/20	15
16. On Anger		5:21-26	12:58-59	43	15/20	12
17. On Adultery						
18. On Divorce		5:31-32	16:18	47	18/20	15
19. On Swearing						
20. On Retaliation		5:38-42	6:27-30	43	3/20	0
21. On Love of One's Enemies		5:43-48	6:32-36	43	3/20	0
22. On Almsgiving and Prayer						

[1] *Sigla*: Double vertical lines: agreements in absolute sequence between Matthew and his sources; Single vertical lines: agreements in relative sequence between Matthew and his sources; *Colors*: Yellow: material omitted by Matthew; Blue: "M" material; Purple: probable conflation of Mark and Q (at a Mark-Q overlap).

[2] "MStat" = Morgenthaler's statistics indicating the percentage of the total (Lukan) wording in the double tradition that represents "minimal Q," i.e., agreements in wording in the double tradition between Matthew and Luke (see Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse*, 260-261). Morgenthaler does not provide statistics for the following texts in the IQP's Q (as they appear in Matthew): Q 3:2-3; 3:21-22; 4:16; 13:28-29; 7:10; 17:33; 10:16; 16:16; 11:14-15, 17-20; 11:21-22; 13:18-19; 17:3; and 14:11. As a result, statistics have been provided for these pericopes using Morgenthaler's method of calculation.

[3] This number represents the page on which Matthew would have found his Q-text, assuming that he worked with a 20 page (5 folio) codex, averaging 200 words per page. It should be noted that in a 20 page booklet, the book itself can be opened in 11 different ways: i.e., pages 1 | 2-3 | 4-5 | 6-7 | 8-9 | 10-11 | 12-13 | 14-15 | 16-17 | 18-19 | 20. Thus, if Matthew has page 4 open, he also has visual contact with page 5; if page 13, then page 12; etc. Even if a hypothetical 20 page codex for Q is rendered invalid, these numbers are objective in the sense that they are relative to the rest of Q (out of 20).

[4] DvFtr = "Deviation Factor," i.e., a number (0-20) indicating the extent to which Matthew has deviated from the absolute order of Q, 0 indicating when Matthew is following the absolute order of Q the closest, 20 indicating when his deviation from Q's order is the greatest

No.	Title	Mark	Matthew	Luke			
23.	The Lord's Prayer		6:9-15	11:2-4	63	9/20	6
24.	Words of Jesus on Fasting						
25.	On Treasures		6:19-21	12:33-34	41	13/20	10
26.	The Sound Eye		6:22-23	11:34-36	75	11/20	8
27.	Words of Jesus on Serving Two Masters		6:24	16:13	98	18/20	15
28.	On Anxiety		6:25-34	12:22-31	66	14/20	11
29.	On Judging		7:1-5	6:37-38, 41-42	67	3-4/20	0
30.	On Profaning the Holy						
31.	God's Answering of Prayer		7:7-11	11:9-13	71	9/20	5
32.	"The Golden Rule"		7:12	6:31	64	3/20	1
33.	The Narrow Gate		7:13-14	13:24	40	16/20	12
34.	The Test of a Good Person		7:15-21	6:43-46	41[5]	4/20	0
35.	On Self-Deception		7:22-23	13:26-27	13	16/20	12
36.	Hearers and Doers of the Word		7:24-27	6:47-49	24	4-5/20	0
37.	The End of the Sermon	1:21-28	7:28-29				
38.	The Healing of the Leper	1:40-45	8:1-4				
39.	The Centurion's Servant		8:5-10	7:1-3, 6-9	47	5/20	0
40.	Gentiles in the Kingdom		8:11-12	13:28-29	57	16/20	11
41.	Conclusion of Centurion's Servant		8:13	7:?10?	9	5/20	0
42.	The Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law	1:29-31	8:14-15				
43.	The Sick Healed at Evening	1:32-34	8:16-17				
44.	Would-Be Followers of Jesus		8:18-22	9:57-60	81	7/20	2
45.	Calming of the Storm	4:35-41	8:23-27				
46.	The Gaderene Demoniacs	5:1-20	8:28-34				
47.	Healing of Paralytic/Call of Levi/Question about Fasting	2:1-22	9:1-17				
48.	Jairus' Daughter and a Woman's Faith	5:21-43	9:18-26				
49.	Two Blind Men Healed	(10:46-52)	9:27-31				
50.	The Healing of the Demoniac Who Was Mute		9:32-34	(11:14-15)			
51.	Jesus' Galilean Healing and Teaching Tour	6:6, 34b	9:35-36				
52.	Laborers and the Harvest		9:37-38	10:2	84	7/20	2
53.	Sending of the Twelve	6:7	10:1				
54.	Names of the Twelve Apostles	3:13-19a	10:2-4				
55.					49	7-8/20	3
56.	Coming Persecutions		10:17-23	12:11-12	31	13/20	8
57.	Disciple/Teacher		10:24-25	6:40	71	4/20	1
58.	Exhortation to Fearless Confessions		10:26-33	12:2-9	46	12-13/20	8
59.	Divisions in Households		10:34-36	12:[49], 51, 53	11	15/20	10
60.	Conditions of Discipleship		10:37-38	14:26-27	30	17/20	12
61.	Finding/Losing One's Life		10:39	17:33	47	17/20	12
62.	End of Discourse		10:40-11:1	10:16	37	8/20	3
63.	John's Question to Jesus/Jesus' Words about John		11:2-11	7:18-28, [29-30]	63	5-6/20	0
64.	"Kingdom of Heaven has suffered violence"		11:12-13	16:16	63	18/20	12
65.	The Children in the Agora		11:14-19	7:31-35	63	6-7/20	0
66.	Woes to Unrepentant Cities		11:20-24	10:13-15	90	8/20	0
67.	Jesus' Thanksgiving to the Father		11:25-27	10:21-22	73	8/20	0
68.	Comfort for the Weary						
69.	Plucking Heads of Grain/Healing of the Man with the Withered Hand/Jesus Heals the Multitudes	2:23-3:12	12:1-21				
					64	9-10/20	0
					63	10/20	0

