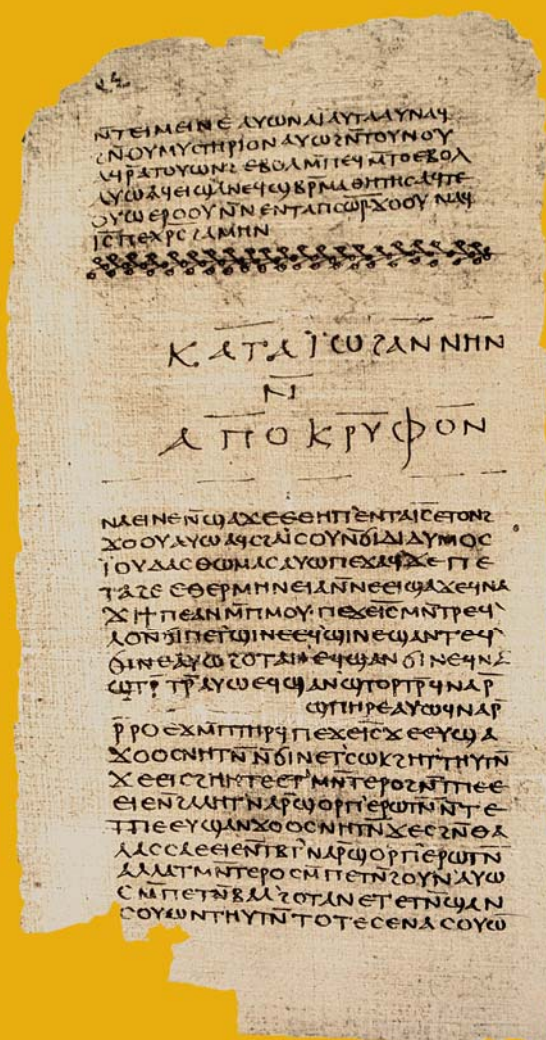


TEXTS IN CONTEXT

ESSAYS ON DATING AND CONTEXTUALISING CHRISTIAN WRITINGS FROM THE SECOND AND EARLY THIRD CENTURIES

JOSEPH VERHEYDEN – JENS SCHRÖTER – TOBIAS NICKLAS



TEXTS IN CONTEXT
ESSAYS ON DATING AND CONTEXTUALISING
CHRISTIAN WRITINGS FROM THE SECOND
AND EARLY THIRD CENTURIES

BIBLIOTHECA
EPHEMERIDUM THEOLOGICARUM LOVANIENSIIUM

EDITED BY THE BOARD OF
EPHEMERIDES THEOLOGICAE LOVANIENSES

L.-L. Christians, J. Famerée, É. Gaziaux, J. Geldhof,
A. Join-Lambert, M. Lamberigts, J. Leemans,
D. Luciani, A.C. Mayer, O. Riaudel, J. Verheyden

EXECUTIVE EDITORS

J. Famerée, M. Lamberigts, D. Luciani,
O. Riaudel, J. Verheyden

EDITORIAL STAFF

R. Corstjens – C. Timmermans



UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE DE LOUVAIN
LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE

KU LEUVEN
LEUVEN

BIBLIOTHECA EPHEMERIDUM THEOLOGICARUM LOVANIENSIIUM

CCCXIX

TEXTS IN CONTEXT

ESSAYS ON DATING AND CONTEXTUALISING CHRISTIAN WRITINGS FROM THE SECOND AND EARLY THIRD CENTURIES

EDITED BY

JOSEPH VERHEYDEN – JENS SCHRÖTER – TOBIAS NICKLAS

PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT
2021

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-90-429-4389-6
eISBN 978-90-429-4390-2
D/2021/0602/15

This is an open access version of the publication distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs licence (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial reproduction and distribution of the work, in any medium, provided the original work is not altered or transformed in any way, and that the work is properly cited.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Joseph VERHEYDEN – Jens SCHRÖTER – Tobias NICKLAS	
Introduction	1
Paul FOSTER (Edinburgh)	
The Ignatian Problem: The Recensions of a Letter Corpus as a Reflection of Theological Concerns and Developments	5
Christopher M. TUCKETT (Oxford)	
1 and 2 Clement	51
John S. KLOPPENBORG (Toronto)	
The <i>Didache</i> and the <i>Apostolic Constitutions</i> in the Context of Association Rules	73
Jörg FREY (Zürich)	
Whence the <i>Gospel according to the Hebrews</i> ?	97
Hugo LUNDHAUG (Oslo)	
Dating and Contextualising the Nag Hammadi Codices and Their Texts: A Multi-Methodological Approach Including New Radiocarbon Evidence	117
Christine JACOBI (Berlin)	
Irenäus, Tertullian und das <i>Philippusevangelium</i> (NHC II,3) über die Auferstehung des Fleisches: Fragen zur Theologie- geschichtlichen Verortung von Texten anhand kontrovers diskutierter Themen im frühen Christentum	143
Konrad SCHWARZ (Berlin)	
Das <i>Thomasevangelium</i> in der Theologiegeschichte des antiken Christentums	173
Francis WATSON (Durham)	
Against the Twelve: The <i>Apocryphon of James</i> and the Status of the Apostles	209
Jean-Daniel DUBOIS (Paris)	
Can We Date the <i>Apocryphon of John</i> ?	231

Dylan M. BURNS (Berlin)	
The Philosophical Contexts of the Providence Doxographies in the <i>Wisdom of Jesus Christ</i> , <i>Eugnostos</i> , and the <i>Tripartite</i> <i>Tractate</i>	251
Anna VAN DEN KERCHOVE (Paris)	
Dating the <i>Gospel of Judas</i>	273
ABBREVIATIONS	291
INDEX OF AUTHORS	293
INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES	299
INDEX OF OTHER REFERENCES	303

INTRODUCTION

The essays collected in this volume are the proceedings of an international colloquium held in Leuven, 5-7 December 2018. The colloquium was originally conceived as a kind of follow-up on the one that was held in October 2015 at the Humboldt University in Berlin and dealt with the Nag Hammadi codices and their place in the history of early Christian theology¹. Due attention was paid to the so-called “new philology” approach, asking whether these texts should be read in their “original” context or rather in that in which the copies that came to us are to be dated. The Leuven colloquium picked up on the Berlin meeting, but did not just focus on Gnostic texts. It also studied other writings for which much the same questions are on the table with regard to determining their place in the development of Christian theology in that early period.

The better part of second- and early third-century Christian writings has come down to us with only few and mostly vague or disputed indications about their author, date, provenance, intentions, and readership – in short, without much of a contextualisation. The consequences of this situation for interpreting these writings or assessing whatever relationships there might be between some of them, let alone for situating them in a genealogy or a survey of the development of Christian theology in that early period are obvious and most regrettable. To mention just one recent example: some scholars have challenged the generally accepted position that the synoptic gospels are among the oldest Christian writings that have come to us, firmly dated to the latter decades of the first century, and have started to propose to date them well into the second century. Even if their arguments are disputed and probably cannot prove the hypothesis, such proposals are illustrative of the difficulties there are in dating and contextualising many of these early writings, and also of the ingenuity of some to come up with really innovating, though so far unconvincing, proposals. The situation is very much the same for many other texts. Many have given up on the old opinion about the early dating of the letters of Ignatius, but no consensus has been reached about when to date this corpus in the second century, in part also because the corpus

1. Cf. J. SCHRÖTER – K. SCHWARZ (eds.), *Die Nag-Hammadi-Schriften in der Literatur- und Theologiegeschichte des frühen Christentums* (STAC, 106), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

seems to have had a rather complicated composition and transmission history. But dating and identifying a particular writing is just one aspect of the problem. More important, though closely linked to the former, is the broader question of how these writings are then to be used in attempts at reconstructing a history of earliest Christian theology. One thing seems to be clear: there is no way that this history can be conceived of as one of steady intellectual progress.

Bearing in mind the dangers of accepting a straightforward development of Christian thinking, one must take seriously the possibility that writings which seem to represent an “older theology” (however that is to be defined) may well be younger in origin than some other works that apparently promote a more developed form of theology. The whole situation is further complicated by the fact that we do not possess any autographs but only copies that (by far) postdate the commonly accepted date of composition of a particular writing. This has brought some scholars fundamentally to question what should be our main focus in studying these texts: trying to give them a place in (what is thought to be) their original context, or perhaps rather to look for why such writings were divulged and transmitted long after they were composed, possibly even for quite other reasons than those of the original author.

These ancient texts are studied here for what they can tell us about their author, their date of composition, the theology they represent or seek to promote, and if possible the reasons why they were after all preserved and passed on to later generations of readers. Among them are letters (Ignatius’ letters to several communities, *1 Clement*), a work whose genre is more difficult to define (*2 Clement*), one that looks like the Church orders of a later period (the *Didache*), several works that show similarities in content and composition to the canonical gospels or claim to be “a gospel” (the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of Philip*, and the *Gospel of Judas*), and a number of other writings of various genre and nature that were discovered, together with some of the gospels just mentioned, as part of a larger corpus of which the origins remain unknown and that are quite innovative or peculiar in content and reasoning (the Nag Hammadi codices).

Paul FOSTER (Edinburgh) surveys the problems related to the collection and textual transmission of the letters attributed to Ignatius of Antioch. The question of dating remains a vexed issue, and so is that of assessing the origin and purpose of the various types and recensions of the collection which prove an ongoing interest in the writings of the famous church leader, but also illustrate the liberty with which later generations of readers defined the corpus. Christopher M. TUCKETT (Oxford) deals with the dating of the two “letters” ascribed to Clement. He argues for the

“classical” date of *1 Clement* at the turn of the first and second century, or perhaps even in the very last years of the first century; he remains slightly more hesitant about *2 Clement*, favouring a rather earlier date against recent suggestions to read the text as a critique of Marcion. John S. KLOPPENBORG (Toronto) presents a rather innovative approach to the *Didache* when comparing its rules and stipulations and similar material in *Apostolic Constitutions* 7 with the bylaws of cultic associations. If some of this material with regard to organising the community/group is strikingly similar, the *Didache* stands out in its interest in prayers, in teaching and in behaving towards teachers. Jörg FREY (Zürich) surveys the whole range of problems with regard to determining the origin, date and context of Jewish-Christian gospels in general and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* in particular. His analysis leads him to conclude the latter dates from the first decades of the second century, but was soon circulated also outside the community for which it was originally composed though it never received an authoritative status and was doomed to fade away.

The remaining essays all have to do with texts that were discovered at Nag Hammadi or are related to this material. Hugo LUNDHAUG (Oslo) promotes what he calls “a multi-methodological approach” to our efforts to date the Nag Hammadi codices. Special attention is given to the radio-carbon dating that can complement the more classical approaches based on form and format of the material and information gained from the archaeological context. Christine JACOBI (HU-Berlin) compares the views of Irenaeus, Tertullian and the *Gospel of Philip* on bodily resurrection as a way to contextualise the latter writing. She points out several interesting similarities between the *Gospel of Philip* and Irenaeus in the way both understand the relation of the believer with the risen Lord and the sacramental dimension this can receive. Konrad SCHWARZ (HU-Berlin) situates the *Gospel of Thomas* in relation to Judaism, other early Christian writings, and contemporary philosophical teachings, arguing that the first of these is given only limited attention, using elements of Jewish ritual praxis primarily in a metaphorical way, that there are isolated points of convergence with the Gospel of Matthew and John, though the motif of faith is largely missing, and that there are interesting similarities with philosophical traditions both with regard to anthropology and the notion of the divine. Francis WATSON (Durham) studies the *Apocryphon of James* as one more testimony of the dispute on the status of the apostles besides such writings as the *Gospel of Mary* and the *Gospel of Judas*. The *Apocryphon* has its own agenda in this dispute as the work emphasises above all the superiority of its own testimony over that of the apostles and promotes an (elitist) position that nuances the role of the apostles as reliable witnesses in favour of the knowledge granted to the blessed

by the Saviour. It is another “apocryphon”, the *Apocryphon of John*, Jean-Daniel DUBOIS (EPHE-Paris) deals with in discussing the various options for dating and locating the work and assessing the criteria that can be used for this purpose, including indications based on its interest in philosophical matters, Christology and use of the Scriptures. The most plausible option is a date sometime in the midst of the second century, when New Testament writings were not yet commonly cited as authoritative, without trying to be too precise given the sorry state of our evidence. Three more documents are studied by Dylan M. BURNS (FU-Berlin). They all deal, in a critical way, with “pagan” philosophical views on providence and cosmogony in the format of doxographies – the closely *Eugnostos* and the *Wisdom of Jesus Christ* aiming at Greek philosophy, the *Tripartite Tractate* tackling both pagan and elements from Christian (and Jewish) philosophical thought on the matter. The texts are to be situated at the intersection of Christian apologetics and heresiography highlighting the differences rather than the similarities there might be between the various traditions and warning against the lure of Greek (“barbarian”) wisdom. Anna VAN DEN KERCHOVE (Faculty of Protestant Theology – Paris) discusses Irenaeus’ views on the *Gospel of Judas*, focusing on the question whether there might have been circulating two writings with this title, but settling for the “simpler” solution that Irenaeus was talking about the same work that has been preserved in Coptic and deriving from this a proposal for dating the text in the third quarter of the second century.

There is no easy way for contextualising the large majority of second- and early third-century Christian writings. Any such effort must be a combined effort that takes into account all possible indications given by the these texts and all tools modern science can offer us. Among the former are external witnesses, linguistic and stylistic criteria and content-related indications; among the latter, archaeological evidence and other ways for dating ancient material. The sheer wealth and diversity of the contents of many of these writings, the apologetic or polemical intention of most of the external witnesses, and the brutal fact that Christian theology developed at various speeds and certainly not one-directionally all contribute to keeping scholars aware of the difficulties involved in the task and of the relativity of many of their findings. Relative chronologies and the relative positioning of writings among each other are perhaps the best we can aim for, but in any case it is better than keeping blind for the problems and indulging in delusive certainties.

jos.verheyden@kuleuven.be

schroetj@hu-berlin.de

tobias.nicklas@theologie.uni-regensburg.de

Joseph VERHEYDEN

Jens SCHRÖTER

Tobias NICKLAS

THE IGNATIAN PROBLEM

THE RECENSIONS OF A LETTER CORPUS AS A REFLECTION OF THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS AND DEVELOPMENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

If the level of tampering with contents is an indicator of importance, then the letters of Ignatius constitute one of the most important collections of early Christian literature. The relationship between the various recensions of this corpus has fascinated many subsequent generations. The concerns expressed over the relationship between these differing forms of the letter collection is not simply a knotty problem, which is the preserve of ivory-towered scholars alone. Rather, arguments relating to the authenticity, or otherwise, of these various recensions has been the basis of polarised debates between leading church figures over matters of ecclesiastic structure, and in regard to key questions of theology and doctrine for many centuries and also in multiple contexts within Christian history. Therefore, far from being abstract and arcane, discussions concerning the form of the Ignatian letter collection and the authenticity of the contents of the individual letters have played a significant role in some of the major theological debates in the church from the patristic era to the contemporary period. There is much to be learnt from a close study of the various corpora of the letters of Ignatius, especially when each collection form is studied in its own terms with its own theological concerns and agendas. As such, the writings of Ignatius provide multiple windows into various moments of church history and the related theological debates spanning not only many centuries, but in fact stretching across the first two millennia of the Christian religion.

However, due to the very widely and correctly accepted scholarly consensus that the so-called middle recension of the letters of Ignatius represented the authentic writings of the bishop of Antioch, the result has been the virtual neglect of study concerning the later expanded form of the Ignatius' writings – the so-called long recension. Yet even that terminology requires clarification. It should be noted that the “long recension”, occurs in two distinct forms and phases. Both of these phases reflects the literary creativity of later generations of Christian thought. For this reason, close analysis of the long recension provides invaluable insight into the theological concerns and the ecclesiastical structures of

various groups of believers both during the second half of the fourth century, and also at a later more indeterminate time. It should also be noted that while the long recension has been labelled as a “recension”, this belies the fact that it comprises of six fresh epistolary compositions in Greek, and then also at a later phase a further four brief Latin letters. In fact, the long recension of the letters of Ignatius, as a development of the middle recension, contains far more original material than for instance Matthew’s Gospel does in comparison to its largest source, Mark’s Gospel¹. Yet, while the long recension of the letters of Ignatius contains far more original material than Matthew does in comparison to Mark, this larger corpora of Ignatian writings has received only marginal interest². In part, this might perhaps be due to the more explicit attempt of the long recension of the letters of Ignatius to displace the shorter form of the middle recension. Ultimately, this literary ruse may have led to the “downfall” of the long recension, when in the modern period it was finally exposed as being a later literary expansion of the earlier, authentic middle recension of the writings of Ignatius.

The result has been the almost total neglect of the long recension in its own right as a collection of important Christian writings expressing a particular set of theological concerns. However, that change of focus was a reversal of the dominance of the long recension from the time of its composition until the seventeenth century, when it was shown not to represent the authentic letter collection of Ignatius. However, continued study of the long recension can reveal much about the evolution and development of Christian theology in the late fourth century and later periods. Therefore, as a means of providing insight into the ways in which a particular strand of theological thought evolved and grew from earlier traditions into later expressions and formulations, the long recension represents an important example of such development of theological thought and argument.

1. The Gospel of Matthew contains 1068 verses and the Gospel of Mark comprises 661 verses. According to Streeter, on a maximalist count “Matthew reproduces the substance of all but 55 verses of Mark”. B.H. STREETER, *The Four Gospels: A Study in Origins*, London, Macmillan, 1924, p. 169. Streeter, however, believes this is an over-estimate, and that some of the 55 verses in question are not cases of omission but rather substitution. Based on a different method of counting, Beaton estimates that Matthew reproduces 73% of Matthew’s words. This percentage is obtained on the basis of Beaton count that Matthew has reproduced 8555 of the 11,708 words contained in the Gospel of Mark. R.C. BEATON, *How Matthew Writes*, in M. BOCKMUEHL – D.A. CARSON (eds.), *The Written Gospels*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 120, n. 25.

2. The comparison between the scholarly focus on Matthew’s Gospel – which is never labelled as a mere recension, and the long recension of the letters of Ignatius which is rarely studied is illustrative of the status of the former as a new composition and the latter as a mere revision. Therefore, perhaps part of the reason for this is that the Gospel of Matthew does not claim to be an expanded authentic version of Mark.

II. THE MANY RECENSIONS OF THE LETTERS OF IGNATIUS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

It is generally agreed that there are three major recensions of the letters of Ignatius, one of which has two identifiable phases. In what follows, a brief overview will be provided of these three recensions, focusing on their contents, sequence, and relationship. The scholarly consensus or debate concerning the date of each recension will be briefly discussed. However, the theological concerns and developments in each of the major recensions will be discussed in separate sections that follow after this initial discussion of the relationship between the various recensions of the letters of Ignatius.

