

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

A table of contents for the *Journal of Theological Studies* (old series) can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_jts-os_01.php

pdfs are named: [Volume]_[1st page of article]

done? The Church at Jerusalem decided to send Barnabas to deal with the situation (xi 22), and the choice proved to be wise. He was admirably qualified for the task from the legitimist point of view, for he was an early Believer, he lived at Jerusalem, and he was of priestly origin (iv 36). But perhaps it was because he was also a Hellenist ('a man of Cyprus by race') that he had learnt the wisdom of that liberalism which travel sometimes (though not always) teaches; for we find that he realized that the one man who could cope with the situation was St Paul, whom he fetched from Tarsus.

The crisis now rapidly developed, and the Apostles and Elders faced it at the 'Council' of Jerusalem. Evidence was heard from St Peter and St Paul as the two leading representatives of both points of view; first from St Peter, an original disciple, cautious and orthodox, prominent among the Believers in Jerusalem, one who had witnessed and shared in the gradual expansion of the mission; and then from St Paul, the converted persecutor, logical, acute, downright, and decisive. And associated with St Paul, and as a link between the two leaders, was Barnabas, who had shared in both phases of the mission. At last it was realized that both points of view led to the same conclusion.

M. KIDDLE.

JUSTIN MARTYR'S QUOTATIONS FROM THE SYNOPTIC TRADITION

MUCH attention has been paid to the *form* of what appear to be quotations from the Synoptic Gospels in the writings of Justin Martyr, and because it is probable that he was acquainted with the Canonical Gospels¹ many critics have thought that nearly all his quotations are derived from these, but that he quoted from memory and consequently often quoted very inaccurately.

But adequate attention has not been paid to Justin's *method* of quotation. When he is giving a string of quotations from the Old Testament he uses a method similar to that employed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and inserts the word 'and' or some such phrase as 'in other words' to mark the beginning of each fresh quotation; he does this even when the passages he is quoting occur quite close to one another in the same book.

¹ It seems hardly possible to doubt that in Dialogue 49 Justin is quoting directly from Matthew xvii 10-13; for he includes the words 'then the disciples understood that he spoke to them concerning John the Baptist', which are the Evangelist's own comment and not found in Mark: and there are strong, if not quite so strong, reasons for supposing that he knew the Gospels of Mark and Luke.

For instance, in *Dialogue* 17 he quotes Isaiah ii 5, iii 9-11, and v 18-20 consecutively, linking the first two by the word *καί* and the second and third by *καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις*. In *Dialogue* 32 five references to (not exact quotations from) Isaiah iii 3, 8, 9, 5, 7 are linked together by *καί* four times repeated.

When we turn to his Gospel quotations we find him pursuing the same method: e.g. at the beginning of 1 *Apology* 15 four quotations roughly parallel to Matthew v 28, xviii 9, v 32, xix 12 are linked together by a thrice-repeated *καί*, and strings of quotations linked by *καί* or some other word or phrase are found also in 1 *Apology* 16 and 19, *Dialogue* 17 and 76, &c.

The long string of quotations at the end of 1 *Apology* 15 is broken into three parts by the insertion of a *καί* at two points, which seems to indicate that Justin regarded these quotations as drawn from three different places, but the first two portions are not consecutive quotations from any of the Canonical Gospels; the first is roughly parallel to Matthew v 42, 47, vi 19-20, xvi 26 (or Mark viii 36, Luke vi 30, 34, 35, ix 25), the second to Matthew v 45, vi 25, 26, 32, 33, 21 (or Luke vi 35, 36, xii 24, 30, 31, 34). Yet within these two portions the connecting *καί* is not used. Then either Justin must have been forsaking his usual method of quotation, or he must have drawn the first two portions of this group of quotations from some source other than the Canonical Gospels. That the latter is more probable is suggested by one particularly curious variation in Justin; in the portion parallel to Luke vi 34, 35 he has *τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε*; where Luke has *ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν*;—a variation which occurs earlier in the same chapter in a parallel to Luke vi 32. This quotation is *εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν* (roughly parallel to Matthew vi 46 and 44, Luke vi 32 and 27, 28). The last sentence *εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν* has the support of the *Clementine Homilies*, Clement of Alexandria, the *Didache*, and the *Didascalía*, while *τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε*; and *πόρνοι* are important variations from Matthew and Luke. It seems most probable, therefore, that this passage is drawn from some non-Canonical source, and, if so, it is also probable that the other passage in which *τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε*; occurs is drawn from the same source.

In *Dialogue* 35 there are four consecutive quotations each connected with the one following it by a *καί*. The second of these *ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις* has no parallel in the Gospels.