72. Against Seeking for Signs		12:31-42	11:16, 29-32	78	10-11/20	0
73. The Return of the Unclean Spirit		12:43-45	11:24-26	93	10/20	1
74. (True Blessedness)			[11:27-28]			
75. Jesus' True Relatives/Parable of the Sower/Secrets of the Kingdom	3:31-4:11a	12:46-13:11a+b				
76. "...those who have, more will be given..."	4:21-25	13:11c-12				
77. The Reason for Speaking in Parables	4:11b-12	13:13-15				
78. The Blessedness of the Disciples		13:16-17	10:23-24	73	8-9/20	3
79. The Interpretation of the Parable of the Sower	4:13-20	13:18-23				
80. The Parable of the Weeds		■				
81. (The Parable of the Seed Growing Secretly)	4:26-29					
■	■	■	■	60	16/20	5
83. The Parable of the Yeast		13:33	13:20-21	63	16/20	5
84. Jesus' Use of Parables	4:33-34	13:34-35				
85. Interpretation of the Parable of the Weeds/Parables of Hidden Treasure and of the Pearl/Parable of the Net/Treasures New and Old		■				
86. Jesus is Rejected at Nazareth	6:1-6a	13:53-58				
87. Herod's Opinions/Death of John/Return of the Twelve/Feeding of the 5000/Walking on Water/Healings at Gennesaret/What Defiles a Person	6:14-7:15	14:1-15:13				
88. Blind Guides		15:14	6:39	50	4/20	7
89. What Defiles a Person (Conclusion)/Canaanite Woman/Healing of Many Sick People/Feeding of the 4000	7:17-8:10	15:15-39				
90. The Pharisees Seek a Sign	8:11-12a	16:1-2a				
91. Sign of the Times		16:2b-4a	[12:54-55]	17	15/20	4
92. Sign of Jonah	8:12b-13	16:4b				
93. The Yeast of the Pharisees and of Herod	8:14-21	16:5-12				
94. (The Blind Man of Bethsaida)	8:22-26					
95. Peter's Confession/First Passion Prediction/Conditions of Discipleship/The Transfiguration/The Coming of Elijah/Healing of the Boy with a Spirit	8:27-9:29	16:13-17:20a				
96. Faith of a Mustard Seed		17:20b+c	17:6	29	19/20	8
97. Second Passion Prediction	9:30-32	17:22-23				
98. The Temple Tax		■				
99. The Dispute about Greatness	9:33-36	18:1-3a				
100. Becoming Like Children to Enter Kingdom	10:15	18:3b				
101. Becoming Like Children (Continued)	9:37	18:4-5				
102. (Another Exorcist)	9:38-41					
103. On Temptations	9:42-48	18:6-9				
104. (Concerning Salt [cf. Matt 5:13])	9:49-50					
105. The Parable of the Lost Sheep		18:10-14	15:4-5, 7	31	18/20	0
106. (The Parable of the Lost Coin)			[15:8-10]			
107. On Reproving Another Believer		18:15-20	17:3	50	19/20	0
108. On Forgiveness		18:21-22	17:4	6	19/20	0
109. The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant		■				
110. Marriage and Divorce/Jesus Blesses the Children/The Rich Young Man	10:1-29a	19:1-27				
111. Judging Israel		19:28	22:28, 30	23	20/20	1
112. Rewards for Leaving Family	10:29b-30	19:29				
113. "First Will Be Last...Last Will Be First"	10:31	19:30				
114. The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard		■				