1. *The Middle Recension*

It is widely, but not universally accepted that the middle recension reflects the earliest form of the corpus of the letters of Ignatius. Moreover, these letters are generally accepted to be the genuine literary compositions of Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch. This recension comprises seven letters, all written in a relative short period of time while Ignatius was being transported under custody of Roman guard to face execution in the imperial capital³. The epistles of the middle recension are typically divided into two groups. The first group consists of the four letters that were written by Ignatius while he was at Smyrna. These are the letters to the *Ephesians*, *Magnesians*, *Trallians*, and to the *Romans*. The next group of three letters, also written by Ignatius but from Troas, are the letters to the *Philadelphians* and the one to the *Smyrnaeans*, as well as the only letter of the middle recension addressed to an individual, the *Letter to Polycarp*, the bishop of Smyrna⁴.

The arguments in favour of the originality and authenticity of the middle recension are many and varied. First, the earliest manuscript evidence for a writing from the Ignatian corpus is a substantial fragment of the

3. In relation to the compressed period of composition of all seven letters of Ignatius, Holmes makes the following comment. "We meet him for the first and only time for just a few weeks not long before his death as a martyr in Rome early in the second century. But during those weeks he wrote, virtually as his 'last will and testament', seven letters of extraordinary interest because of the unparalleled light they shed on the history of the church at that time, and because of what they reveal about the remarkable personality of the author". M.W. HOLMES (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, ³2007, p. 166.

4. Lightfoot uses a larger division of the Ignatian letters into five groups for his classification of the long recension. The two groups of the middle recension still stand as separate groups in that larger five group system. See J.B. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers. Part 2: Ignatius and Polycarp*, London, Macmillan, 1889, vol. 3, p. 128.

Letter to the Smyrnaeans (Ign., *Smyr.* 3,3–12,1). This fragment, P. Berol. 10581, is in the form of a papyrus codex, and the portion of the text of the *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* that it preserves reflects the textual form of the middle recension. Second, the evidence preserved in the early fourth century writings of Eusebius of Caesarea shows that the form of text he used was the middle recension of the Ignatian corpus⁵. Describing the writings of Ignatius, Eusebius refers only to the seven letters of the middle recension. Moreover, the excerpts he cites agree with the textual form contained in the middle recension (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,36). Third, the expansions to the seven letters of the middle recension that are found in the textual form of the long recension, as well as the contents of the additional letters of the letters of the long recension, betray at several points later theological concerns. Hence, the long recension clearly appears secondary in nature, and thus it is best understood as a subsequent and later form of the Ignatian letter corpus in comparison to the earlier middle recension.

While it is widely accept that the textual form of the middle recension is earlier than that of the long recension, nonetheless a number of scholars have questioned the authenticity of the middle recension. That is, while they see the middle recension as being the earliest form of the Ignatian corpus, such scholars have questioned whether this seven letter form of the corpus originates with Ignatius himself. Two separate lines of approach have been adopted in relation to questioning the authenticity of the middle recension as a set of writings authored by Ignatius. First, Rius-Camps has suggested that the middle recension itself is a mix of authentic and inauthentic letters. His hypothesis is that Ignatius was the author of only four of the letters of the middle recension, and that the other three were spurious⁶. The second approach comprises a more thoroughgoing rejection of the entire seven letter collection of the middle recension as having been written by Ignatius. In this vein, Joly argues that the entire seven letter corpus is a fabrication⁷. This line of argument

5. The determination of the date of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* has occasioned scholarly investigation. Andrew Louth argued that the work was first issued in AD 313, but the current form was updated around 323 or 324 to include more recent events. See A. LOUTH, *The Date of Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica*, in *JTS* 41 (1990) 111–123. See also, T.D. BARNES, *The Editions of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History*, in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980) 191–201, p. 196.

6. The four letters written from Smyrna are considered authentic (*Ephesians*, *Magnesiensians*, *Trallians*, and *Romans*), while the three from Troas (*Philadelphians*, *Smyrnaeans*, and the *Letter to Polycarp*) are deemed to be later creations. J. RIUS-CAMPS, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius* (Christianismos, 2), Roma, Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1979.

7. R. JOLY, *Le Dossier d'Ignace d'Antioch* (Université libre Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et lettres, 69), Bruxelles, Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1979.

has been developed further by Hübner, who argues that the seven letters of the middle recension at various points reflect knowledge of a more developed form of Gnosticism, which was not known prior to the second half of the second century. Consequently, it is argued that the contents of the seven letters are not chronologically consistent with the date of the final years of the life and martyrdom of Ignatius, which is traditionally placed towards the beginning of the second century⁸. The arguments of Hübner have been greatly developed and supplemented by his student Thomas Lechner⁹.

The main positive argument Lechner presents in favour of the rejection of Ignatius' authorship of the middle recension is that he considers the so-called "Hymn of the Star" (Ign., *Eph.* 19) to be a parody of Valentinian myth. Thus, it is suggested that some of the material contained in the middle recension reflects a rebuttal of Valentinian cosmology. On this basis, he dates the middle recension to the period AD 165 to 175¹⁰. Even if Lechner's arguments concerning the target of the polemic in the Hymn of the Star were widely viewed as persuasive, then all that could be inferred is that this single section of the *Letter to the Ephesians* might be later material. The implication might then be that this short section were an interpolation into a genuine letter. However, the arguments of Lechner and Hübner have not thus far altered the scholarly consensus that the middle recension does represent the authentic writings of Ignatius. The reason for the lack of acceptance of this theory is that the proposed points of contact between the middle recension of the Ignatian letters and Valentinian cosmology are neither obvious or persuasive. Therefore, the consensus that the middle recension stems from Ignatius himself and reflects the earliest form of the corpus of his writings remains intact and largely supported.

2. *The Long Recension*

The long recension is universally agreed to reflect later stages in the development of the Ignatian corpus. However, it would be incorrect to speak without qualification of the long recension being composed either at a single point of time, or as exemplifying a unified compositional

8. R.M. HÜBNER, *Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien*, in ZAC 1 (1997) 44-72.

9. T. LECHNER, *Ignatius adversus Valentinianos? Chronologische und theologisch-geschichtliche Studien zu Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochen* (VigChrSup, 47), Leiden, Brill, 1999.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-307.

approach. Typically the long recension is understood as comprising the seven letters of the middle recension but in expanded forms, and combined with six additional letters written in Greek¹¹.

This standard definition of the contents of the long recension was challenged by Jack Hannah, who stated that the long recension “consists of the same letters [as the middle recension] but extensively expanded and edited”¹². Hannah described the three letters that survive in Syriac and which are known as the short recension as his third group. Subsequently he identifies a fourth group which “consists of six letters which are regarded by most scholars as spurious”¹³. Not only is Hannah’s classification system non-standard, it is motivated by the thesis he presents in his article. On the basis of his understanding of the long recension, comprising only the expanded forms of the seven letters of the middle recension, he argues that “this recension was made about A.D. 140 in the vicinity of Ephesus”¹⁴. Later in his article Hannah dates the long recension more broadly to AD 135-155, commenting that “the LR becomes the earliest truly anti-Gnostic writing”¹⁵. Hannah adds one further argument to his thesis. He sees the type of editorial work that was undertaken by the redactor of the long recension as mirroring that of the supposed redactor of the Pauline corpus, who is viewed as having produced the Pauline letter to the Ephesians and was one of the architects of the revival of Paulinism in this same period of the second quarter of the second century. From this set of observations, Hannah advances his major conclusion:

The fact that two sets of literature, the Pauline and the Ignatian, both appear to have undergone a similar type of redaction, suggests that a school existed in southwestern Asia Minor whose purpose was to establish the lines of orthodoxy for the churches¹⁶.

11. This standard understanding of the long recension has been proposed by LIGHT-FOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, pp. 109-134; and more recently repeated by W.R. Schoedel and by Foster. P. FOSTER, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch*, in ID. (ed.), *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, London, T&T Clark, 2007, 81-107, p. 84. Schoedel states, “[t]he long recension contains an expanded version of the seven letters of the middle recension and six additional letters”. W.R. SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Hermeneia), Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1985, p. 4.

12. J.W. HANNAH, *The Setting of the Ignatian Long Recension*, in *JBL* 79 (1960) 221-238, p. 221.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

This argument is predicated on a number of dubious assertions. First, the decision to separate the redactional work of the interpolations to the seven genuine letters from the composition of the six additional Greek letters is both arbitrary and unfounded. Second, the claim that the Pauline letters underwent the same type of redactional activity is unsupported. Additional non-Pauline letters may have been composed in the apostle's name, but there is little evidence for the redactional expansion of the authentic Pauline letters. Third, the proposal of a redactional "school" in Asia Minor has no evidential basis, it is incredibly naïve, and it proposes an "orthodox" system of control that was unknown even in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Lightfoot anticipated the type of argument that would divide the expansions to the seven authentic letters as being due to a different literary act than that of the composition of the additional letters. He bases his argument for the unity of the redactional expansions of the genuine letters and the composition of the additional letters on two pieces of evidence, which he poses as questions.

The points of investigation then are twofold: *First*, Is the resemblance of these [additional] letters sufficiently close to justify us in assigning them to the same author [as the interpolations to the seven letters of the middle recension]; and *Secondly*, Does the external evidence – the phenomena of MSS and the catena of quotations – lead to the same or to an opposite conclusion¹⁷?

Lightfoot answers the first question with four mutually supporting observations that arise from a consideration of the internal characteristics of the interpolations and the additional compositions. First, in comparison to the sparing use of scriptural citations in the middle recension, both elements of the long recension – the expanded parts of the seven authentic letters and the additional letters – contain a preponderance of scriptural citations. Therefore, both forms of additional material employ scriptural citations in common ways, but in notably distinct manner in comparison with the authentic form of the seven letters. The second observation is the most important for the discussion of this study, but in this part of his discussion Lightfoot says relatively little. He briefly observes, "[of] the *doctrinal features* nothing need be said here"¹⁸. Then in good academic fashion Lightfoot comments that, "throughout the thirteen letters the same doctrines are maintained, the same heresies assailed, and the same

17. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 246.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

theological terms employed”¹⁹. Consideration of these doctrinal ideas will form the basis of the discussion of the theological concerns and developments to be found in the long recension. Third, Lightfoot notes similar “literary obligations”. This term denotes literary borrowing of the same material from the authentic Ignatian letters (and from the *Apostolic Constitutions*) and its reuse both in the interpolations to the genuine epistles and in the additional letters. Fourth, the style and expression of interpolated passages and the additional letters is similar in a number of respects. Thus Lightfoot observes “we find in both sets of epistles the same terms applied to false teachers ... there is a fondness for adjectives ending in -ικός ... there is a recurrence of the same phrases ... [and] there is a partiality for certain other words”²⁰.

The external evidence is a little more complex since the additional letters (sometimes without the Letter to the Philippians) are found in manuscripts both in combination with the middle recension of the seven authentic letters and chiefly with the longer form of those letters. This may reflect the way collections were formed and expanded, rather than suggesting that the additional letters circulated independently of the interpolated form of the seven genuine letters, and hence had a separate origin. Moreover, Lightfoot makes the telling point concerning the citation of material from different recensions of the Ignatian letters.

In fact the tenour of external evidence will be sufficiently plain when it is stated that, whereas the seven letters are quoted by a fairly continuous series of Greek, Latin, and Syriac writers, beginning with Irenaeus and Origen in the second and third centuries, not a single quotation from the Additional Letters has been discovered prior to the last decade of the sixth century at the very earliest²¹.

Consequently, based on both consideration of the internal feature of the interpolated passages and the additional letters, and on the external evidence that material from interpolated passages or additional letters is not cited before the end of the sixth century, a strong case can be presented for the interpolations and additional letters stemming from the same compositional hand. Writing at the beginning of the fourth century, Eusebius knew of only seven Ignatian letters, and the extensive citations he provides all reflect the form preserved in the middle recension. Therefore, there is strong reason to date the long recension, entailing both the interpolations to the seven letters of the middle recension and the six

19. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

additional Greek letters, to the period after the beginning of the fourth century when Eusebius composed his *Historia Ecclesiastica* and prior to the end of the sixth century when citations of the long recension begin to emerge. That is the composition of the long recension is broadly, but plausibly dated to the period AD 330-590.

This, however, does not quite end the discussion of the contents of the long recension of the Ignatian letters. At an even later stage four further letters began to circulate in Latin versions of manuscripts of the letters of Ignatius. The addition of these four letters may be described as the second phase of the long recension. The purpose of these four extra epistles entails further theological concerns that are no doubt part of the contemporary theological interests of the author. As will be seen from even a superficial analysis of the contents, this expansion reflects an increased interest in the figure of Mary, and the expression of piety towards her. While there have been attempts to locate the date of composition by linking it to particular moments of flourishing in Marian piety, the reality is that Marian devotion is a theological phenomenon that developed over many centuries and consequently while the theological perspective of these additional letters is transparent, the time of composition remains unclear.

3. *The Short Recension*

The evolution of the short recension of the letters of Ignatius will be discussed more fully below, when an assessment will be made of whether there are any theological perspectives or motivations in the formation of this form of the Ignatian corpus. It is sufficient to note that this recension is known and survives only in Syriac. It consisted of three of the letters of the middle recension, *Ephesians*, *Romans*, and the letter addressed to *Polycarp*. These three letters have all been abbreviated in comparison with the middle recension, the *Epistle to the Ephesians* is the most radically abbreviated of the three. Of the three Syriac manuscripts which survive for the short recension, the earliest is typically dated to the first half of the sixth century²². Hence, it is difficult to date the short recension with any certainty prior to the sixth century.

22. W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum*, London, British Museum, 1870-1872, p. 778.

III. THE THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS OF THE MIDDLE RECENSION

The vast majority of scholarly attention has been focused on the so-called middle recension of the letters of Ignatius. This is understandable and likely a correct focus since the shorter form of these letters represents the authentic writings of Ignatius and also reflects Christian thought in the first half of the second century, a period from which there is a paucity of Christian documents. Due to this focus of attention, the theological profile and concerns of the middle recension are well-known. Themes that are particularly prominent include Ignatius' christological understandings especially in response to docetic views, his reflection on the theological basis for ecclesial structures, the nature of the eucharist and the importance of corporate participation, and the rejection of what Ignatius sees as Judaizing tendencies. Several of these theological themes will be treated briefly in turn, both to reflect the theological concerns of the middle recension in its own right, but then to establish a base-line with which the theological perspectives of the long recension may be compared.

1. *Christological Perspectives of the Middle Recension*

For Ignatius, Jesus is God. This is a bold and unambiguous claim made in several places in the seven authentic letters of the middle recension. While such a claim may be based on statements in several of the writings that were later to constitute the collection of texts contained in the New Testament, none of those writings refer to the divinity of Jesus with the same levels of confidence, clarity and regularity as is found in the writings of Ignatius. Some of the strongest examples among the writings of the New Testament include the following. In the resurrection appearance scene in the fourth gospel the response from Thomas to Jesus "my Lord and my God" (John 20,28) has been frequently understood as a declaration of the deity of Jesus. While recognising the striking nature of this evocative declaration and describing it as "the supreme Christological pronouncement of the Fourth Gospel"²³, Brown sees this as not equating to a doctrinal statement. Instead, Brown states, "the NT use of 'God' for Jesus is not yet a truly dogmatic formulation, but appears in a liturgical or cultic context"²⁴. Whether Brown's assessment gives due

23. R.E. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John XIII-XXI* (AB, 29A), New York, Doubleday, 1970, p. 1047.

24. *Ibid.*

weight to the significance of this declaration may be questioned. It is the case that he appears to create an arbitrary distinction between “doctrinal” and “liturgical” use. Such a distinction may not be helpful and almost certainly would not have been recognised by the fourth evangelist. Thus, in contrast, Jörg Frey has seen the affirmation in John 20,28 as fundamentally and unambiguously being a theological statement, albeit without anachronistically representing it as akin to the credal statements that emerged from the council discussions of the fourth and fifth centuries. Therefore, specifically in relation to John 20,28, but also taking into account the wider Johannine material, Frey states,

The Johannine manner of relating God and Christ, but also Christ and the Spirit-Paraclete and even God and the Spirit, marks a decisive step towards the Trinitarian thought pattern later established by the utilization of Greek philosophical terms. Of course, the later clarifications are still far away in John, but there is at least a “proto-Trinitarian” element in the God-talk or “theology” of John²⁵.

A similar example may be found in Luke’s account of Paul’s Miletus speech, with the reference to τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου, “the church of God which he purchased with his own blood” (Acts 20,28). Apart from the complicating textual variant τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου (ℱ⁷⁴ A C* D E Ψ)²⁶, the statement has been seen as ambiguous. Taking the reading θεοῦ as original and as the antecedent of the pronoun in the phrase “his own blood”, it is unclear whether the author is referring to Jesus as God, or whether this is some type of anthropomorphism to describe the redemptive act of God²⁷.

When compared with these and other important yet nonetheless ambiguous statements contained in the writings of the New Testament, the affirmations that Ignatius makes concerning the divinity of Christ are far more decisive. Ignatius describes Jesus as God on multiple occasions, in

25. J. FREY, *The Glory of the Crucified One: Christology and Theology in the Gospel of John* (Baylor – Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity), Waco, TX, Baylor, 2018, pp. xxx-xxxi.

26. Several variants exist. The reading τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ is supported by manuscripts 8 B 614 1175 1505. What appears to be a conflation of the two basic variants, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ, is attested in C³ ℳ. In relation to this textual evidence, Metzger notes “The external evidence is singularly balanced between ‘church of God’ and ‘church of the Lord’ (the reading ‘church of the Lord and God’ is obviously conflate, and therefore secondary – as are also the other variant readings)”. B.M. METZGER, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994, p. 425.

27. For a discussion of the hermeneutical complexities and ambiguities of this verse see C.K. BARRETT, *The Acts of the Apostles*. Vol. II: *Introduction and Commentary on Acts XV–XXVIII* (ICC), Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1998, pp. 976-977.

a variety of ways, including several that are best understood as creedal or doctrinal statements²⁸. Towards the beginning of the *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* Ignatius states, Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ἡμᾶς σοφίσαντα, “I glorify Jesus Christ the God who made you wise” (Ign., *Smyr.* 1,1). The referent θεόν is placed in apposition to Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, and these two nominal terms are dual ways of denoting the same entity. Here Schoedel notes that “Ignatius goes beyond Paul in calling Christ ‘God’”²⁹. This provides an unambiguous example of language in the middle recension of the letters of Ignatius where Jesus is unhesitatingly named as “God”.

In one of Ignatius’ semi-creedal statements³⁰, as an expression of his doctrinal understanding, Ignatius writes:

ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ’ οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίσῃ (Ign., *Eph.* 18,2).

For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived by Mary according to God’s plan, both from the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit. He was born and baptized in order that by his suffering he may cleanse the water (Ign., *Eph.* 18,2).