The first and third which resemble one another are:

(1) Πολλοὶ ἐλευσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἕξωθεν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

(This quotation is found also in 1 *Apology* 16 with three slight varia-

tions—the insertion of γάρ after πολλοί, the substitution of ἤξουσι for ελεύσονται, and the insertion of μέν after ἔξωθεν.)

(3) Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν οἵτινες ελεύσονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔξωθεν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

Except that it has ελεύσονται for ἔρχονται, and ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα for ἐν ἐνδύμασι, this is an exact quotation from Matthew vii 15.

Since these two quotations occur in Justin so close together, it is clear that he regarded them as distinct but similar quotations; therefore it follows that, if (3) is a quotation from Matthew vii 15, as it probably is, (1) is a quotation from some other source.

Again in *Dialogue* 100 we find a quotation prefaced by the words 'in the Gospel it is written saying'. The words are 'all things have been delivered to me by the father and *no one knows the father except the son nor the son except the father and those to whomsoever the son shall reveal him*'.

The portion printed in italics is quoted again twice in 1 *Apology* 63 with only a trifling variation; the second time that it occurs in 1 *Apology* 63 Justin makes it clear that he has quoted it before by prefacing it with the words 'as we have shewn'. In all three places it exhibits the same variation in the order of the clauses from Matthew xi 27, and Justin's order is supported by Eusebius, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Athanasius.

Now though Justin often says that something he quotes is written in the ἀπομνημονεύματα of the Apostles, here only does he say that it is written in the Gospel. It is true that in 1 *Apology* 66 he speaks of the ἀπομνημονεύματα 'which are called Gospels', but it does not follow from this that by 'Gospels' he meant those which are now regarded as Canonical and no others; for he has one or two sayings of Christ which are clearly not derived from any of them ('there shall be heresies and schisms' and 'in what things I take you in them also will I judge you', which is found also in Clement of Alexandria).

Since we have seen that there is good reason to think that many of Justin's quotations of the sayings of Jesus were taken from a source in which they occurred in a somewhat different form and often in a different context from that in which they occur in the Canonical Gospels, it is possible that this source may have been that to which Justin refers as 'the Gospel' in *Dialogue* 100. I suggest that this book was the one in which Justin first became acquainted with the sayings of Christ and, though he afterwards read the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, most of his quotations are taken not from them but from this other Gospel with which he was more familiar. Now if we are right in thinking that Justin knew and used such a book, since he calls it 'the Gospel', it probably contained some account of the life and death of Christ as well as a collection of his sayings.

In *Dialogue* 78 he gives a long account of the Nativity which combines details taken from Matthew and Luke, but contains two details which are found in neither: (1) that the Magi came from Arabia; (2) that Jesus was born in a cave (a detail found also in the *Prot-evangelium Jacobi*).

In *Dialogue* 49 and 51 he says that John 'sat' by the Jordan, and in 88 that 'fire was kindled in the Jordan' at the time of Christ's Baptism.

In *Dialogue* 101 he says that those who saw Christ crucified 'distorted their lips . . . and twisted their noses', a statement not found in the Canonical Gospels, though Justin expressly cites the *ἀπομνημονεύματα* as his authority for it.

In 1 *Apology* 35 he says that at his trial the Jews in derision set Jesus on the judgement seat.

This is sufficient to indicate the possibility that Justin's Gospel contained narrative matter as well as sayings of Christ. More than this it is not possible to say. That such a book which, as we have suggested, was the main source of Justin's quotations, should have perished is not improbable; the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (save for a few fragments) and the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, both of which were current in the second century, are lost. Lippelt's theory that Justin used a harmony—while it explains some passages in which Justin's quotation looks like a combination of passages from Matthew and Luke—fails to explain the passages in which he differs from all the Canonical Gospels.

The care which Justin takes to indicate when he is quoting continuously and when he is combining quotations taken from different places, renders the suggestion that his variations from the Gospels are merely due to inaccuracy of memory too otiose to be satisfactory.

The question is a very complicated one, but the theory that, though Justin knew and quoted the Canonical Gospels, the source which he knew best and quoted most often was some lost book, seems best to explain the facts, when proper attention is paid to his method of quotation.

E. R. BUCKLEY.

LEXICAL NOTES ON THE WRITINGS OF SYNESIUS OF CYRENE

MY attention was drawn to this author some ten years ago by my friend Augustine FitzGerald, whose three volumes, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (Oxford University Press, 1926) and *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene* (2 vols., Oxford University Press, 1930), contain the first complete English translation of the works of this