115. "Last Will Be First...First Will Be Last"		20:16	[13:30]	38	16/20	3
116. Third Passion Prediction/Jesus and (the Mother of) the Sons of Zebedee/The Healing of the Two Blind Men/Entry into Jerusalem	10:32-11:10	20:17-21:9				
117. Jesus Enters the Temple	11:11a	21:10-11				
118. Jesus Drives out the Merchants and Money Changers	11:15-19	21:12-16				
119. Jesus Departs Jerusalem for Bethany	11:11b	21:17				
120. The Cursing of the Fig Tree	11:12-14	21:18-19				
121. The Lesson from the Withered Fig Tree/The Question about Jesus' Authority	11:20-33	21:20-27				
122. The Parable of the Two Sons		■■■■				
123. The Parable of the Wicked Tenants	12:1-12	21:33-46				
124. The Parable of the Wedding Banquet		22:1-14	14:16-21,24	14	17/20	2
125. Paying Taxes/Question on the Resurrection/ Great Commandment/David's Son	12:13-37a	22:15-46				
126. Jesus Denounces the Scribes and Pharisees (Beginning)	12:37b-38	23:1-3				
127. Woe: "You Burden Men"		23:4-5	11:46	33	12/20	7
■■■■■■■■		■	■	33	11/20	8
129. (The Widow's Gift)	12:41-44					
130. Exalting the Humble		23:7-12	[14:11]	64	17/20	2
131. Woe: "You Lock the Kingdom"		23:13-22	11:52	33	12/20	7
132. Woe: Neglect of Justice		23:23-24	11:42	33	11/20	8
133. Woe: Cleansing the Outside		23:25-26	11:39-41	33	11/20	8
134. Woes: Unseen Graves, Murderers of the Prophets/Sophia's Oracle		23:27-36	11:44, 47-51	33	11-12/20	8
135. Lament Over Jerusalem		23:37-39	13:34-35	85	16-17/20	3
136. Prediction of the Destruction of the Temple/Signs of the End of the Age	13:1-8	24:1-9a				
137. The Coming of Persecution	13:12b-13	24:9b-13				
138. Proclamation of the Gospel throughout the World: Then End Will Come	13:10	24:14				
139. The Desolating Sacrilege	13:14-23	24:15-25				
140. (The Presence of the Kingdom)			[17:20-21]			
141. The Day of the Son of Man		24:26-28	17:23-24, 37	34	19/20	0
142. Coming of the Son of Man/Lesson of the Fig Tree/Day and Hour are Unknown Except to God	13:24-32	24:29-36				
143. The Suddenness of the Coming of the Son of Man		24:37-41	17:26-27, 30, 34-35	43	19-20/20	0
144. The Watchful House Owner		24:42-44	12:39-40	82	14/20	6
145. The Faithful and Wise Slave		24:45-51	12:42-46	79	14-15/20	6
146. The Parable of the Ten Bridesmaids		■■■■				
147. The Parable of the Talents		25:14-30	19:12-13, 15-24, 26. 27?	22	20/20	0
148. The Last Judgement		■■■■				
149. The First Half of the Passion Narrative	14:1-15:1	26:1-27:2				
150. The Death of Judas		■■■■				
151. The Second Half of the Passion Narrative	15:2-47	27:11-61				
152. The Guard at the Tomb		■■■■				
153. The Empty Tomb	16:1-8	28:1-10				
154. The Bribing of the Soldiers/The Commissioning of the Disciples		■■■■				