Here Ignatius names “our God” as “Jesus the Christ”, as the first statement in a sequence of christological affirmations. It is striking to observe that while Ignatius calls Jesus “our God”, he can also describe Jesus as being conceived by Mary. Therefore, Ignatius perceives no fundamental tension between affirming Jesus as divine, while in the same breadth declaring him to have been conceived through a human mother. The use of the possessive pronoun is typical of Ignatius’ phraseology (cf. Ign., *Eph.* inscrip.)³¹. However, attempts to argue on the basis of this grammatical feature that Ignatius is distinguishing between types of divinity possessed by Christ and the Father are unconvincing³². Within this theological framework of declaring the divinity of Jesus, Ignatius articulates an incarnational theology that expresses the idea that this divinity was present in the human form of Jesus. When describing Jesus

28. This observation is also stated by Helmut Löhr. See H. LÖHR, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch*, in W. PRATSCHER (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers: An Introduction*, Waco, TX, Baylor, 2010, 91-115, p. 110.

29. SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 220.

30. There are five such statements. These are found in Ign., *Eph.* 7,2; 18,2; *Magn.* 11,1; *Trall.* 9,1-2; *Smyr.* 1,1-2.

31. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 3, p. 26.

32. E. VON DER GOLTZ, *Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe* (TU, 12/3), Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1894, pp. 21-28.

as the “one physician”, Ignatius explicates the apparent tension due to the incarnation simply by affirming both aspects of seemingly contradictory pairings: “both flesh and spirit, born and unborn, God come in the flesh, true life in death...” (Ign., *Eph.* 7,2). The phrase “God come in the flesh” is the way in which Ignatius expresses his claim that the human person of Jesus is to be regarded as divine. Instead of reading the phrase as *σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός*, “God come in the flesh”, some printed texts read *ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός*, “in man – God”³³. It is surprising that the latter reading, supported by a Syriac version S^f, and various Christian writers (Athanasius, Theodoret, Gelasius and Severus of Antioch) is preferred over the combined witness of Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus 57,7 (the only surviving Greek manuscript of the middle recension) and L (the Latin translation of the middle recension)³⁴. In many ways, for the observation being made here, little is at stake. Both expressions affirm the incarnation and express Ignatius’ clear view that Jesus is to be understood as divine.

It is equally striking that while Ignatius can attribute divinity to Jesus, he can also attribute to God the sufferings of Jesus. Thus addressing the Romans on the topic of his own impending martyrdom, and expressing the concern that the Roman believers will intervene on his behalf, Ignatius pleads with them not to attempt to prevent his death. He writes, “[a]llow me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God” (Ign., *Rom.* 6,3). The use of the phrase *τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου*, “the suffering of my God”, reveals that Ignatius regards the model of Christ’s death, which he himself hopes to imitate, as capable of being described appropriately as God’s suffering. There is no confusion here on Ignatius’ part. His affirmation of the divinity of Christ makes it entirely valid from his perspective to speak of the sufferings as being those of God, as much as they are those of Christ³⁵.

Therefore, one of the key theological developments in the middle recension, or earliest form of the letters of Ignatius, in comparison with the Pauline epistles, the synoptic gospels and several of the other writings contained in the New Testament is the unambiguous declaration of the

33. HOLMES (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers* (n. 3), p. 188.

34. A theological motivation has been discerned for the change to the formula *ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός*. Schoedel states, “[t]he change can be ascribed to the desire of later theologians to avoid any suggestion of an Arian or Apollinarian Christology which denied a human soul to Christ (hence ‘man’ instead of merely flesh was required)”. SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 61.

35. R.M. GRANT, *The Apostolic Fathers: A Translation and Commentary*. Vol. IV: *Ignatius of Antioch*, Camden, NJ, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966, p. 92.

divinity of Christ. These repeated affirmations are to be found at various points throughout the letters. Ignatius' affirmation of the divinity of Jesus is found in letter openings (Ign., *Eph.* inscrip.; *Smyr.* 1,1), in the semi-credal doctrinal statements (Ign., *Eph.* 18,2), and even in the context of discussing his own impending martyrdom. The incarnational language that Ignatius employs to describe Jesus as "God come in the flesh" (Ign., *Eph.* 7,2), does resonate with a similar expression found in what might be one of the later writings in the New Testament. In the Johannine epistles the author presents a test of christological orthodoxy in the following terms:

ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκετε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ· πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν (1 John 4,2).

By this you know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God (1 John 4,2).

Some of the later New Testament texts, in particular the Johannine writings, perhaps stemming from the late first century or early second century, appear to present a theological outlook that is closely related to that found in Ign., *Eph.* 7,2 regarding the reality of the incarnation. Ignatius' letter is also close to the Johannine writings in terms of the date of composition, since his letters were almost certainly written in the first third of the second century. However, notwithstanding the link, in the letters of Ignatius this type of affirmation finds more explicit expression, especially through placing it alongside the claim that Jesus has not just come in the flesh, but that he is God come in the flesh. There is, therefore, no reservation in the writings of Ignatius about affirming the divinity of Christ. Rather, the issue in which Ignatius is in conflict with his opponents in the letters to the *Ephesians* and *Trallians* is the reality of the incarnation. Namely, that Jesus was truly human. The assertion that Jesus was divine, that is that he could be described as "our God, Jesus the Christ" (Ign., *Eph.* 18,2), appears not to have been a source of controversy. Consequently, it is possible to trace a highly significant theological development in christological understanding and expression between the writings of the New Testament and the letters of Ignatius.

2. *Ecclesiology and Episcopacy in the Middle Recension*

Perhaps the most recognisable feature of Ignatius' ecclesiological concerns is his advocacy for a hierarchical system of three forms of ministry. The leadership centres on a single bishop in each location, supported by presbyters, and under them deacons are involved in various aspects

of ministry. This pattern of a tripartite system of ecclesial offices is recurrent in the letters. Perhaps one of the clearest descriptions of what Ignatius envisages in the pattern is found in the *Letter to the Trallians*. In that context, Ignatius describes all three levels of ministry as apostolic and also as having a hierarchical relationship.

It is essential, therefore, that you continue your current practice and do nothing without the bishop, but be subject also to the council of the presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ ... Furthermore, it is necessary that those who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ please everyone in every respect. For they are not merely deacons of food and drink, but ministers of God's church (Ign., *Trall.* 2,2-3).

Following from this statement, Ignatius also declares that deacons should be respected "as Jesus Christ", that the bishop "is a model of the Father", and that presbyters are a model both of "God's council" as well as "the band of apostles" (Ign., *Trall.* 3,1). Ignatius demands unqualified respect for these three offices, since he sees them as typological representations of God, or of the apostles. While the fluid and imprecise nature of Ignatius' analogical typologies have frequently been noted³⁶, the key point is that for Ignatius the three roles of church leadership are modelled on a more fundamental ontological reality. Therefore each office has a dignity that is derived from a reality that surpasses that of the office-holder. Consequently, the three roles are to be respected precisely because they enshrine through a typological schema a divine or apostolic basis of existence.

The ecclesial structure that Ignatius advocates is seen by him as being fundamental to the existence of Christian communities. Having described the three offices and their typological patterning, Ignatius boldly states, "[w]ithout these no group can be called a church" (Ign., *Trall.* 3,1). Such a threefold structure is, according to the Ignatian conception of ecclesiology, not merely preferential, but fundamentally essential to the constitution of such communities. In regard to Ignatius' concept of ecclesial structure, Sullivan makes the astute observations that "he [Ignatius] had no doubt about the structure a church ought to have, but there is reason to doubt that all Christian churches of his day actually realized it"³⁷. In fact Sullivan might be a little circumspect here. Ignatius demand for, or perhaps attempted imposition of his preferred threefold

36. For a summary of various scholars who have noted the shifting typological patterns see G. VALL, *Learning Christ: Ignatius of Antioch & the Mystery of Redemption*, Washington, DC, Catholic University of America Press, 2013, p. 343.

37. F.A. SULLIVAN, *From Apostles to Bishops: The Development of the Episcopacy in the Early Church*, New York – Mahwah, NJ, Newman, 2001, p. 111.

ecclesial structure was in all likelihood part of the cause of the friction between him and his opponents. By rejecting the legitimacy of any rites, such as the eucharist, in Christian groups that did not adhere this three-fold pattern of ministry Ignatius declared such believers to be deviant and thus not patterned on the Jesus, the Father or the apostles.

Although the innovation of this threefold pattern of ministry may not have been an innovation created by Ignatius, he advocates for it in particularly strong tones and to the exclusion of any other pattern. Moreover, within this three-level scheme he argues for the exaltation of the role of the bishop to a degree that appears to be more prominent than that reflected in other Christian texts of the period, or earlier³⁸. The consistent advocacy of this threefold pattern of ministry differs from what is envisaged in the Pauline letters. Among those letters that are typically considered to be authentic Paul does not tend to address individuals or even a smaller subset of the community as the authority figures. Thus Thompson can conclude his study on leadership in the Pauline churches by noting that “[t]he undisputed letters of Paul give little indication of the emergence of the ecclesiastical offices that are evident in the Pastoral Epistles and the literature of the next generation”³⁹. While Dunn sees the development of institutional offices as described in the Pastoral Epistles as a typical routinisation of the charisma familiar in new religious movements, nonetheless he sees that development as being in line with the Pauline heritage. However, Dunn argues that while Paul envisaged his communities as spirit-led charismatic entities, alongside this “[l]eadership did emerge”⁴⁰. According to Dunn, this is seen with named individuals such as Stephanus and his household, as well as Fortunatus and Achaicus (1 Cor 16,15-18). The leadership role of such figures is seen when Paul instructs the Corinthians that they should “be in subjection to such men and to everyone who helps in the work” (1 Cor 16,16). As Dunn states, this is “an appeal for the charismatic authority of their actions to be acknowledged. The initiatives they had taken and the hard work they had displayed were so obviously good that their lead should

38. While Schoedel assumes that the threefold pattern of ministry must have been widely the norm among Christian communities, he does see the focus on the episcopal office as due to Ignatius’ own concerns and perspectives. Thus he states, “[i]t is only his exaltation of the role of the bishop that sometimes strikes us as going beyond what was commonly accepted”. SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 142.

39. J.W. THOMPSON, *The Church according to Paul: Rediscovering the Community Conformed to Christ*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, 2014, p. 241.

40. J.D.G. DUNN, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 1998, p. 584.

be followed”⁴¹. This perspective is obviously different from the set and hierarchically structured pattern of leadership found in the writings of Ignatius.

What Ignatius describes is more noticeably akin to the pattern of leadership outlined in the Pastoral Epistles. In the letters to Timothy and the letter to Titus at various points the three terms ἐπισκοπή/ ἐπίσκοπος⁴², πρεσβύτερος⁴³, and διάκονος⁴⁴, are all used to designate leadership roles in the contexts being addressed. While the use of the terms overlaps with the terms employed in the letters of Ignatius, the two sets of terms are not used in identical ways. Trebilco argues that in the Pastoral Epistles the terms ἐπισκοπή and πρεσβύτερος do not refer to two discrete roles, but are alternative and overlapping ways of referring to a leadership role, although the terms are not coterminous. From this viewpoint he argues that the term πρεσβύτερος is used in two senses. First, it originally designated “senior members” of the community, a meaning found in 1 Tim 5,1. This was a group of people who were not necessarily the leaders with the requisite skills laid out in the Pastoral Epistles⁴⁵. Second, there are ruling presbyters. Trebilco argues, “that the ‘presbyters’ who according to 1 Tim 5:17-19 are to rule well and teach are the same group as the ‘overseers’ in 1 Tim 3”⁴⁶. Therefore, Trebilco envisages only two leadership groups in the Pastoral Epistles, but described using three terms. These leadership groups are the “presbyter-elders” and the “deacons”. If Trebilco’s analysis is correct, this reveals a marked difference from the threefold pattern in the writings of Ignatius. If Trebilco were not correct, then it is still the case that the roles attributed to the leadership offices in the Pastoral Epistles are loosely defined and fall short of the authority ascribed in particular to the ἐπισκοπή in the letters of Ignatius. Therefore, the Pastoral Epistles reflect some kind of medial position in regard to the leadership structures in early Christian communities in comparison to the charismatic roles described in the authentic Pauline letters and the more hierarchically structured system of church governance envisaged in the letters of Ignatius. However, despite the development reflected in the Pastoral Epistles in comparison with the authentic or earlier letters of Paul, they do not display the same level of development found in

41. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

42. 1 Tim 3,1,2; Tit 1,7.

43. 1 Tim 4,14; 5,1,2,17,19; Tit 1,5.

44. 1 Tim 1,12; 3,8,10,12,13; 4,6; 2 Tim 4,5,11.

45. P. TREBILCO, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (WUNT, 166), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2004, p. 453.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 455.

the writings of Ignatius. Consequently, the letters of Ignatius portray a marked development in the structure of church leadership in comparison to all phases of the Pauline writings.

3. *The Eucharist in the Middle Recension*

Within the middle recension there is also a marked development in the theological understanding of the eucharist in comparison with the ideas expressed in the gospels and the Pauline letters. In many ways Ignatius' eucharistic thought should be considered to be one of his fundamental and lasting contributions to a Christian theology of the eucharist. The ideas that he expressed, although admittedly undergoing development and refinement in the thought of later Christian writers, were without doubt foundational for those theological reflections of subsequent generations.

Within the New Testament, broadly speaking there are two inter-linked strands of eucharistic traditions. The first is the description of Jesus' Last Supper as recorded in the synoptic gospels (Matt 26,26-29// Mark 14,22-25//Luke 22,14-20). Although there are some important differences, the Markan and Matthean are broadly similar. Also, as is well known, the Lukan account is more divergent with the most striking feature being the use of two cups, one before (Luke 22,17) and one after (Luke 22,20) the breaking of bread (Luke 22,19)⁴⁷. The second strand of eucharistic tradition is found in the Pauline letters (1 Cor 11,23-26).

Within the synoptic accounts the meal is shared as part of the Passover ritual. Thus in Matthew's Gospel, Jesus instructs his disciples to find a certain man and to inform him "I am to keep the Passover at your house with my disciples" (Matt 26,18). Similarly in Luke's Gospel immediately prior to the sharing of the first cup, the Lukan Jesus declares, "I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (Luke 22,15). As Fitzmyer notes, "[t]he Synoptic evangelists present that Last Supper as a Passover meal (Mark 14:1-2,12-17; Luke 22:1,7-14; Matt 26:2,5,17-20), and Luke more pronouncedly than the others"⁴⁸. Within the synoptic tradition, the dominical saying identifies the bread with Jesus' body (Mark 14,22) and the wine with Jesus' blood. Moreover, the blood is further denoted as being covenantal in some sense and also representative, "this is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many" (Mark 14,24). Matthew glosses Jesus' words over

47. The Western text, principally represented in Codex Bezae, deletes the second cup in Luke 22,20. This shorter form is one of the so-called Western non-interpolations.

48. J.A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* (AB, 28A), New York, Doubleday, 1985, p. 1378.

the cup to clarify that the blood poured out is “for forgiveness of sins” (Matt 26,28). Thus Matthew introduces more clearly the notion of blood poured out as a sacrificial and atoning act. The theme of the forgiving of sins is prominent in Matthew’s Gospel. Luz comments on the centrality of that theme by noting that,

For Matthew the forgiveness of sins stands at the center of Jesus’ mission. Even his name indicated that he will save his people from their sins (1:21). ... Once again we see here that the words of interpretation on the breaking of the bread and the cup are not merely parables that explain; they are a word of promise that permits the churches in the ritual of eating and drinking to share in the saving power of Jesus’ death⁴⁹.

However, the words “for forgiveness of sins” are also climactic within the gospel narrative. This redactional phrase unique to Matthew’s account, “underlines that the death of Jesus is soteriological, a deliverance from slavery to sin. The same words are omitted from 3.2 diff. Mk 1.4 ... Matthew saves them for association with the covenant made through Jesus’ sacrificial death”⁵⁰. Therefore, in the synoptic tradition the bread and the wine of the Passover meal are seen as representing, in some symbolic sense, the body and blood of Christ. Moreover, the blood of Christ which is figuratively represented by the Passover wine is seen as covenantal, it is representative in that it is offered on behalf of many, and according to Matthew it is soteriological in that it brings about forgiveness of sins.

By contrast, in the Pauline account of the Last Supper the Passover link is not explicit. However, elsewhere in 1 Corinthians the Passover association with Christ is preserved, “for Christ our Passover has been sacrificed” (1 Cor 5,7). In common with the synoptic tradition, Paul makes the equation between the bread and the wine as representing the body and blood of Christ (1 Cor 11,24-25). Paul describes the words of institution over the bread as stating, “this is my body, which is for you” (1 Cor 11,24). In a fairly undefined sense the body of Christ, which the bread represents, is seen as benefitting the Corinthian believers and as being offered on their behalf⁵¹. Paul also presents the shared meal of bread and wine as being carried out in remembrance of Jesus. However,

49. U. LUZ, *Matthew 21–28* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2005, p. 381.

50. W.D. DAVIES – D.C. ALLISON, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (ICC), vol. 3, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1997, p. 474.

51. Fee interprets this verse with even more precise theological significance. He states, “Paul surely understands this language regarding the bread as referring to Jesus’ body as given in death ‘in behalf of/in place of’ those who are now eating at the table”. G.D. FEE, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (The New International Commentary on the New Testament), rev. ed., Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2014, p. 610.

he notion of “remembrance” transcends simple recall. As Fitzmyer notes, “[i]t is not merely a recollection of Jesus and what he did at his supper, but a representing of him and a *re-enactment of his acts* at the Last Supper for the conscious awareness of the Christians at Roman Corinth”⁵². Perhaps in a similar way, the statement that participation in the eucharistic meal means that one “proclaims the Lord’s death until he comes again” (1 Cor 11,26) entails more than historical memory. The eucharist connects Christ’s first coming with his second coming, by making Jesus present and empoweringly active among those who participate in the eucharistic meal⁵³.

In the New Testament, there is some theological reflection on the significance of the eucharist. However, despite the theological weight placed on both the synoptic accounts and the Pauline tradition, the theological inferences drawn by later authors and the explicit interpretations they provide are slight. The Paschal links are more prominent in the synoptic tradition. By contrast, the ideas of remembrance and proleptic preparation for the Parousia are key elements in the Pauline understanding of the eucharist.

In distinction to the minimal theological reflection to be found in the New Testament on the significance of the Last Supper, in the writings of Ignatius one finds a more developed theological understanding of the eucharist. In fact, this theological development is one of Ignatius’ key theological contributions to the larger development of Christian thought. As Löhr observes,

The Ignatian letters show a concept of the Christian meal celebration called “Thanksgiving” (εὐχαριστία) developed beyond that of the New Testament writings. The term (as in Did 9.1, 5) is to be understood as a metonym for the entire celebration. The letters also speak of “breaking-bread” (IgnEph 20.2), or simply of “God’s bread” (IgnEph 5.2; IgnRom 7.3)⁵⁴.

Therefore, in Ignatius’ writings, theological perspectives on the eucharist coalesce with his thought on ecclesiology and episcopacy. It is in the collective ecclesial gathering, overseen by the bishop, that the eucharistic meal is to be celebrated, and it is within that context according to Ignatius that the theological significance of the ritual meal is actualised. As

52. J.A. FITZMYER, *First Corinthians* (Anchor Yale Bible, 32), New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 441.