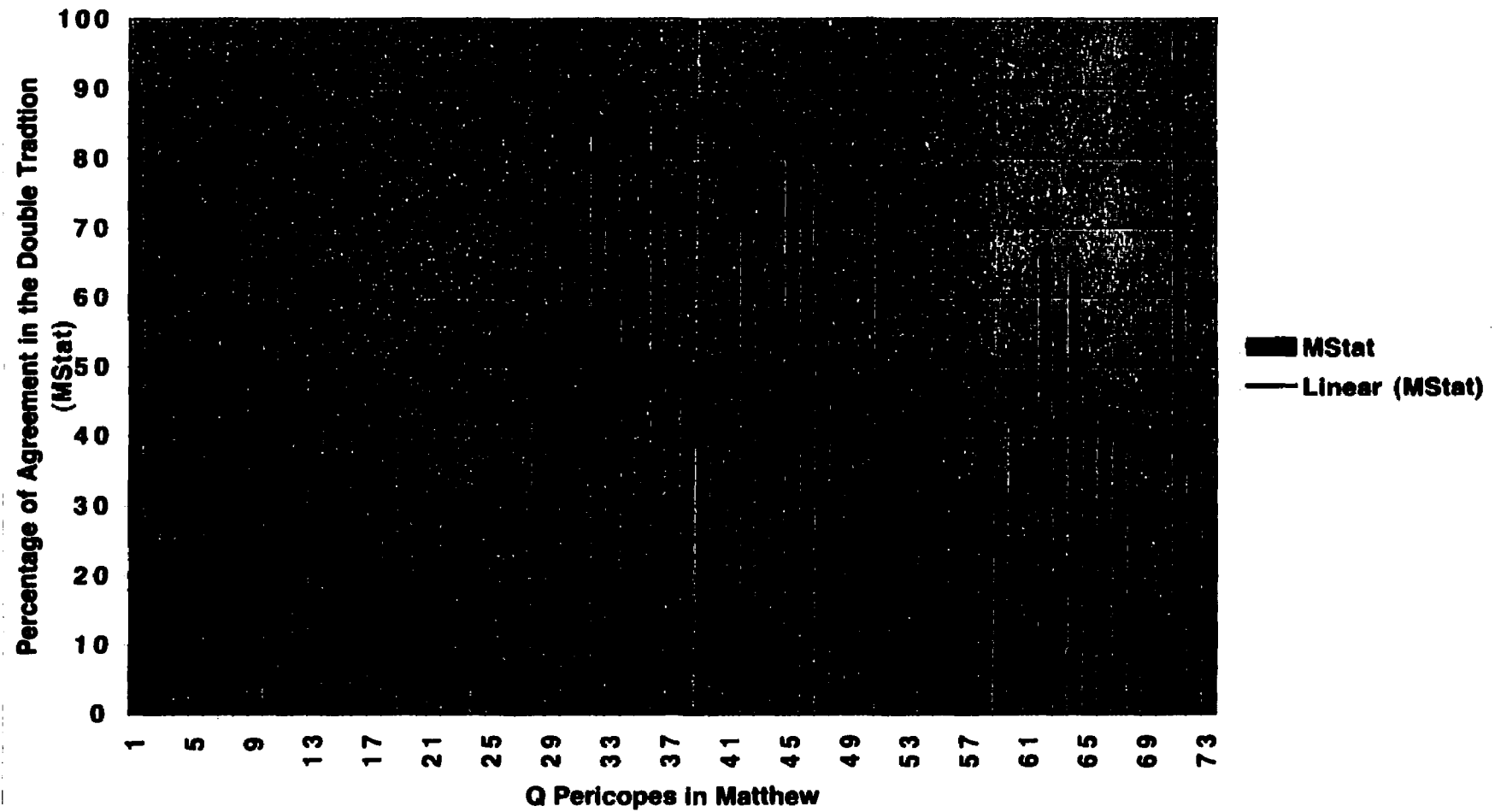**Figure 38: Morgenthaler Statistics/Deviation Factor: Matthew's Use of Q**

Figure 39: Morgenthaler Statistic and Deviation Factor – Matthew's Use of Q

Pericope Number (X Axis)	Deviation Factor (DvFtr)	Morgenthaler Statistic (MStat) (Y Axis)	Average MStat
##1-27	0	90; 88; 83; 78; 73; 67; 64; 63; 63; 63; 53; 51; 50; 47; 43; 43; 43; 41; 39; 34; 33; 31; 24; 22; 9; 6; 4	48
##28-31	1	93; 71; 64; 23	63
##32-35	2	84; 81; 64; 14	61
##36-40	3	85; 73; 49; 38; 37	56
#41	4	17	17
##42-44	5	71; 63; 60	65
##45-47	6	82; 79; 63	75
##48-50	7	50; 33; 33	39
##51-59	8	75; 46; 40; 33; 33; 33; 33; 31; 29	39
-	9	None	-
##60-61	10	41; 11	10
##62-63	11	66; 57	62
##64-69	12	63; 47; 43; 40; 30; 13	39
-	13	None	-
#70	14	9	9
##71-73	15	98; 47; 27	57
AVERAGE TOTAL	7.5	49	

CONCLUSION

Results of this Study

This dissertation has investigated the ways in which an understanding of the

literary culture(s) of the Greco-Roman world can inform Synoptic source critical

discussion. From a survey of ancient book production, a study of the interplay between

orality and textuality, the identification and analysis of written sources and how they

were adapted by later authors, we were able to catalog a set of compositional methods of

ancient writers. From this, we were able to test the extent to which three "solutions" to

the Synoptic Problem are consistent with the known practices of writers in antiquity. We

concluded that while all three of the theories had certain problems in light of our

catalogue of compositional practices, some had more problems than others. The most

significant problem for the Two-Gospel (Neo-Griesbach) Hypothesis (2GH) continues to

be the picture of Mark as one who "micro-conflates" Matthew and Luke. This imagined

procedure is mechanically unworkable and unattested in ancient literature. In addition,

the sort of literature that Mark is purported to be on the 2GH is not supported by an

appropriate literary analogy from the ancient world.

The Farrer-Goulder Theory does not suffer the same problems that Mark does on

the 2GH. What Matthew is said to do with Mark is feasible, although many would likely

disagree with Goulder's description of Matthew's motivation for such an adaptation.

However, the most significant hurdle for advocates of the 2GH is their conception of

Luke's compositional method. While not an author that exhibits with the same degree of

regularity "micro-conflation" as Mark does on the 2GH, the description of Luke's compositional methods on the FGH is often problematic, particularly in Goulder's description of Luke's reverse contextualization of Matthew.

Finally, the Two-Document Hypothesis has certain problems as well. While Luke's method of adapting Mark and Q – essentially in alternating blocks – is both feasible and consistent with the known practices of writers in antiquity, Matthew's use of Mark and Q potentially creates a different set of problems. In terms of compositional conventions, the 2DH is weakest not in the Minor Agreements, but in the sections in Matthew where the evangelist is evidently conflating Mark and Q (i.e., the Mark-Q overlap texts). However, when a reconstructed text of Q is provided, often Matthew appears to be following either Mark or Q, and may, in fact, be recalling the wording of the other by memory. In addition, it should be noted that Matthew's "conflation" of Mark and Q in the overlap texts is not his regular habit, as Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke is on the 2GH or Luke's conflation of Matthew and Mark on the FGH. In the end, it appears that the 2DH has the fewest problems in light of the compositional practices of antiquity.

Suggestions for Further Research

This dissertation has also raised a number of items worthy of further research. First, it is clear that the various solutions to the Synoptic Problem that were tested were representative of the "main" solutions. This study could be enlarged to include other theories, including M.-E. Boismard's and E. P. Sander's multiple stages hypotheses, as well as the so-called "Jerusalem School" theory of R. L. Lindsey and David Flusser. In

addition, further efforts could (and should) be made in the ongoing testing of the three

solutions discussed in this dissertation. For example, compositional practices would need

to be revisited upon the publication of the 2GH Research Team's volume on Mark's use

of Matthew and Luke. As a new generation of FGH advocates work through their theory,

the compositional conventions of writers in the Greco-Roman world need to become part

of their discussion. On the 2DH, the complete set of Mark-Q overlap texts could be

further explored and tested as well. In addition, the suggestion made in the dissertation as

to the potential medium for Q (at least Matthew's copy) needs further testing and analysis

by Q scholars.

In the end, the Synoptic Problem still remains "a problem." But this dissertation

has contributed to the ongoing attempts to "solve" the dilemma of Synoptic relationships,

by addressing a longstanding need to understand the composition of the Gospels in light

of how other literature contemporary with the Gospels was produced. For to continue to

not take seriously the ways in which books were produced in antiquity virtually

guarantees that the Synoptic Problem will remain precisely that – *a problem*.

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