53. As Barrett observes, “[t]he church as it met round the supper table would form a living link between the beginning at the end of the interim between the two comings of the Lord”. C.K. BARRETT, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Black’s New Testament Commentary), London, A&C Black, ²1971, p. 271.

54. LÖHR, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 28), p. 108.

Schoedel states, “[t]he eucharist is the center of worship for Ignatius (cf. *Eph.* 5.2; 13.1; *Phd.* 4; *Smyr.* 7.1; 8.1) and serves as the focus for the sense of saving power in the Christian community (cf. *Eph.* 20.2)”⁵⁵.

Discussing episcopal authority and leadership in his *Letter to the Ephesians*, Ignatius declares that anyone who is not in fellowship with the local bishop actually “lacks the bread of God” (Ign., *Eph.* 5.2). Here Ignatius links the concept of unity with the bishop to that of the efficacy of the eucharistic. It appears that behind this rhetoric Ignatius is calling into question the validity of the eucharistic meals of his opponents who did not recognise the authority of the local bishop. In a striking passage Ignatius attributes curative spiritual power to the eucharistic elements. He declares the act of “breaking one bread” to be “the medicine of immortality, the antidote we take in order not to die but to live forever in Jesus Christ” (Ign., *Eph.* 20.2). For Ignatius the antithesis of death is not simply life, but life in Jesus Christ. Therefore the eucharist is not simply a remedy against mortality, but it facilitates participation in the life of Jesus. While the related images of medicine and antidote suggest a mystical (if not even a magical) aspect within the healing imagery, the thought is perhaps more involved than simply asserting that partaking of the eucharist is a protective against mortality⁵⁶.

The protective aspect of the eucharist appears to be in Ignatius’ thought when he addresses the Trallians. In a somewhat fleeting aside Ignatius comments, “you, therefore, must arm yourselves with gentleness and regain your strength in faith (which is the flesh of the Lord) and in love (which is the blood of Jesus Christ)” (Ign., *Trall.* 8.1). The references to “the flesh of the Lord” and “the blood of Jesus Christ” in combination naturally evoke eucharistic perspectives. Here Ignatius declares “strength in faith” to be equivalent to “the flesh of the Lord”, and “love” as equivalent to “the blood of Jesus Christ”. He does not, however, explain the basis for these suggestive equivalencies that he presents. In many ways, Ignatius’ simply presents these pairs alongside each other as striking juxtapositions, without the need to explain the basis of the linkage⁵⁷. A similar metaphor, or juxtaposition of bread and wine with other theological claims, occurs in the *Letter to the Romans*. In this context Ignatius states that “I want the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ who is of the seed of David; and for drink I want his

55. SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 21.

56. According to Schoedel the imagery in this description “is generally taken to support a very ‘realistic’ (if not ‘magical’) conception of the sacrament”. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

blood, which is incorruptible love” (Ign., *Rom.* 7,3). Here the focus appears more on another of Ignatius’ key theological concerns, rather than developing his eucharistic thought. That concern is arguing against a docetic Christology. This is achieved by equating the bread of God, with the flesh of Christ which in turn is identified with the Christ being from the seed of David. Hence the bread of God language affords Ignatius another opportunity to affirm the reality of Jesus’ Davidic descent and thus to present the reality of the incarnation.

Writing to the Philadelphians, Ignatius again presents his concerns over unity in Christian communities. He sees that unity being achieved in a twofold manner – by participating in the “one eucharist”, and submitting oneself to the threefold ministry of bishop, presbyters and deacons. Thus he warns the Philadelphians:

Take care, therefore, to participate in one eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup that leads to unity through his blood; there is one altar, just as there is one bishop, together with the council of presbyters and the deacons, my fellow servants), in order that whatever you do, you do it in accordance with God (Ign., *Philad.* 4,1).

Almost incidentally, Ignatius makes a number of affirmations concerning the eucharist. Although the bread is not explicitly mentioned, implicitly it is identified with the “flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ” and the eucharistic is explicitly seen as the container of the blood of Christ. The eucharist is to be celebrated in accordance with God, which as the parenthetical comment suggests is achieved when the eucharist is celebrated under the sanction of the local bishop. Thus as Vall observes, “Ignatius ties the eucharist very closely to the episcopal ministry”⁵⁸.

However, it is in the letter to the Smyrnaeans that the theology of the eucharist comes to the fore, and it is presented as a dividing issue between Ignatius and those whom he accuses of holding “heretical opinions about the grace of Jesus Christ”. These opponents are accused of refusing to participate in the eucharist because of their docetic Christology. Thus Ignatius declares, “[t]hey abstain from the eucharist and prayer because they refuse to acknowledge that the eucharist is the flesh of our saviour Jesus Christ” (Ign., *Smyr.* 6,2). In this key passage Ignatius unambiguously declares the eucharist to be the flesh of Christ, and concludes that his opponents refuse to participate in the eucharistic meals conducted by the local bishop because they deny the reality of the incarnation or enfleshment of Christ. Therefore, in this context “identifying

58. VALL, *Learning Christ* (n. 36), p. 306.

the eucharistic flesh with Jesus' historical flesh"⁵⁹, Ignatius insists "on the strongest possible bond between the paschal mystery and the church's sacramental life"⁶⁰. Again it is in *Smyrnaeans* that the strongest statement is provided between the link of episcopal authority and the validity of the eucharistic meal. Ignatius states, "only that eucharist which is under the authority of the bishop (or whomever he himself designates) is to be considered valid" (Ign., *Smyr.* 8,1).

Therefore, in the writings of Ignatius it is possible to trace a marked development and shift in eucharistic thought in comparison with the same topic as articulated in the New Testament. In the synoptic gospels the links with the Jewish Passover meal are far more prominent. By contrast, in Ignatius this aspect has disappeared. Moreover, the Pauline perspective that the eucharist is both preparation for and anticipation of the Parousia are also absent in Ignatian thought. For Ignatius, the eucharist is the central sacramental demonstration of the reality of Christ's incarnation, and hence it rebuts the claims of his docetic opponents and explains their refusal to participate in the eucharistic meal. The reality of Christ's flesh in the eucharist, according to Ignatius, negates their claims that Christ's human appearance was only a mere semblance. Furthermore, the refusal to participate in a valid eucharist under the authority of the local bishop demonstrates the opponents' refusal to accept the divinely ordered structure of the church in the pattern of bishops, presbyters and deacons. These are marked developments in theology from those eucharistic ideas to be found in the New Testament. Moreover, the ideas on the eucharist that occur in Ignatius' writings are foundational for subsequent developments in regard to eucharistic theology at least till the time of the Reformation.

Numerous theological developments are present in the middle recension, or earliest form of the letters of Ignatius in comparison with perspectives contained in the Pauline epistles, the synoptic gospels and the Johannine writings. In relation to eucharistic ideas, Ignatius' writing presents ways of viewing the eucharist that are markedly different from the embryonic reflections contained in the accounts of the Last Supper and Paul's description of the eucharist⁶¹. Even more significantly, the

59. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

60. *Ibid.*

61. There have been attempts to find continuity between perspectives contained in the New Testament on the eucharist and the theological reflections of Ignatius. In this vein Pitre argues in relation to John 6,53-55 that Jesus' words about eating his flesh and drinking his blood as the vehicle for resurrection and eternal life are aligned with Ignatius' description of the bread and wine as "the medicine of immortality" (Ign., *Eph.* 20,2). Thus

ideas that Ignatius expresses around the eucharist became highly influential and formed the basis for much Christian theology on the sacramental nature of the eucharist. In relation to christological statements, Ignatius' unambiguous affirmations of the divinity of Christ go beyond anything found explicitly in the Pauline letters, although there may be some closer theological alignment with Thomas' confession in John 20,28. Similarly, Ignatius' description of leadership roles shares some of the terminology found, in particular, in the Pastoral Epistles. However, the fixed threefold hierarchical pattern of leadership is an obvious development in comparison with anything found in the corpus of Pauline writings. Therefore, in the middle recension one may detect clear examples of theological development in important areas of Christian thought in comparison with ideas on the same topics to be found in writings from the Jesus movement that were written a generation or two prior to Ignatius.

IV. THE THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS OF THE LONG RECENSION

Remarkably little work has been undertaken on the long recension of the letters of Ignatius in its own right. Typically the discussion has focused on the relationship of the long recension to the other forms of the letter collection, with primary focus on demonstrating that the long recension is later than, and dependent upon the middle recension. Although Hannah argued that the long recension in the form of the interpolated versions of the seven letters of the middle recension came into existence in the second century (AD 135-155) as a response to Gnosticism⁶², this position is not defensible. As has been argued by others, and will be shown more fully below, the theological concerns of the long recension of Ignatius' letters reflect the theological disputes of the second half of the fourth century. Specifically, the christological perspectives contained

Pitre argues, "Jesus' teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum stands in continuity with the thought of Ignatius of Antioch. ... We have here a textbook case of the teaching of Jesus in Capernaum being translated from an early Jewish key into the language of a more developed Gentile Christianity". B. PITRE, *Jesus and the Last Supper*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2016, pp. 426-427. Apart from the apparent conclusion that the Johannine discourse in John 6,53-55 represents the teachings of Jesus in Capernaum, it should also be noted that an actual eucharist is absent from the fourth gospel. Moreover, the points of verbal contact between the fourth gospel and Ignatius' comments on the eucharist, in particular as the "medicine of immortality" are low. Therefore, it is difficult to detect the type of continuity that Pitre sees between the Gospel of John and the letters of Ignatius in regard to the eucharistic thought.

62. HANNAH, *The Setting of the Ignatian Long Recension* (n. 12).

in the long recension align with ultra-Arianism of the type found after the dissolution of the Nicene consensus. In particular, the christological viewpoints articulated by proponents of this extreme Arianism survive in the works of Eunomius, and to a lesser extent in the literary remains of works by Aëtius, and by Thallus⁶³.

The key claim of the extreme Arians, which brought adherents of this party into conflict with the then dominant semi-Arians, was there repudiation of the idea that the Son was of “like” (*homoiousia*) nature with the Father. The writings of Aëtius, the prime instigator of ultra-Arianism, on the topic of the incarnation survive in quotation or excerpts contained in the writings of his opponents. Epiphanius cites an isolated saying of Aëtius in the following form, “The Ingenerate [unbegotten] cannot be like the Generate [begotten]. Indeed they differ in name, the one is ‘ingenerate’, and the other, ‘generate’”⁶⁴. This perspective, centring upon the fundamental difference between the natures of the Father and the Son, was the intractable point of division between the semi-Arians and the ultra-Arians. During the second half of the fourth century the inability of both parties to find a compromise between their views resulted in decades of bitter polemic. Ultimately, this led to reciprocal condemnations being issued. The semi-Arians condemned the ultra-Arians at the Council of Seleucia (359), and subsequently the ultra-Arians denounced the semi-Arians at the Council of Constantinople (360), and again at the Council of Antioch (360/361). The latter council held at Antioch demonstrates the strength of the ultra-Arian party in that location. It is possible that this might account, at least in part, for the reason for recasting the letters of Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, to transform his Christology into one that provided support for the ultra-Arian christological views. By doing this, it both created an ancient pedigree for ultra-Arian views, and moreover it established Antioch as a place where the doctrine of the difference between the natures of the Father and the Son had been preserved since the beginnings of Christianity in one of the most prominent sees of the church.

63. There is some dispute concerning the correct terminology to name this group. The terms “Anomoenism” or “Anhomoian” were preferred by Simonetti. See M. SIMONETTI, *La Crisi Ariana nel IV Secolo* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 11), Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1975. However, Hanson prefers the term “Neo-Arian” because as he argues “Anhomoian” “is incorrect because the Neo-Arians on several occasions repudiated the view that the Son was, without qualification, ‘unlike (*anhomoios*) the Father’: this was an insulting label given to them by their opponents”. R.P.C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1988, p. 598.

64. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 76,6,1. Trans. F. WILLIAMS, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*. Books II and III: *De Fide* (NHMS, 79), 2nd, rev. ed., Leiden, Brill, 2013, p. 516.

1. *Christological Perspectives of the Long Recension*

Without any shadow of doubt, it is the christological perspectives of the long recension of the letters of Ignatius that reflect the most thoroughgoing theological concern both in the interpolated passages added to the seven letters of the middle recension, and also in the text of the additional letters. Here that theological perspective will be illustrated in the seven interpolated letters by presenting both the form of the long and middle recensions synoptically. This will, perhaps, provide the most striking examples of the handiwork and the theological concerns of the compositor of the long recension. However, the thoroughgoing and sustained nature of these christological concerns will be further illustrated by citing passages from the additional letters (which obviously are unparalleled in the middle recension) in order to show how those same perspectives are carried over into the supplementary epistles that stand as part of the long recension stemming from the same author.

Turning to a number of Ignatius’ semi-credal statements, it is immediately apparent how affirmations that attribute divinity to Jesus are removed or are radically rewritten. Moreover, there is a marked desire to show that Jesus was of a different οὐσία from the Father. Furthermore, within the long recension it is affirmed that while the λόγος existed before time, the Son was not co-eternal with the Father, and therefore was separable in nature and consequently distinguishable in substance from the Father who alone was the only true God.

Ign., <i>Eph.</i> 7,2 Middle Recension	Ign., <i>Eph.</i> 7,2 Long Recension
There is only one physician, who is both of flesh and spirit, both born and unborn, God in man, true life in death, both from Mary and from God; first subject to suffering and then beyond it, Jesus Christ our Lord.	But our Physician is the only true God, the unbegotten and unapproachable, the Lord of all, the Father and Begetter of the only-begotten Son. We have also as a Physician the Lord our God, Jesus the Christ, the only-begotten Son and Word, before time began, but who afterwards became also man, of Mary the virgin. For “the word was made flesh”. Being incorporeal, He was in the body; being impassible, He was in a passible body; being immortal, He was in a mortal body; being life, He became subject to corruption, that He might free our souls from death and corruption, and heal them, and might restore them to health, when they were diseased with ungodliness and wicked lusts.

There are some primary observations that are helpful in relation to the differences between the middle and long recensions. First, the long recension is more than triple the length of the middle recension. The long recension also cites the fourth gospel “the word was made flesh” (John 1,14), whereas the Gospel of John is never cited in the middle recension of the Ignatian letters⁶⁵.

In terms of the key medical image, whereas the middle recension declares there to be “only one physician” and identifies “Jesus Christ our Lord” as that person, the long recension makes a different and dual identification. The physician is “the only true God ... the Father”. However, there is another who also serves as physician “the Lord our God, Jesus the Christ, the only-begotten Son and Word”. Therefore, the metaphor is changed from the image of one physician to that of two. While the Father, who is the primary physician, is described as “the only true God”, Jesus can nonetheless be described as “the Lord our God”. This does not cohere with the perspectives in the middle recension for this ascription of divinity is relativised through other qualifications in the semi-credal material of the long recension. The one described as “Son and Word” is “only-begotten”, but not in Nicene formulation eternally begotten. While affirming that he exists before time, the statement steers away from declaring him to be co-eternal with the Father. By affirming that the Son was begotten before time, the statement in the long recension avoids the crude notion of the Son being begotten at a point in time. Such ideas were attributed to Arius by those who wrote against him. Thus Socrates of Constantinople cites Arius as teaching, “[i]f the Father begat the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of existence: and from this it is evident, that there was a time when the Son was not” (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1,5)⁶⁶. Such a perspective is reported as the key error of Arius in multiple sources. Thus Alexander in his *Deposition of Arius*, lists Arius as the head of the list of the apostates, and attributes to him “novelties contrary to the scriptures” which include the following description of the Son, the Word of God:

65. It has been argued that for the middle recension “Ignatius’ use of the Fourth Gospel cannot be established with any degree of certainty”. P. FOSTER, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament*, in A.F. GREGORY – C.M. TUCKETT (eds.), *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, 159-186, p. 175. For the contrary point of view see C.E. HILL, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, esp. pp. 427-441.

66. Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, trans. A.C. ZENOS, in P. SCHAFF – H. WALLACE (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 2, Buffalo, NY, Christian Literature Publishing Co, 1890.

The Word of God was not always, but originated from things that were not; for God that is, has made him that was not, of that which was not; wherefore there was a time when He was not; for the Son is a creature and a work. Neither is He like in essence to the Father; neither is He the true and natural Word of the Father; neither is He His true Wisdom; but He is one of the things made and created, and is called the Word and Wisdom by an abuse of terms, since He Himself originated by the proper Word of God, and by the Wisdom that is in God, by which God has made not only all other things but Him also. Wherefore He is by nature subject to change and variation as are all rational creatures. And the Word is foreign from the essence of the Father, and is alien and separated therefrom. And the Father cannot be described by the Son, for the Word does not know the Father perfectly and accurately, neither can He see Him perfectly. Moreover, the Son knows not His own essence as it really is; for He is made for us, that God might create us by Him, as by an instrument; and He would not have existed, had not God wished to create us (Alexander, *Deposition of Arius*)⁶⁷.

Therefore, the rewritten material in the first semi-credal statement of the long recension of Ignatius' *Letter to the Ephesians* (Ign., *Eph.* 7,2) does avoid the crudeness and the temporal limitation placed on the existence of the Word in the statements attributed to Arius in texts such as Alexander's *Deposition of Arius*. However, while stating that the Word existed before time, and even affirming that Jesus could be designated by believers as "the Lord our God", there is a clear tendency to separate the Son's duration of existence (albeit outside of time) from that of the Father, and to separate the Son from the Father so that the incarnation of the Son could not transmit the corruption of being in the flesh back to the Father, who was understood to incorruptible because the substance of his being was beyond subjection to corruptibility. However, the statement affirms that the Son was like the Father in respect of them both acting as a physician for believers. Thus the Son was able to mediate the work of the Father to believers. However, according to the long form of this semi credal statement the Son was not eternally begotten, and hence was not co-eternal with the Father⁶⁸.

In the additional letters contained in the long recension, the christological views of the ultra-Arians find fuller expression. Thus, building on Ignatius' anti-docetic rhetoric, the *Letter to the Tarsians* has Ignatius condemning the idea that Jesus is divine, an idea which one finds articulated clearly in the authentic letters. In *Tarsians*, the editor attributes the following words to Ignatius.

67. See Alexander, *The Deposition of Arius*, trans. M. ATKINSON (rev. A. ROBERTSON), in P. SCHAFF – H. WALLACE (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 4, Buffalo, NY, Christian Literature Publishing Co, 1892, pp. 68-72.

68. See HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (n. 63), p. 634.

I have learned that certain of the ministers of Satan have wished to disturb you, some of them asserting that Jesus was born only in appearance, was crucified in appearance; others that he is not the Son of the creator, and others that he is himself God over all (Ign., *Tarsians* 2,1).

The editor skilfully presents in rapid sequence a number of statements that either Ignatius could have written against docetic opponents, or that represent opinions rejected by both Arian and Nicene Christians. Then as the climax to this sequence, the editor presents Ignatius as rejecting a view that stands at the heart of the christological views that the ultra-Arians rejected. Yet even here, the editor has presented the view of his opponents in an extreme form. He alludes to a group who state of the Son, "that he is himself God over all". This representation of Nicene Christology presents a potential confusion between the person of the Son and the Father in such a fashion that makes the perspective akin to the theologically suspect views of modalism.

2. *Ecclesiology and Episcopacy in the Long Recension*

In regard to church structures and leadership patterns and roles, there is much shared ground between the perspectives of Ignatius contained in the middle recension of his letters, and those of the editor of the long recension of the Ignatian corpus. The editor does provide a few additional theological reflections on the nature of the threefold pattern of ecclesial leadership, but in essence the long recension upholds Ignatius' perspective of this topic.

Ign., <i>Trall.</i> 2,2-3 Middle Recension	Ign., <i>Trall.</i> 2,2-3 Long Recension
It is essential, therefore, that you continue your current practice and do nothing without the bishop, but be subject also to the council of the presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ ... Furthermore, it is necessary that those who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ please everyone in every respect. For they are not merely deacons of food and drink, but ministers of God's church.	It is essential, therefore, that you continue your current practice and do nothing without the bishop, but be subject also to the council of the presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ ... Furthermore, it is fitting also, that in every way to please the deacons who are deacons of the mysteries of Christ Jesus. For they are not merely deacons of food and drink, but ministers of God's church.

Thus, here one sees only minor changes in wording. In this way the long recension largely adheres to Ignatius' own perspectives on the pattern and functions of the three offices of ministry.

Notwithstanding this, within some of the additional letters of the long recension, the perspective on the various ecclesial leadership roles appears to reflect a more fully developed understanding of the functions of these offices, than is present in the descriptions of those roles as described in the middle recension. For example, in the letter addressed to the deacon Hero, the editor of the long recension has Ignatius instruct Hero in the following manner:

Do nothing without the bishops; for they are priests, and you are a servant of the priests. They baptise, offer sacrifice, ordain, and lay on hands; but you minister to them, as the holy Stephen did at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters. Do not neglect the sacred meetings; inquire after every one by name. Let no man despise your youth, but be an example to believers both in word and deed (Ign., *Hero* 3,1).

The opening injunction resonates with instructions Ignatius gives in the authentic epistles of the middle recension⁶⁹. However, after this, the contents betray a later period and reflect a more developed understanding of leadership roles. Bishops are called priests, and a list of sacred duties is given. The offering of sacrifice most likely reflects a sacrificial understanding of the eucharist. Deacons are more explicitly seen as subservient to the bishop and to the presbyters. The role of deacon appears to involve taking an attendance register in the regular meetings, something not mentioned in the middle recension of the letters of Ignatius.

Therefore, there is no concern to contradict or correct Ignatius' theological perspectives on ecclesiology and episcopacy as contained in the middle recension. Notwithstanding this, there are some anachronistic descriptions of the functions of these ecclesial roles, which reveal that the perspectives expressed do not originate from the first half of the second century, but from a significantly later period.

3. *Eucharistic Thought in the Long Recension*

While the long recension has been recognised as deviating from the christological perspectives articulated in the middle recension of Ignatius' letters, little attention has been focused on the way the eucharistic thought of the middle recension is handled and evolves in the long recension⁷⁰. In order to consider Ignatius' eucharistic thought in the long

69. See Ign., *Magn.* 7,1. "So you must do nothing without the bishop and the presbyters".

70. One partial consideration of this issue was discussed in a recent SBL paper. T. FLEMMING, *The Meal in the Letters of Ignatius: Textual Variants as Evidence for Transforming Practice and Theology*, SBL Annual Meeting, Denver, CO, 17 Nov 2018,

recension it is again helpful to place passages from the interpolated forms of the seven letters of the long recension in parallel with the relevant passages in the middle recension. In *Philadelphians*, the eucharistic material as it is rewritten in the long recension is modified in two major ways. First, it is recast in such a manner that it is no longer presented as protective advice against the deviant practices of opponents. Second, it is expanded in such a way that there is more specificity in regard to the actual performance and practice of the eucharist.

Ign., <i>Philad.</i> 4,1 Middle Recension	Ign., <i>Philad.</i> 4,1 Long Recension
Take care, therefore, to participate in one eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup that leads to unity through his blood; there is one altar, just as there is one bishop, together with the council of presbyters and the deacons, my fellow servants), in order that whatever you do, you do it in accordance with God.	I have confidence of you in the Lord, that you will be of no other mind. Therefore I write boldly to your love, which is worthy of God, and exhort you to have but one faith, and one [kind of] preaching, and one eucharist. For there is one flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ; and his blood which was shed for us is one; one loaf also is broken to all [the communicants], and one cup is distributed among them all: there is but one altar for the whole church, and one bishop, with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants.

Both passages contain references to the threefold pattern of ministry, and both make use of the “one flesh” and “one cup” language. However, the tenor and purpose of the two passages is strikingly different. In the middle recension the key theme is that of participation in the one

in the Meals in the Greco-Roman World section, 1:00-3:30pm. The abstract from Flemming’s paper stated: “The Letters of Ignatius have a particularly complex textual history as they exist in three different recensions of varying length, theological profile, and historical background. Most scholarship has tended to focus on the supposedly ‘original’ middle recension, whose rich metaphorical language has often been interpreted as referring to a Christian meal in which bread and wine were consumed as flesh and blood of Christ. Such ‘realistic’ readings have been challenged in recent studies (e.g. HEILMANN, 2014) which highlight the complex function of the used imagery in their argumentative contexts. Textual variations between individual manuscripts and recensions, however, point towards the fact that the understanding of the Letters’ metaphorical language indeed changed over time and against the backdrop of a transforming ritual practice and meal theology. By applying the working hypothesis of the network ‘Mahl und Text’ to selected passages in the Letters of Ignatius which – at least in some recensions and manuscripts – deal with the Christian meal, the proposed paper aims at making some of these diachronic developments visible”.

eucharistic ritual, albeit carried out under the auspices of the local bishop. For Ignatius, this is in itself a test of unity. This discussion of the eucharist as a test of unity builds carefully on the progression of thought in the middle recension of Ignatius' *Letter to the Philadelphians*. Hence, Ignatius' thinking builds on the immediately preceding material, where he notes that "if any follows a schismatic, he does not inherit the kingdom of God. If any hold to an alien view, they disassociate themselves from the passion" (Ign., *Philad.* 3,3, middle recension). The long recension, however, breaks or alters the logic of this argument by rewriting the second warning in more general terms as "if any man does not stand aloof from the preacher of falsehood, he shall be condemned to hell" (Ign., *Philad.* 3,3, long recension). By not concluding with the reference to the "passion" the transition to the eucharistic language of the flesh and the cup is weakened. Additionally, in the long recension, the editor continues with a lengthy tirade which does reprise the reference to the passion. Thus in a loosely connected manner he states, "if one walks according to strange opinion, he is not of Christ, nor a partaker of his passion" (Ign., *Philad.* 3,3, long recension). As is apparent, in this new literary form the focus does not centre on the passion or on eucharistic ideas. Instead, citing LXX Ps 119,21 the focus falls upon "hating those that hate God". Consequently, the transition to the topic of the eucharist in Ign., *Philad.* 4,1, long recension, is abrupt, and is less concerned with the theological idea of the eucharist being a focal point of unity. Instead, the author is more interested in the praxis with the use of one loaf and one cup of which all partake, and the theological affirmation of "one altar for the whole church" (Ign., *Philad.* 4,1, long recension).

Ignatius' statement in the middle recension of the *Letter to the Romans* that "I want the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ who is of the seed of David; and for drink I want his blood, which is incorruptible love" (Ign., *Rom.* 7,3)⁷¹, is largely identical with the form in the long recension, but there are a couple of alterations designed to make the passage fit with ultra-Arian perspectives.

71. For a fuller discussion of this passage in the middle recension see SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), pp. 185-186.

Ign., <i>Rom.</i> 7,3 Middle Recension	Ign., <i>Rom.</i> 7,3 Long Recension
ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἶμα αὐτοῦ ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἁφθαρτος. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.	ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἶμα αὐτοῦ ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἁφθαρτος. I desire the bread of God the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.

Here the addition, in the form of the two extra phrases in the long recension, is at a literary level a slight and subtle change. However, theologically it is of fundamental significance for those wishing to espouse an ultra-Arian Christology. The middle recension equates the bread of God as being the flesh of Jesus Christ, who was incarnate and born as a descendant of David. Such phraseology aligns with the Nicene affirmation that Christ was, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, “of the same substance as the Father”. While this statement formally became part of the Nicene creed at the Council of Constantinople in 381, such language stood at the centre of the dispute between those who held to a Nicene Christology, and those who questioned this formulation either from a semi-Arian or from an ultra-Arian perspective. The formulation contained in the long recension subtly makes it possible to see “Ignatius” affirming two different substances, the bread of God which is the heavenly bread and the flesh of Jesus which is the bread of life. Therefore, when eucharistic language has christological implications that appear to support Nicene perspectives, then the editor of the long recension is apt to change the phrasing. Here the change in wording is relatively minor in comparison with other examples. However, it opens the possibility of a distinction between the heavenly bread of God, and the bread of life which is the flesh of Christ.

Similarly, in a passage in the middle recension where Ignatius unambiguously declares the eucharist to be Jesus’ flesh and to have salvific power that is linked to the Father’s work through the Son, the long recension simply deletes the statement and replaces it with a completely different statement. In the middle recension, Ignatius states “[t]hey abstain from the eucharist and prayer because they refuse to acknowledge that the eucharist is the flesh of our saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for

our sins, and which the Father by his goodness raised up again" (Ign., *Smyr.* 6,2, middle recension). By contrast, the editor of the long recension describes those who propagate docetic ideas as those who,

are ashamed of the cross; they mock at the passion; they make a jest of the resurrection. They are the offspring of that spirit who is the author of all evil, who led Adam, by means of his wife, to transgress the commandment, who slew Abel by the hands of Cain, who fought against Job, who was the accuser of Joshua the son of Josedech, who sought to sift the faith of the apostles, who stirred up the multitude of the Jews against the Lord, who also now work in the children of disobedience; from whom the Lord Jesus Christ will deliver us, who prayed that the faith of the apostles might not fail, not because he was not able of himself to preserve it, but because he rejoiced in the pre-eminence of the Father. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and neither in private nor in public to talk with them; but to give heed to the law, and the prophets, and to those who have preached to you the word of salvation. But flee from all abominable heresies, and those that cause schisms, as the beginning of evils (Ign., *Smyr.* 7,1, long recension)⁷².

Apart from removing any connection between the flesh of Christ and the salvific work of the Father, the new text also portrays Jesus as praying on behalf of the apostles to the Father, because Jesus himself recognises and rejoices in "the pre-eminence of the Father". Therefore, once again, the long recension modifies the eucharistic language of Ignatius' letters at key points when that eucharistic language has christological implications that might be seen as lending weight to Nicene viewpoints.

V. THE THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE LONG RECENSION

The second phase, or later expansion of the long recension consists of four additional letters. Three of these letters purport to be written by Ignatius. Two are addressed to John, a third is addressed to the virgin Mary by Ignatius, and the final letter of this group is a reply from Mary to Ignatius. These letters are only known from Latin manuscripts. There is no evidence that they ever existed in Greek. Consequently they are best understood as later Latin compositions that post-date the other six additional letters in the thirteen (or twelve) letter form of the long recension.

72. The section divisions differ between the middle and long recensions at this point. Notwithstanding this, the end of Ign., *Smyr.* 6,2 (middle recension) parallels Ign., *Smyr.* 7,1 (long recension).

Lightfoot dates these additional letters very broadly, drawing upon general theological concerns and the poor quality of the literary work which they exhibit in their contents. He states,

As the motive is obviously the desire to do honour to the Virgin, we are naturally led to connect this forgery with the outburst of Mariolatry, which marked the eleventh and following centuries. The workmanship is coarse and clumsy, and could only have escaped detection in an uncritical age⁷³.

While Lightfoot's suggestion is reasonable, it is perhaps not the case that interest in Mary was inconsequential prior to the eleventh century in the Latin speaking church. Therefore a closer consideration of these four short letters is necessary before there can be an attempt to fix their date, or to characterise the theological concerns of this corpus of four additional epistles.

In the first letter from Ignatius addressed to John he declares that many of the women in his own community "desire to see Mary the mother of Jesus, and wish daily to run off from us to you, that they may meet her and touch those breasts which nourished the Lord Jesus, and may enquire of her in regard to some rather secret matters" (Ign., *First Epistle to John*). In this letter, Ignatius states that he has received information from people who had contact with Mary in Jerusalem. A certain Salome, perhaps the figure named among Mark's group of women visitors to the tomb (Mark 15,40; 16,1), is described as having stayed with Mary for five months. According to her account and that of others, Mary "is full of all graces after the manner of a virgin, fruitful in virtue and grace" (Ign., *First Epistle to John*). Moreover, Mary is depicted as rejoicing in the face of afflictions, which include persecution, penury, and returning gratitude to those who injure her. In all these characteristics "she shines forth gloriously as contending in the fight of the faith". Furthermore, the letter describes Mary as,

the lady of our new religion and repentance, and the handmaiden among the faithful or all works of piety. She is indeed devoted to the humble, and she humbles herself more devotedly than the devoted, and is wonderfully magnified by all, while at the same time she suffers detraction from the scribes and the Pharisees ... there is in Mary the mother of Jesus an angelic purity of nature allied with the nature of humanity (Ign., *First Epistle to John*).

There is little doubt that such statements reflect a heightened veneration of Mary. Notwithstanding this, the statements lack specificity that would fix the time of composition of this letter. It is almost certainly the

73. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 235.

case that such Marian focus is simply reflective of the period after the Council of Ephesus in 431, with its adoption of the *Theotokos* title. However, there are several periods when such Marian devotion grew in intensity⁷⁴. For instance, the emergence of Marian devotion in the eighth century in Latin liturgical forms such as *The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, and in Latin chants such as *Ave Maris Stella*⁷⁵, reflects a period of fertile Marian reflection in the West. As much of this Marian piety was developed and practiced in monastic settings, it is possible to entertain the idea that copying and reworking of Ignatius' letters took place in the same context. It is perhaps striking, though coincidental, that this flowing of Marian piety in the eighth century employs the imagery of a star, which can first be found even among the authentic writings of Ignatius.

Now the virginity of Mary and her giving birth were hidden from the ruler of this age, as was also the death of the Lord – three mysteries to be loudly proclaimed, yet which accomplished in the silence of God. How, then, were they revealed to the ages? A star shone forth in heaven brighter than all the stars; its light was indescribable and its strangeness caused amazement (Ign., *Eph.* 19,1-2, middle recension).

It is not being suggested that Ignatius is in this context equating the reference to the shining star with Mary. Rather, only that he uses stellar imagery in close connection with a comment on the virginity of Mary, as one of the profound mysteries that were accomplished in the silence of God⁷⁶.

Also in the eighth century, Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730) composed an influential homily on the dormition of Mary, that argued that Mary's perpetual virginity transformed her physical being into an incorruptible state, that meant she could not be confined in a tomb. In tones replete with heightened fervour and devotion directed towards Mary, Germanus writes "your virginal body is utterly holy, utterly pure,

74. Following the Council of Ephesus one sees, for instance, a flowering of Marian traditions pertaining to the dormition and assumption of the Virgin. Thus Shoemaker observes "these legends found such great appeal during the period from 450 to 600".

S.J. SHOEMAKER, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 1.

75. This chant is a plainsong chant addressed to Mary as part of the office of Vespers. Its origin is typically traced to the eighth century. The earliest extant texts are typically dated to the ninth century: Codex Vindob. 387, fol. 2v; a Carolingian ms. of *De ordine ac positione stellarum in signis* dated in a colophon to 818.

76. Schoedel provides the most plausible understanding of the imagery when he states that, "[t]he star of Matt 2:1-12, then, still presents the parallel most relevant to *Eph.* 19.2. But Ignatius reaches back to a more mythological version of the account". SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 92.

truly the dwelling place of God, and because of this it endures and does not know earthly dissolution" (Germanus, *Homily on the Dormition* 1). Therefore, both in the east and in the west, during the eighth century one finds an environment where Marian piety receives new interest and expression. It is at least equally possible, albeit beyond proof, that the second phase of the long recension of the letters of Ignatius may have been composed during this period, rather than during the eleventh century⁷⁷.

These observations show that attempts to chronologically place these varied and non-specific Marian references do not provide a secure basis for dating the four additional letters to the period of the eleventh century. That date is, of course, not impossible. However, it is difficult to fix any specific date. Perhaps the only factor in favour of an earlier date might be the fluidity and imprecision of some of the Marian language. Additionally, some of the classic later Marian titles, such as "Queen of heaven", are lacking in the four additional letters. However, yet again, this absence provides very slender evidence for the purpose of dating.

In the second letter addressed to John, Ignatius expresses his desire for John to grant him permission to visit Jerusalem that he might meet Mary and other leading figures in the Jesus movement residing in the city. Ignatius explains his desire to meet Mary in the following terms: "who would not rejoice to behold and to address her who bore the true God from her own womb" (Ign., *Second Epistle to John*). The striking thing here is that unlike the extreme Arian Christology of the first phase of the long recension with its avoidance of attributing the language of divinity to Jesus, here there is a reversal of that theological concern. Jesus, the son of Mary can, without qualification or concern, be described as "the true God". The author of this Latin letter apparently did not recognise the ultra-Arian Christology of the first phase of the long recension, and simply makes a statement that aligns with the Christology of the middle recension and with Nicene perspectives. This may reflect a period when Christian writers were no longer attuned to the nuances of the christological debates of the fourth century.

Among the notable people Ignatius wished to meet in Jerusalem, he mentions by name James the Just. By tradition, this James was the brother of Jesus as described in Mark's Gospel (Mark 6,3) and other early Christian texts. The notion of Jesus having biological siblings was a challenge for belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary. To this end a number of theories were advanced such as seeing the "brothers" and

77. *Contra* LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 235.

“sisters” as half-siblings by a former marriage of Joseph⁷⁸, or even as cousins⁷⁹. The former theory has been associated with the fourth-century figure, Epiphanius of Salamis⁸⁰. However, it is particularly prominent in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, which was likely composed in the seventh century, and was a Latin re-writing of the traditions from the *Protevangeliium of James*.

The second letter of Ignatius to John performs some contortions in describing both the similarity of James to Jesus, while also maintaining biological distance in order to uphold the perpetual virginity of Mary. The letter states the wish to meet with James, and has Ignatius report what he has heard of this figure, “whom they relate to be very like Christ Jesus in appearance, in life, and in method of conduct, as if he were a twin-brother of the same womb. They say that, if I see him, I see also Jesus himself, as to all the features and aspect of his body” (Ign., *Second Epistle to John*).

While the letter comments upon James’ remarkable resemblance to Jesus to the extent that they could be taken to be twins, it emphasises that this similarity was only superficial and not due to common parenthood: “as if he were a twin-brother of the same womb”. Since the gospel story presents Jesus as a unique first-born (Luke 2,7) and a non-twin child, and the letter to John explains away the resemblance as only apparently biological, it negates any claim that James was biologically a sibling of Jesus. This is more an implication of the text, rather than a direct statement. However, in this regard it retrojects this specific observation concerning James’ remarkable similarity in comparison with Jesus into a text that purports to be written while James is still alive (before AD 62), and simultaneously removes any claim that James was “of the same womb” of Jesus. This concern could feasibly have emerged at any point from the late second century onwards. However, the fact that this same issue is being addressed in Latin Christianity in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* in the seventh century, may reveal that it is possible that around this date the four Latin letters of Ignatius were composed. This would also cohere with what was noted to be a period of rising Marian piety in the seventh and eighth centuries.

78. The theory that the siblings were step-brothers and step-sisters from a former marriage of the now widower Joseph is clearly articulated in the *Protevangeliium of James*, where Joseph attempts to refuse marriage to Mary by stating “I have sons and am an old man” (*Prot. Jas* 9,2). For a discussion see P. FOSTER, *The Protevangeliium of James*, in ID. (ed.), *The Non-Canonical Gospels*, London, T&T Clark, 2008, 110-125.

79. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 29,3,9.

80. Eusebius reports Hegesippus as describing the so-called brothers as cousins. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4,22,4.

In both of its two phases the long recension of the letters of Ignatius contains theological motivated developments. In the initial phase of the long recension, which came into existence during the second half of the fourth century, there is clear tendency both in the re-writing of the seven letters of the middle recension and in the perspectives of the additional letters to provide christological statements that resonate strongly with the position of ultra-Arian theology. Thus the first phase of the long recension is a thoroughgoing theological development of the middle recension, which is made to promote the christological perspective that aligns for instance with views promoted by the ultra-Arians.

The second phase of the long recension is more difficult to fix chronologically, although it was suggested that Lightfoot's preference for the eleventh century as an outburst of Marian piety is not the only plausible possibility. Consequently, albeit tentatively, it was noted that Marian piety was also prominent in the eighth century, and that this might be an alternative possibility. It was noted that in a highly transparent fashion the second phase of the long recension promotes increased devotion to the Virgin Mary, and retrojects such piety into the context of the early second century through the creation of four additional Latin letters that were added to the Ignatian corpus.

VI. THE SYRIAC SHORT RECENSION

The short recension of the Ignatian letter corpus is known only in Syriac form. The short recension contains three letters from the middle recension – *Ephesians*, *Romans*, and the letter addressed to *Polycarp*. This recension is known from three Syriac manuscripts housed in the British Museum, which were published by William Cureton in 1845⁸¹. The contents of these three manuscripts may be described as follows:

The earliest of these manuscripts, British Museum Add. 12175, dated to the first half of the sixth century, contained only the *Epistle to Polycarp*. The other two manuscripts, British Museum Add. 14618, dated to the seventh or eighth century, and British Museum Add. 17192, dated to the sixth or seventh century, but by Wright to the tenth century⁸², both contain the *Epistle to Polycarp*, *Ephesians* and *Romans* in that order⁸³.

81. W. CURETON, *The Ancient Syriac Version of Saint Ignatius*, London, Rivington, 1845.

82. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum* (n. 22), p. 778.

83. See FOSTER, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 83.

Cureton argued that this three letter collection represented the authentic corpus of Ignatius' writings. This position was convincingly rebutted by Lightfoot and Zahn, who demonstrated that the short recension was a later abbreviated form or an epitome of the letters of Ignatius. The arguments of Lightfoot⁸⁴ and Zahn⁸⁵ have been strengthened with the discovery of a large manuscript fragment of *Smyr.* 3,3–12,1, which on palaeographical grounds is dated to the fifth century. This discovery undermines one of the key arguments in favour of the originality of the short recension. Namely that the earliest manuscript of the short recension dated to the sixth century, whereas prior to the discovery of P.Berol. 10581 the earliest manuscripts of the middle recension dated to the tenth or eleventh centuries.

Apart from the short recension containing fewer letters in the collection than the middle recension, it also is comprised of shorter forms of the three letters in its corpus. For instance, the eight chapter version of the middle recension *Epistle to Polycarp* is almost identical to the Syriac version for the first six chapters. However, the final two chapters of the *Epistle to Polycarp*, replete with personal instructions and greetings is radically abbreviated. The shorter recension excerpts a few phrases, and concludes the letter with the following two sentences, one taken for each of the final two chapters but with the final sentence being modified: "the Christian has not power over himself, but is ready to be subject to God. I salute him who is accounted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged you"⁸⁶. By contrast, Ignatius' letter to the *Ephesians*, the longest letter in the middle and long recensions (21 chapters), is radically truncated to such an extent that both the *Epistle to Polycarp* and the *Epistle to the Romans*, which are significantly shorter in the middle and longer recensions are now both of greater length in the short Syriac recension⁸⁷.

It is difficult to detect any theological motivation or conscious selection as being operative in the formation of this shortened three letter corpus. The removal of the personalised notes at the end of each epistle is presumably intended to make the contents more universal in nature⁸⁸.

84. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 246.

85. T. VON ZAHN, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, Perthes, 1893.

86. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 3, p. 88.

87. In the short recension *Polycarp* occupies more than 2 pages of text, *Ephesians* less than two pages, and *Romans* close to three pages. See LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 3, pp. 86-92.

88. The same motivation might be present in the shorter or alternative forms of the letter to the Romans, which lack the final chapter with its long list of greetings. For a full discussion see H.Y. GAMBLE, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 1979.

The selection does not reflect either those letters that address the concerns with Docetism⁸⁹, or alternatively those who promote maintaining Jewish practices⁹⁰. Therefore, the selection of the three epistles has little to do with the polemic that was prominent in the middle recension⁹¹. In fact, the short recension appears to be largely unaware of such disputes. The redactional handiwork of the editor of the short recension is most clearly seen at the end of the *Letter to the Romans* and to a lesser extent at the end of the *Letter to Polycarp*. In both these additions there appears to be a desire to portray Ignatius as calm and resolute in the face of impending martyrdom. The additional comment to this effect is brief in the case of the *Letter to Polycarp*: “the Christian has not power over himself, but is ready to be subject to God” (Ign., *Poly.* short recension). By contrast, the closing comment in *Romans*, a letter already charged with martyrological fervour is much more extensive, and it serves to magnify the concerns around Ignatius’ own martyrdom and provides more generally exhortations on the need to embrace martyrdom as a way of attaining perfection. This passage is drawn from Ign., *Trallians* 4–5, but embedded in the wider martyrological context of the shorter form of the letter to the *Romans*⁹². However, in its new context it reinforces and intensifies the concerns surrounding Ignatius’ impending death.

I know many things in God, but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting; for now it behoves me to fear the more, and not to regard those who puff me up. For they who say to me such things, scourge me; for I love to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For to many zeal is not seen, but with me it has war. I have need therefore of gentleness, by which the ruler of this world is destroyed. I am able to write you heavenly things; but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself; for I am cautious lest you should not be able to bear them, and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am bound, am able to know heavenly things, and the places of the angels, and the station of the powers that are seen and are not seen, on this account I am a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection that is worthy of God. Be perfectly strong in the patience of Jesus Christ our God (Ign., *Rom.* short recension)⁹³.

89. The letters where docetic tendencies are addressed are *Ephesians*, *Smyrnaeans* and *Trallians*. Only *Ephesians* forms part of the Syriac short recension.

90. The critique of believers adopting Judaism as a way of life is most prominent in *Magnesians* and *Philadelphians*. See LÖHR, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 28), p. 111. However, neither of those epistles is part of the short recension.

91. For a fuller discussion see FOSTER, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), pp. 89–93.

92. This is noted briefly by Lightfoot. He simply states, “A fragment of *Trallians* is embedded in *Romans*”. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 234.

93. The translation here is a slightly modernised form of the translation of W. Wright contained in LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 3, p. 92.

A number of themes emerge from this passage. First, this text promotes a quietistic and a non-triumphalistic approach to martyrdom. Second, in this passage Ignatius is portrayed as possessing deep cosmological insights about the “places of the angels” and “the station of the powers”. Yet this is not represented as having produced perfection. It is not possible to determine, on the basis of this brief comment, whether this is an implied criticism of those for whom cosmological knowledge and insight was viewed as the path to perfection. Third, in line with the middle recension, but in contradistinction from the long recension, no qualms are expressed about describing Jesus as divine. This is expressed in the charge to be strong “in the patience of Jesus Christ our God”. This line might be based on the closing lines of the middle recension of the *Letter to Polycarp*, one of the other letters known to the editor of the short recension. In that context Ignatius writes “I bid you farewell always in our God Jesus Christ” (Ign., *Poly.* 8,3)⁹⁴. However, it should be noted that there is no reference to the theme of patience in that context.

Overall, the Syriac short recension does not reflect the same level of theological development in regard to the middle recension as was discernible in the long recension. It may simply be that the short recension was a recasting of perhaps the only three letters of Ignatius known to its editor. If that was the case, then the literary concerns may have been no more than to universalise the contents by removing the personal greetings, and to provide a slight emphasis on a non-triumphalistic approach to martyrdom. One might wish to speculate that this was in response to the martyrological cults, but the letters of the short recension simply do not provide sufficient evidence for that to be a certain conclusion.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has presented multiple periods of theological development within the Ignatian corpus of writings, and also within the several forms of the collection various theological concerns are apparent – many of which reflect theological evolution in their own right. In line with the general, scholarly consensus it was argued that the middle recension of seven letters of Ignatius was not only the earliest recoverable form of the corpus⁹⁵, moreover, that the middle recension

94. SCHOEDEL, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 11), p. 280.

95. Here the terminology “earliest recoverable form” draws upon recent advances in New Testament textual criticism, which describe the *Ausgangstext* or the “initial text” as

could also be understood as the authentic writings of Ignatius⁹⁶. This supports the standard scholarly understanding, and is based upon a series of arguments that have been marshalled in favour of this position since the late nineteenth century onwards⁹⁷.

Three topics of theology were considered in relation to the middle recension: Christology, ecclesiology and episcopacy, and eucharistic theology. In regard to each of these areas a marked level of theological development was observed in comparison to the theological ideas expressed on the same topics in various writings that later formed the New Testament. The Christology of the middle recension was seen to make more explicit claims declaring the divinity of Jesus. It was noted that Ignatius repeatedly declared Jesus to be God, or our God (cf. Ign., *Eph.* 18,2). In terms of ecclesiology, Ignatius advocates a threefold pattern of leadership in the form of bishops, presbyters and deacons⁹⁸. While the three roles of “bishop/overseer”, “presbyter” and “deacon” are known in various places within the New Testament writings, the threefold pattern in the form Ignatius presents it is not known. Moreover, the figure known as the ἐπίσκοπος is known primarily in earlier writings from the Pastoral Epistles, and it is not typically characteristic of the earlier Pauline letters (although cf. Phil 1,1). However, in regard to the role of the ἐπίσκοπος “bishop”, it was noted that Ignatius presents a much more authoritative and elevated role for this figure, in comparison

being the text form that text critics seek to reconstruct. There is a distinction to be made between an “original text” and the “initial text”, with the latter being the form of text that can be reconstructed from the extant manuscript witnesses. Given the richness and relative primitivity of the New Testament manuscripts the gap between the “initial text” and the “original text” might be small, perhaps for instance in the case of the letter to Philemon. However, with a writing such as the Gospel of John, if scholars are correct that the text underwent various expansions or “editions” prior to the formation of the canonical form of the text (with or without the *Pericopae adulterae*), then it might be less meaningful even to speak of an “original text” of the fourth gospel. For a balanced discussion of the issues at stake in these designations see M.W. HOLMES, *From “Original Text” to “Initial Text”: The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion*, in B.D. EHRLMAN – M.W. HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents, 42), Leiden, Brill, 2013, 637-688.

96. No facile identification is being made that suggests the equivalence of the printed texts such as the standard edition of Ignatius’ letters in HOLMES (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers* (n. 3) with the words that Ignatius actually wrote. Obviously the usually text-critical problems beset the reconstruction of text of the middle recension. In some ways the lateness and limited number of Greek manuscripts for the middle recension of the Ignatian letters present a different set of text-critical issues than is the case with the New Testament manuscript tradition.

97. In particular, see LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers 2* (n. 4), vol. 1, pp. 328-430.

98. SULLIVAN, *From Apostles to Bishops* (n. 37), pp. 103-125.

with New Testament texts such as 1 Tim 3,1-7. Third, in regard to the eucharist, Ignatius was seen to have a different and developed theological understanding. In the gospels the Last Supper is presented largely as a Passover meal, with Jesus identify himself in some way with the elements of bread and wine. In Paul, the eschatological perspective comes to the fore with the Lord's supper seen as providing a connection for believers between the presence of the earthly life of Jesus with his future presence at the Parousia by making Christ "present" in the interim period through participation in the eucharist. However, in Ignatius there is a more explicit identification between the elements of bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ. Ignatius then "weaponises" this theological perspective to confront and attack his opponents who hold a docetic Christology⁹⁹.

It was argued that the long recension of Ignatius' letters was a product of the second half of the fourth century, and this form of the corpus was edited from an ultra-Arian perspective. The editor systematically removes any aspect of Ignatius' language that appears to suggest that Jesus was co-eternal or consubstantial with the Father. This radical rewriting did not only effect christological passages, but it impinged on Ignatius' eucharistic statements as contained in the middle recension when the language suggested equality between the God as bread of heaven and Jesus' physical flesh (Ign., *Rom.* 7,3), or when the Father's soteriological involvement was too closely tied to the eucharistic presence of Christ in a way that might be taken to comprise ultra-Arian christological perspectives (Ign., *Smyr.* 6,2, middle recension; Ign., *Smyr.* 7,1 long recension).

The Syriac short recension was seen to be largely motivated by literary factors, rather than being the expression of theological motivations. It was noted that this three letter form of the corpus might be due to the fact that only those three letters were available to the editor of the short recension. The shorter forms of those three letters was often the result of removing personal details or greetings at the end of the letters. It was suggested that this was the result of a desire to make the letters more universal and enduring in scope. Alongside these more obvious motivations, it was suggested that there was a possible concern with the correct attitude to martyrdom and that the long addition at the end of the short form of the *Letter of the Romans* may reflect this concern.

The authentic writings of Ignatius are a window into several innovative and creative theological developments. These developments might reflect a line of continuous, but otherwise unevidenced developments from the

99. LÖHR, *The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 28), pp. 110-111.

theological perspectives contained in several of the writings of the New Testament, between the decades of the writing of the Pauline epistles and the gospels until the writing of the Ignatian letters. Alternatively, some of them may emerge from that creative but personally destructive crucible of impending martyrdom that refined and crystallised Ignatius' thought. Perhaps the most likely scenario is that both factors were at play. It is fascinating that the writings of Ignatius remained a site of theological controversy and development nearly three centuries later when the views of the ultra-Arians re-emerged during the second half of the fourth century¹⁰⁰. It has been suggested that Antioch was one of the theological centres for this articulation of extreme Arian Christology. As such, there may have been a desire to claim Ignatius, through a re-writing of his letters, as one who guaranteed the antiquity of such perspectives. In many ways, at least in the radical rewriting of the Ignatian corpus, the ultra-Arians were successful. While their views were officially condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381, nobody in later generations seemed to notice that their christological perspectives were written large in the long recension of the letters of Ignatius. If the extant manuscript provides a good guide, then from the late antique period and throughout the medieval period, the long recension dominated, both in the Greek form of the text and in the prevalence of Latin versional manuscripts¹⁰¹. In fact, the first printed form of Ignatius' letters that appeared in Latin in 1498 published twelve of the letters of the long recension, with the omission of the *Letter of Mary of Cassobola* to Ignatius¹⁰².

In this way, the letters of Ignatius have had a formative and continuing influence on the theology of the Christian church in ways that are often unrecognised. This influence is perhaps surprising given the situational nature of the initial seven letters and the fact that they were written during a time of immense psychological stress¹⁰³. The theological ideas in the authentic letters and the theological debates and ideas those writings generated in their later forms perhaps attest to the power of this often controversial figure, who, like his letters, saw that his journey to Rome was not an end in itself but instead reflected his own process of becoming

100. Gilliam concludes his monograph with the observation that "Ignatius of Antioch was one battleground upon which proponents of pro-Nicene and non-Nicene Christologies faced off". P.R. GILLIAM, *Ignatius of Antioch and the Arian Controversy* (VigChrSup, 140), Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 228.

101. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* 2 (n. 4), vol. 1, pp. 109-134.

102. J. FABER STAPULENSIS (ed.), *Ignatii Undecim Epistole*, Paris, 1498.

103. See P. FOSTER, *Christ and the Apostles in the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch*, in M. GRUNDEKEN – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Early Christian Communities between Ideal and Real* (WUNT, II/342), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015, 109-126, see p. 110.

and evolving as a disciple of Jesus. It is to Ignatius that the last words should be given – maybe these are words he would have been happy to address to those who read, interpreted and transmitted his writings in ways that he considered faithful to his theological ideas. However, given his fiery rhetoric and bitter polemic, one suspects he would not have issued such irenic words to those who re-wrote his letters in ways of which he might not have approved. However, Ignatius may have been happy to know that his theological ideas were generative and developmental and would become part of a larger body of Christian theology that was indebted to his ideas, but nonetheless was still in the process of become something greater than what was expressed in those formative ideas alone. So perhaps his theology, like his discipleship, was subject to a process of evolution or development. Therefore, perhaps Ignatius would have been willing to say of his theology what he stated in regard to his discipleship, “For now I begin to be a disciple, and I speak to you as fellow-disciples with me” (Ign., *Eph.* 3,1).

School of Divinity
University of Edinburgh
Mound Place
Edinburgh EH1 2LX
UK
paul.foster@ed.ac.uk

Paul FOSTER

1 AND 2 CLEMENT

I. 1 CLEMENT

Precisely where/when the text known as *1 Clement* should be placed within early Christian history is uncertain and raises many possibly unanswerable questions. It is almost universally agreed that the text belongs in the period prior to 150 CE (see below on references to the “letter” by church fathers). It is also widely agreed that the manuscript evidence is too late and (like so many non-canonical texts) too sparse to provide very much concrete help in this respect.

Manuscripts containing the text, either in the (presumed) original Greek or in translation, are very few. The Greek text is contained in Codex Alexandrinus (A) from the fifth century and in the minuscule Codex Hierosolymitanus (H) from the eleventh century. A Latin translation of the text appears in an eleventh century codex, giving a text which may go back to the second century. Two Coptic translations of the text survive, one from the fourth or fifth century (containing most of the text, though missing 34,6–42,2), one from the ?fifth century (with many lacunae). There is also an eighth-century MS containing a Syriac translation of the text. All the manuscripts are clearly later than all suggested dates for the text and hence provide no useful evidence to enable a more precise date to be assigned.

However, within the history of scholarship, uncertainty about the date of *1 Clement* was by no means the normal view. On the contrary, until relatively recently it was widely believed that the date of *1 Clement* could be established within very precise limits as one of the most secure fixed points in the chronology of earliest Christianity: the letter was sent by the church in Rome to the church in Corinth towards the end, or just after, the persecutions of the church under Domitian. Domitian died in September 96 CE; hence the letter can be dated to the mid 90s CE (c. 94-97 CE)¹. The main evidence for this comes from the opening

1. See J.B. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers*. Part 1: *S. Clement of Rome*, 2 vols., London, Macmillan, 1890, vol. 1, pp. 346-358; R. KNOPF, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: Die zwei Clemensbriefe* (HNT. Ergänzungsband), Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1920, pp. 43-44; L.W. BARNARD, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1966, pp. 10-12. More recent commentators are more cautious about the connection with alleged persecutions under Domitian (see below), but still date the letter in the

statement where the writer says that he has delayed writing “because of the sudden and repeated misfortunes and calamities we have experienced” (Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις: *1 Clem* 1,1)². This is then often coupled with the words of the writer in 7,1, immediately after the references to the severe sufferings endured by the faithful, including the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul (chs. 5–6), “we are in the same arena and the same contest is set before us”. The deaths of Peter and Paul, usually taken to have occurred during the persecutions under Nero, are part of the past; the next great persecution was generally taken to be under Domitian.

Various other pieces of circumstantial evidence are widely regarded as confirming this picture. The date is confirmed by the evidence of Eusebius who ascribes the letter to a “Clement” (*Hist. Eccl.* 3,16) whom he says became the third bishop of Rome (after Linus and Anacletus) in the time of Domitian, and the wider context makes it clear that Eusebius regards the letter of Clement, responding to a dissension in Corinth, as coming from this time. Eusebius also claims support (at least in general terms) here from the witness of Hegesippus (c. 150 CE) and Dionysius (c. 160 CE)³. Further, more indirect (and perhaps less precise) pieces of evidence confirms this picture:

(a) The general picture of church “offices” and/or authority figures in the church has evidently developed more from the time of Paul in that there are now “elders” (πρεσβύτεροι) and perhaps “bishops” (ἐπίσκοποι). However, it would seem that “elders” and “bishops” are overlapping (if not identical) categories (cf. 44,4-5), and one has not yet reached the stage of a monarchical episcopate which seems to be firmly presupposed

90s CE: see e.g. A. LINDEMANN, *Die Clemensbriefe* (HNT, 17), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1992, p. 12; H.E. LONA, *Der erste Clemensbrief* (KAV, 2), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, pp. 77-78; C.N. JEFFORD – K.J. HARDER – L.D. AMEZAGA, *Reading the Apostolic Fathers: An Introduction*, Peabody, MA, Hendrickson, 1996, p. 104.

2. English translation from K. Lake’s Loeb edition of 1912. Throughout this paper, I presume that the authors of both *1 Clement* and *2 Clement* were male (and hence refer to them as “he” rather than using gender inclusive language). This seems extremely likely given the general social conditions of the ancient world where most authors of texts were male.

3. According to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4,22, Hegesippus wrote about the letter of Clement, and elsewhere he says that Hegesippus attested to a dispute in the church at Corinth about this time (*Hist. Eccl.* 3,16). Further, according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4,23, Dionysius wrote to another bishop named Soter, citing parts of the letter from Clement and saying that the letter was read from time to time in the assembly. The precise details of any line of succession in the bishops of Rome down to and including Clement are less clear with various discrepancies between different authors.

and established in the letters of Ignatius (c. 110 CE). A date in the mid 90s for *1 Clement* fits this general picture well⁴.

(b) The church in Corinth is called “ancient” (47,6: ἀρχαίαν), which would again fit with a date at the end of the first century (possibly later still, but an earlier date would not fit so well).

(c) The language of 44,2-3 suggests that presbyters were appointed by the original apostles, and they in turn have appointed further presbyters. This seems to indicate that the letter stems from a third-generation of leaders within the Christian church.

(d) The emissaries from Rome are said to have lived blamelessly “from youth to old age” (63,3), which again would fit well with a date in the last decade of the first century CE.

However, a lot of these considerations are very vague and imprecise: they do not firmly fix the date of the letter in the mid-90s CE, as a number of scholars have recently observed⁵. The witnesses of Hegesippus and Dionysius do not relate the writing of the letter to the time of Domitian clearly. They do testify to the existence of the letter in their own time as relatively well established and known, which shows that the letter was already in existence by c. 140 CE. But one cannot say much more with any certainty on the basis of this evidence. Considerations of the development of ecclesiastical offices are probably not reliable as determining any date with precision. It is true that the situation presupposed in the letters of Ignatius (with a three-fold hierarchical structure of bishop, priests and deacons apparently presupposed as firmly established) seems to be significantly more “advanced” than that in *1 Clement*; but one cannot necessarily posit a rigid, uniform line of development which was followed everywhere in early Christianity in exactly the same way at exactly the same time. And in any case the date of Ignatius’ letters is now disputed. Similarly, the language of e.g. the church at Corinth being “ancient” shows nothing very precise.

4. The state of development in church offices is regarded as strong evidence for the dating question by LINDEMANN, *Clemensbriefe* (n. 1), p. 12.

5. See L.L. WELBORN, *The Preface to 1 Clement: The Rhetorical Situation and the Traditional Date*, in C. BREYTENBACH – L.L. WELBORN (eds.), *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement* (AGAJU, 53), Leiden, Brill, 2004, 197-216, p. 200; K. ERLEMANN, *Die Datierung des ersten Klemensbriefes – Anfragen an eine Communis Opinio*, in *NTS* 44 (1998) 591-607, pp. 605-606; A.F. GREGORY, *Disturbing Trajectories: 1 Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas and the Development of Early Roman Christianity*, in P. OAKES (ed.), *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church*, Carlisle, Paternoster, 2002, 142-166.

A few have argued for a rather earlier date for the letter, mostly on the basis of the language in ch. 41, which refers in the present tense to sacrifices taking place in the Jerusalem temple: this, it is argued, could only make sense at a time when the temple was still standing, i.e. before 70 CE. Hence a date during the Neronian persecutions has occasionally been suggested⁶. However, this seems unnecessary, since others writing after 70 can still refer to the temple cult in the present tense⁷. And if the date is shifted so far forward, the general considerations about ecclesiastical offices become more relevant as it is hard to envisage the development which *I Clement* presupposes as having taken place in Rome as early as the late 60s CE.

The most powerful argument about dating, which also leads to the most precise figure for the actual date being proposed, concerns the possible reference to persecution under Domitian in *I Clem* 1,1. Many have then claimed that this enables us to be able to date the letter with far more precision and confidence than any other text from early Christianity⁸. However, in recent years, more and more doubts have been cast on this. The doubts have arisen from two sides: first in relation to the internal evidence of *I Clement* itself, and second in relation to the external evidence about the historicity of a possible Domitianic persecution.

In relation to the internal evidence, the focus has been on the language actually used by “Clement” in the opening remark. He refers here to συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, translated in earlier editions as “misfortunes and calamities” (cf. above). However, more recent studies have shown that the nouns used here are much less specific, perhaps not even negative at all, but simply refer to “events” and/or “circumstances”. If the events concerned were threatening or negative, then the nouns would need further qualification to make this clear⁹. Hence the more recent

6. See e.g. J.A.T. ROBINSON, *Redating the New Testament*, London, SCM, 1976, pp. 327-335; T.J. HERRON, *The Most Probable Date of the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, in E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Patristica 21: Second Century, Tertullian to Nicaea in the West, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, Athanasius*, Leuven, Peeters, 1989, 106-121; others cited in LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), p. 76.

7. See e.g. LIGHTFOOT, *Apostolic Fathers 1* (n. 1), vol. 2, pp. 124-125, referring to Josephus (*Ant.* 3,224-257); also J. CARLETON PAGET, *I Clement, Judaism and the Jews*, in *Early Christianity* 8 (2017) 218-250, pp. 238-239, with further references (e.g. Josephus, *Ant.* 3,151-152; *Ap.* 2,73; 2,102-103; also *Barn.* 7 and 8; *Diog.* 3,3-5). The issue of the dating of Hebrews is a well-known conundrum in this context.

8. Cf. O. CULLMANN, *Peter in the New Testament*, London, SCM, 1962, p. 90: “it is the document of ancient Christianity which can be dated with the greatest certainty”. Others cited in WELBORN, *Preface* (n. 5), pp. 200-201.

9. Cf. J. ULRICH, *Euseb. HistEccl III,14-20 und die Frage nach der Christenverfolgung unter Domitian*, in *ZNW* 87 (1996) 269-289, p. 273; WELBORN, *Preface* (n. 5), pp. 202-205.

Loeb translation of Ehrman translates the phrase as “misfortunes and setbacks”, which is much less specific and also less clearly referring to any violent persecution. Further, the reference in 7,1, where “Clement” says that he and his church are also “in the same arena and the same contest is set before us”, need not refer to persecutions either: the language may be simply using the metaphor (widely used by teachers and philosophers) of the athletic contest to refer to the life of commitment of the Christian¹⁰. Thus it is by no means certain that the language actually used by “Clement” refers to any violent persecution at all.

In relation to external evidence, there are now considerable doubts about whether there ever was an outbreak of persecution specifically directed against Christians by Domitian. Although the existence of such an outbreak of persecution is widely attested by later Christian authors, there is very little evidence from non-Christian sources to back this up. Other writers certainly write at times in highly negative terms about Domitian. Suetonius says that “his savage cruelty was not only excessive, but also cunning and sudden” (*Dom.* 11); Dio Cassius that he “was not only bold and quick to anger, but also treacherous and secretive” (67,1). However, none of the non-Christian writers mentions any persecution directed specifically against Christians. Clearly, towards the end of Domitian’s reign, there was an upsurge in violent actions directed against those he saw as his opponents and/or potential rivals. Much is made in Christian sources of the reference to the killing of the consul Flavius Clemens, and the banishment of his wife Flavia Domitilla. In some Christian sources, these two (the wife becomes a niece) are said to be Christians¹¹. However, in Dio Cassius’ account, the charge is one of “atheism, for which many others were also condemned who had drifted into Jewish ways” (67,14). If there is any religious element to the action explicitly, it is in relation to Judaism not Christianity. (What is probably at stake is a possible refusal to acknowledge the emperor’s claim to be “lord and god”.) Suetonius talks of increased pressure on Jews to pay taxes, but again does not mention Christians at all. Certainly Suetonius was not loathe to mention the Christians explicitly, and in highly negative terms, in relation to Nero’s persecution; hence his silence here may be all the more telling. The first clear mention of Domitian as a persecutor of the church occurs in Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) and this is then

10. Cf. LINDEMANN, *Clemensbriefe* (n. 1), p. 44; LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), p. 174. For more general parallels, see C.M. TUCKETT, *2 Clement*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 188, with further literature and examples from antiquity.

11. See especially Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,18.

enthusiastically taken up and repeated by Eusebius and later writers. Part of this is a clear apologetic attempt to show that Christians are good citizens and no threat to any Roman government that is not corrupt. Hence the story line is developed whereby Christians were persecuted only by “bad” emperors (and Nero and Domitian were universally recognised, by non-Christians as well as Christians, as coming into this category). Thus all well-meaning non-Christians will recognise that Christians are no threat¹². It is only “bad” emperors who persecute Christians; “good” ones allow them to live peacefully.

In view of the doubts about the general situation under Domitian, as well as the rather weak references to any possible persecution from within the letter itself, it has become all the more difficult to sustain the traditional argument, dating *1 Clement* very precisely to a small period in time at the end of (or just after) a period of intense persecution of Christians by Domitian in the mid-90s CE.

One other piece of evidence, not used so much in traditional arguments about the date of *1 Clement*, but sometimes used in relation to dating other texts which seem to come from a situation of persecution, relates to the prayer at the end of the letter. Towards the end of the long prayer given in chs. 59–61, “Clement” prays for all those who exercise leadership and authority over others, including it would seem secular authorities.

You have given them, O Master, the authority to rule through your magnificent and indescribable power, that we may both recognize the glory and honor you have given them and subject ourselves to them, resisting nothing that conforms to your will. Give to them, O Lord, health, peace, harmony and stability, so that without faltering they may administer the rule that you have given to them (*1 Clem* 61,1; Loeb translation by Ehrman).

Such sentiments are by no means unique in Christian (and other) writings, but they have often been adduced to show that the writing in question where they occur must have originated in a relatively peaceful context. Thus similar prayers for the well-being of secular authorities in texts such as Rom 13,1-7; 1 Tim 2,2; Tit 3,1; 1 Pet 2,13-17 have been regularly adduced to argue that those texts (or those parts of texts) must have been written at a time when the state authorities were reasonably well disposed (or at worst indifferent) to the Christian movement¹³. However,

12. See ULRICH, *Euseb. HistEccl III,14-20* (n. 9), p. 270; ERLEMANN, *Datierung* (n. 5), pp. 596-597; WELBORN, *Preface* (n. 5), pp. 205-210.

13. The same argument is applied to the more general picture given in Acts, where the state authorities are generally well-disposed (or at worst indifferent: cf. Gallio at Corinth) to Christians.

the argument is probably not a very strong one. The sentiments expressed here simply repeat what many others, both Jews and Christians, said in a wide range of different contexts. For Judaism across a wide timespan, praying for the secular authorities (and indeed offering sacrifices) was widely accepted and practised¹⁴. Alongside this, there was also a constant refrain to the effect that secular power exercised by others was a gift from God, as echoed in *1 Clem* 61,1 too (“You have given them ... the authority to rule”)¹⁵. Yet such sentiments were not directly dependent on the attitude of the secular authority at the time, at least for some. Thus even during the Maccabean revolt, and during the Jewish War of 66-70, views such as this expressing positive attitudes about secular rulers were clearly promulgated (even if disputed by some). So too within early Christianity, similar sentiments recur across a broad spectrum of time and space. Thus in addition to the NT examples cited above, several patristic sources advocate prayer for the ruling authorities, as often as not in a situation where those authorities are clearly hostile and threatening for Christians¹⁶. There is then no clear correlation between positive prayers for the secular authorities and the social setting of the text in which such prayers are found. Thus it seems very unlikely that we can deduce anything very significant about the setting and date of *1 Clement* on the basis of the prayer in chs. 59–61¹⁷.

The final consideration which might help in dating a document such as *1 Clement* concerns the evidence of the use of the text by others and the use of other texts by the author himself.

14. Cf. 2 *Esd* 6,9-10 (LXX); 1 *Macc* 7,33; *Arist.* 45; Josephus, *Bell.* 2,197; 2,408-410; Philo, *Legat.* 157, 317; *Flacc.* 49. See e.g. E. SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 311-312; also M. DIBELIUS – H. CONZELMANN, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1972, pp. 37-38 (on 1 *Tim* 2,2).

15. Cf. *Prov* 8,15-16; *Wis* 6,3; *Sir* 10,4; *Arist.* 224; Josephus, *Bell.* 2,140. See J.D.G. DUNN, *Romans 9–16*, Dallas, TX, Word, 1988, p. 761.

16. See e.g. Polycarp, *Phil.* 12,3; *Mart. Polycarp* 10,2; Justin, *1 Apol.* 17; Theophilus, *Autolycus* 1,11; Tertullian, *Apol.* 30,39 (whilst acknowledging persecution: cf. 35,40). See e.g. P.J. ACHTEMEIER, *1 Peter* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1996, p. 179.

17. See further, LINDEMANN, *Clemensbriefe* (n. 1), pp. 175-176; LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), pp. 619-622.

P. MIKAT, *Die Bedeutung der Begriffe Stasis und Aponoia für das Verständnis des 1. Clemensbriefes* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 155), Köln – Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1969, suggests that the prayer might be explained by the frequent warnings in the text against στάσις and ἀπόνοια (perhaps *sedition* and *dementia* in Latin) which would have been regarded by secular authorities as politically dangerous and to be stamped out violently if necessary. Hence the positive references here to the state authorities would have been in part to try to avoid these consequences of how others might have seen Christian groups.

The clearest evidence of the use of the text of *1 Clement* by another author is provided by Clement of Alexandria. It is widely agreed that Clement uses the text of *1 Clement* (though without acknowledging it as such by explicit introductory formulae): a number of passages in the *Stromateis* show a clear use of the text of *1 Clement*¹⁸. Perhaps more significantly in this context, it is very probable that Polycarp knew the text of *1 Clement*: there are a number of coincidences in wording that make this highly likely, though the exact nature of the kind of knowledge which Polycarp might have had of the text is debated¹⁹. Polycarp's letter would then provide a *terminus ad quem* for the writing of *1 Clement*. Unfortunately Polycarp's letter (or letters) cannot be dated precisely. However, most would date it to before the end of Trajan's reign as Emperor, hence with a *terminus ad quem* of 117 CE²⁰. This in turn would suggest a date no later than 117 for *1 Clement*. More uncertain is whether Ignatius knew *1 Clement*. Some have seen a possible allusion to the letter in Ign., *Rom.* 3,1 "At no times have you been envious of anyone; instead you have taught others", but this is very vague and general. There are one or two other possible links between Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* and *1 Clement*, but most are not specific enough to be certain that Ignatius knew the letter²¹.

Regarding texts which are presupposed by the author of *1 Clement*, there is probably widespread agreement. "Clement" makes extensive use of a wide range of texts from Jewish scripture, citing them freely. He clearly knows too letters from the Pauline corpus, especially Romans and 1 Corinthians; and he probably knows Hebrews as well. He does not show any clear knowledge of the gospel tradition, and indeed makes only passing reference to any kind of Jesus tradition at all²².

18. The evidence is set out fully by LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), pp. 93-104.

19. Many earlier scholars argued that Polycarp knew *1 Clement* "by heart" (or similar), though this is now regarded as less certain: see the discussion of K. BERDING, *Polycarp's Use of 1 Clement: An Assumption Reconsidered*, in *JECS* 19 (2011) 127-139. For a full list of possible allusions, see LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), pp. 91-92. Berding argues that claims that Polycarp knew *1 Clement* "by heart" are probably exaggerated, but still acknowledges that some kind of dependence is implied. The closest parallels he finds are Polycarp, *Phil.* 2,3 // *1 Clem* 13,1-2; Polycarp, *Phil.* 4,2 // *1 Clem* 1,3; Polycarp, *Phil.* 4,2 // *1 Clem* 21,6; Polycarp, *Phil.* 4,3 // *1 Clem* 21,3.

20. See the full discussion, with references, in P. HARTOG, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 40-45.

21. E.g. the reference in the praescript of Ignatius' letter to the Roman church as "preeminent in love" could be seen as an allusion to *1 Clem* 49, but this is not certain. For other possible links, see LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), pp. 89-90.

22. For one detailed discussion (with extensive reference to earlier studies), see A.F. GREGORY, *1 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament*, in

The latter piece of evidence may be slightly more significant than some other data available in relation to the dating (though it cannot provide any precision). The fact that Jesus tradition is appealed to so infrequently in the letter is striking. Certainly the later one goes in early Christianity, the more extensive are the appeals to Jesus traditions (mostly sayings). It is true that the form of Jesus tradition presupposed is not always clear; thus even as late as Justin Martyr, it is not certain if Justin is clearly presupposing and using the synoptic gospels, so that there may well have been other forms of Jesus tradition in circulation. Nevertheless, the paucity of such references in *1 Clement* is striking. In this respect, “Clement” is perhaps more like Paul and/or other NT authors (e.g. the author of Hebrews). But certainly a date for *1 Clement* no later than the end of the first century CE, rather than later into the second century, would fit the evidence well²³. However, as noted above, one cannot be more precise.

We may note too the “Christian” context which is addressed (or not addressed). The letter is in the form of an appeal by the church at Rome (or one or its leaders) to the church at Corinth²⁴. The prime motive for

ID. – C.M. TUCKETT (eds.), *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, 129-157. Knowledge and use of Romans and 1 Corinthians by “Clement” is widely accepted. (For the latter, see especially now C.K. ROTHCHILD, *Reception of First Corinthians in First Clement*, in EAD., *New Essays on the Apostolic Fathers* [WUNT, 375], Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017, 35-60.) The situation regarding Hebrews is less certain. The closest parallel is between *1 Clem* 36 and Hebrews 1; but other parallels between the two texts are less certain. See the discussion in LINDEMANN, *Clemensbriefe* (n. 1), pp. 18-20; GREGORY, *1 Clement*, pp. 152-153; CARLETON PAGET, *1 Clement* (n. 7), p. 245. Jesus tradition is referred to only twice: at 13,1-2 and 46,8. In both instances there are parallels with words found in the synoptics, but it is very hard to find clear evidence that the final version of any synoptic gospel is presupposed here (see GREGORY, *1 Clement*, pp. 131-139, with references to secondary literature). It would seem that “Clement” knows (or at least cites) Jesus tradition in the form of a tradition which overlaps with, but is not clearly identical with, that of the synoptic gospels themselves.

23. However, one cannot say more. A text such as 2 Peter might date from well into the second century, yet it too makes little appeal to Jesus tradition for its argument.

24. For the possibility that both these claims are fictitious, see C.K. ROTHCHILD, *1 Clement as Pseudepigraphon*, in EAD., *New Essays* (n. 22), 61-68. I am unpersuaded: more likely the reference is to the idea that, although both churches are located in the places mentioned at the earthly level, their “true” home is elsewhere (cf. 1 Pet 1,17; 2,11; 2 Clem 5,1 etc.: see LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), pp. 111-112. This possibility is mentioned too by Rothschild). Rothschild’s claim that the letter is seeking to claim Pauline authority (by claiming to replicate a Pauline *situation*, with one Pauline church criticising another Pauline church) seems somewhat strained: a claim for Pauline authority would be far more easily (and clearly) made by an explicit claim to Pauline authorship. Further, if the context implied by the letter itself is unhistorical and the letter dates from a later time, then it is striking that the contents of the letter do not explicitly relate to disputes and issues which dominated later periods of Christian history. Rothschild claims

writing is some kind of rebellion by the Corinthian church against the elders who have been appointed there, apparently arising from some kind of “envy” (or “zeal”) and/or “jealousy”. What is striking is that there is no hint of issues which clearly became dominant in Christian groups and circles and in the middle or late second century. There is no hint that any kind of quasi-“Gnostic” danger has arisen or is being addressed; there is no hint that Marcionite influences have become an issue. The later one dates *1 Clement* into the second century, the more anomalous this would seem to be. Once again a date at the end of the first century seems more likely.

Moreover, there is no hint that the Roman church (or the writer) presumes any kind of special “primacy”, authorising it to address the situation in Corinth in the way it does. The precise reasons for the initiative which the writer takes in addressing the Corinthians are never spelt out in any detail at all. However, any appeal made by the writer is never to any authority claims for himself or his own community vis-à-vis others. Rather, he appeals to his own arguments as developed in the letter, and to texts presumed to be authoritative (above all the texts of Jewish scripture, with also significant appeal to the letters of Paul; as noted above, there is occasional reference to the teaching of Jesus, but perhaps surprisingly little). All this again suggests that one is very far away from any kind of idea of Roman “primacy”; nor does “Clement” himself claim any special privileged, authoritative status for his own person. Whatever the details of the development of Roman “primacy”, or some kind of “papal primacy”, this all seems not to have got going in any identifiable way here²⁵. Once again, this might fit well with a date no later than the end of the first century (though at what point in the second century such a position would cease to be tenable is not clear).

One further feature of the text is however more striking and in some ways more puzzling. This concerns the implied attitude of the author and the text to Jews and Judaism. As noted already “Clement” cites Jewish scripture freely and with not the slightest indication that this might be a controversial thing to do (as if it might be questionable whether the God

(pp. 64-65, n. 22) that the aim of the letter might be anti-Gnostic, with the issue of the expulsion of church leaders related to Gnostic activities, seems also unconvincing: there is little or no clear evidence that the author is addressing issues raised by “Gnostics”, and indeed his extensive appeal to OT scriptures, with the implicit authority of the OT God assumed without any question at all, would scarcely suit a context where precisely that authority might be questioned.

25. See e.g. A. LINDEMANN, *The First Epistle of Clement*, in W. PRATSCHER (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers: An Introduction*, Waco, TX, Baylor University Press, 2010, 47-69, pp. 61-62.

of the “Old Testament” is the same as the God of the Christian gospel). As already noted, issues associated with Marcion and/or Gnosticism do not appear to be anywhere on anyone’s radar screen at all. This is striking in relation to issues which we know became prominent in the second century; but it is equally striking in relation to issues which seem to have been particularly prominent in the middle of the first century at the time of Paul. For all the writer’s clear debt to, and admiration for, Paul’s letters (including Romans), he gives not the slightest hint anywhere that there might be tensions between Christian and Jewish groups. Indeed there is no indication that non-Christian Jewish groups might even exist²⁶. He assumes a line of almost unbroken continuity between the Christian church and Israel (cf. chs. 29–30), with Jacob as the ancestor of Israel and the Christian community; and there is never any real suggestion (so prominent in Paul in Romans, and in Hebrews) of the unsatisfactory nature of the old dispensation (as law in Paul, or an inadequate cult in Hebrews) which has been rectified by the Christ event²⁷. Nor indeed does there appear to be any suggestion that the use of Jewish scripture could be contested by others, e.g. non-Christian Jews²⁸. Any hint of radical doctrinal disagreements within the Christian church, or of a definitive “parting of the ways” with non-Christian Jews, seems far removed from the consciousness of the author.

What this says about the situation and the context of the writer is not at all clear. If the letter does indeed come from the Roman Christian community (and the reference to Rome at the start is not a fiction: see above), then the situation in Rome seems very different from that in Paul’s own day in the mid-50s when it would appear that tensions between Jewish and Gentile Christians within the community were part of the problem which Paul felt obliged to address²⁹. *1 Clement* seems to reflect a situation where such tensions have disappeared almost completely. This may have been because the Christian community had separated almost completely from the Jewish community; alternatively, there may be an element of wilful ignoring of Judaism by Roman Christians³⁰.

26. Cf. A. JAUBERT, *Clément de Rome: Épître aux Corinthiens* (SC, 167), Paris, Cerf, 1971, p. 30: “le peuple juif actuel est comme inexistant”.

27. On this see the full discussion in CARLETON PAGET, *1 Clement* (n. 7).

28. Cf. LONA, *Erste Clemensbrief* (n. 1), p. 47: “Die Rezeption des AT vollzieht sich in I Clem in der Form einer unreflektierten, problemlosen Vereinnahmung ohne jede Spur von Spannung”.

29. The issue is hotly debated! See all the commentaries on Romans for discussion of the issue of the situation in Rome which Paul might be addressing in the letter.

30. See the discussion of the views of scholars of the past such as Harnack in CARLETON PAGET, *1 Clement* (n. 7).

But the almost completely non-polemical way in which Jewish scriptures and traditions are adduced here makes such a theory problematic. Similarly, it is difficult to see a hidden polemical undertone in some of the references to Israel in *1 Clement*, as Verheyden has argued³¹: if this were the case, the polemic is understated massively and the critique has to be read between quite a few lines³². Such negative examples from Jewish history which are adduced here may simply be just that; negative *examples*, in line with the way in which individual examples are often adduced by other Jewish writers without casting the whole of Israelite history in a negative light.

It has been argued recently that the Roman Christian community may have been fragmented, existing in the form of a number of smaller house groups in different locations in the city³³. It may be then that it is wrong to think of “the” Roman church as a single entity, and hence any questions about the continuity between one Roman Christian group and another may be misguided. Nevertheless, the blithe optimism, and bland presumption about the viability and legitimacy of using Jewish traditions and writings as Christian “property” without any justification or defence being apparently regarded as necessary is surprising. In relation to (what is probably) the future, this suggests strongly that the text comes from a time well before Marcion and Marcionite influence became an issue (especially in Rome); but in relation to the past, it also suggests that relatively quite a lot of time may have passed since the time of Paul’s dealings with the Roman church. Once again, a date in the last decade of the first century fits such evidence as we have quite well³⁴.

31. Cf. J. VERHEYDEN, *Israel’s Fate in the Apostolic Fathers: The Case of 1 Clement and the Epistle of Barnabas*, in M. TIWALD (ed.), *Q in Context I: The Separation between the Just and the Unjust in Early Judaism and in the Sayings Source* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 172), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, 237-262.

32. See CARLETON PAGET, *1 Clement* (n. 7), pp. 230-236 for a full discussion.

33. Cf. P. LAMPE, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries*, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2003.

34. In the discussion after this paper was delivered orally at the colloquium at Leuven, it was suggested that perhaps one other factor might be relevant: the frequent appeals for “peace” (εἰρήνη) and “harmony” (ὁμόνοια), widely seen as very characteristic of the language of *1 Clement*, might be more akin to language of imperial propaganda of the early second century CE, and hence might indicate a slightly later date for the letter. It is indeed the case that appeals for “peace” and “harmony” are very widespread in *1 Clement* (cf. e.g. 20,3.9.10.11; 60,4; 63,2). See e.g. W.C. VAN UNNIK, *Studies of the So-Called First Epistle of Clement: The Literary Genre*, in BREYTENBACH – WELBORN, *Encounters with Hellenism* (n. 5), 115-181, pp. 131-151; O.M. BAKKE, “Concord and Peace”: A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition (WUNT, II/143), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2001; MIKAT, *Bedeutung* (n. 17). However, such language, which was thoroughly at home in a political context, had a very

In conclusion, the evidence for the date of the letter remains slightly ambiguous. The old consensus which would date the letter very precisely on the basis of an assumed *Sitz im Leben* during, or immediately after, a period of violent persecution of the Christian church by Domitian, can probably no longer be sustained. The evidence for such an outbreak of persecution will probably not bear the weight of the theory. We must therefore probably abandon the confidence with which people in the past have dated *1 Clement* very precisely to the middle of the final decade of the first century. All the evidence we have is much less precise, and deals with more general considerations, or is connected with other events and/or people whose dating is equally uncertain.

Yet despite these uncertainties, it remains the case that the traditional dating has not been shown to be wrong; and indeed one can say that, even with the more general considerations in mind, a date in the mid-90s may still fit remarkably well. The circumstantial details in the letter mentioned earlier (e.g. the references to the elders as implying a third generation Christian community, with the deaths of Peter and Paul some way in the past) suggests a date towards the end of the first century. The evidence provided by the knowledge and use of *1 Clement* by others (especially Polycarp, possibly Ignatius) suggests again a date no later than c. 120 CE. On the other hand, the lack of very much appeal to Jesus tradition (especially perhaps the lack of clear reference to Matthew's Gospel) suggests a date that is also not too late: certainly a first century date would fit well. Similarly the fact that the letter does not hint at severe ideological issues raised by ideas from "Gnostics", or from Marcionites, would again fit well with a date that is not too late. The supreme confidence with which the letter has been dated in the past is probably unjustified. Nevertheless, it remains the case that the actual date assigned, i.e. the mid-90s CE, still fits the general, more circumstantial evidence available very well indeed. The confidence of arguments from yesteryear may be misguided and not appropriate today; but the result claimed may still be valid.

long history dating back to well before the Christian era and by no means only comes into prominence in the second century CE: see VAN UNNIK, *Studies*, pp. 146-151; BAKKE, "Concord and Peace", pp. 73-79; MIKAT, *Bedeutung*, pp. 30-40, with many examples from a wide range of authors. (Van Unnik suggests that the appeals for "harmony" go back at least to the fifth century BCE; the specific conjunction with "peace" may arise in reactions to the bloody civil wars in the Roman Empire in the first century BCE.) It would thus be hard to appeal to this language in *1 Clement* as having a significant bearing on the date of the letter (and indeed e.g. MIKAT [pp. 11-12], VAN UNNIK [p. 118], and BAKKE [pp. 8-11] all support the traditional date of c. 96 CE).

II. 2 *CLEMENT*

If the attempt to locate *1 Clement* in a precise context within early Christianity is a difficult enterprise, the same applies even more for *2 Clement*. Like its “sister” text, *2 Clement* defies easy categorisation and raises many unsolved (and perhaps insoluble) puzzles³⁵.

As with *1 Clement*, the manuscript evidence tells us very little in this context³⁶. There are just three manuscripts of *2 Clement*, all of them containing the text of *2 Clement* immediately after the text of *1 Clement*: Codex Alexandrinus (A) and Codex Hierosolymitanus (H) in Greek, and one eighth-century Syriac MS. There are no other manuscripts of *2 Clement*. However, almost everyone agrees that the text is to be dated well before the earliest MS attestation, viz. Codex Alexandrinus in the fifth century, so the *terminus ad quem* provided by the evidence of A (the other two MSS being significantly later still) is not very helpful here.

Quotations of the text of *2 Clement* by other authors are rare, occurring mostly in relatively late Syriac writers³⁷. Possible allusions to the text are hard to identify with any certainty. Origen at one point (*Comm. Jo.* 2,34,207) speaks of the prophets teaching “what one ought to think about the Son of God” (ἃ δεῖ φρονεῖν περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ), wording that is similar to *2 Clem* 1,1 “we must think of Jesus Christ as we think of God” (οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ). But the parallel is rather general and by no means exact so the existence of an allusion here is not at all clear. Irenaeus also has one possible allusion to *2 Clement*. In *Adv. haer.* 3,3,3 he gives a summary of what he says he has found in *1 Clement*; and in describing the attributes of God, he adds that God is the one “who has prepared fire for the devil and his angels”. This does not come from *1 Clement* and *might* stem from *2 Clement* (which has a lot on judgement and the threat of fire: cf. 7,6; 16,3; 17,5, though not of the devil and his angels). However, as with the reference in Origen, the parallel is at best somewhat remote.

The text’s existence is attested by Eusebius who refers to a “second letter” ascribed to “Clement” (*Hist. Eccl.* 3,38,4), though he gives no real indication that he knows much of its contents. Similarly Jerome

35. This part of the present essay summarises parts of my edition and commentary on the text (TUCKETT, *2 Clement* [n. 10]).

36. More details *ibid.*, pp. 2-6.

37. *2 Clem* 1,1-2 + 9,5 is quoted in the sixth-century *Florilegium Edessenum*, and 1,1-2 is also quoted by Severus of Antioch (early sixth century). 1,1 + 9,1-5 is quoted in an anonymous collection, the *Excerpta Patrum* (c. seventh century). For details see *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

attests the existence of the text, again referring to it as a “second letter” of “Clement”, though he may be dependent on Eusebius.

The text clearly existed then in the fourth century, and is already linked with *1 Clement*, being seen as the “second” text by the same author (though this is now almost universally regarded as mistaken). But evidently the text did not make a great impact and it was not widely known in any detail (it would seem to have been less well-known than *1 Clement*).

There is nothing comparable to the possible evidence provided by *1 Clem* 1,1 (the *possible* reference to persecution) which would help to date *2 Clement*. The latter lacks any clear reference to any contemporary events. Nevertheless, in many other respects the evidence provided, and the problems posed, by *2 Clement* are very similar in general terms to those provided by *1 Clement*, even if the details differ.

As with *1 Clement*, *2 Clement* is replete with quotations. Indeed they share one notable quotation of an otherwise unknown (probably Jewish) text which they give in almost identical wording (*1 Clem* 23,3-4 = *2 Clem* 11,2-3). Both make extensive use of texts from Jewish scripture (and indeed other Jewish traditions). But just as the quotations of Christian witnesses in *1 Clement* are slightly skewed in content with many references to Paul but very few references to Jesus traditions, *2 Clement* is equally skewed but in the reverse direction: there are many references to Jesus traditions (some of which are paralleled in the canonical gospels), but very few clear references to Paul’s letters. In relation to the latter, “Clement” does refer to the claim that the church is the “body of Christ” (14,2), and in a way that suggests he is citing a tradition. (He immediately goes on to try to interpret it, changing the categories to talk about the “flesh” rather than the “body”, suggesting that the claim about the “body” of Christ is coming to him from an earlier tradition.) But he does not explicitly say that he is quoting anything or anyone, let alone a Pauline letter. He also cites Isa 54,1 and provides a detailed line-by-line exegesis of it, interpreting the two women as (perhaps) two groups, in a way similar to Paul in Galatians 4; but the parallel remains general and there is no direct evidence that “Clement” is aware of Paul’s use of the same text³⁸.

For Christian texts or traditions, the author uses primarily Jesus traditions (or traditions claiming to be such). For traditions with parallels in

38. Pace e.g. C.K. ROTHSCILD, *Two Dispositiones in 2 Clement 2*, in EAD., *New Essays* (n. 22), 125-141, p. 131, who argues that the interpretation of the two women in terms of two groups of people is inexplicable without Pauline influence.

Matthew and/or Luke, it is notable that on some occasions, the writer reflects parallels with redactional elements in those two gospels, thus showing that the text presupposes the finished forms of the gospels: thus 2 *Clement* comes from a post-synoptic era and does not date from an earlier period³⁹. It is also notable that there is no clear reference to, or use of, John's Gospel. (The one exception might be the comment in 9,5 that "Jesus Christ ... was first a spirit and then became flesh" [cf. John 1,14?]. But the words are not marked as a quotation or something said by "the Lord" [the author's most frequent way of signalling a quotation], and the sentiment is extremely general for an early Christian writer, so it is hardly necessary to postulate an explicit reference to John's Gospel.) All this makes a date later in the second century less probable since by then John's Gospel was established as an authoritative source which was widely used; also the lack of appeal to Pauline letters might fit an earlier date as well (though such arguments from silence are inevitably of uncertain value).

As in the case of 1 *Clement*, the author of 2 *Clement* makes no appeal to any kind of "office" which he might hold to give further authority to his appeals to his audience⁴⁰. On the one occasion when the author does refer to himself, he is extremely self-deprecating (see 18,2: "I myself am completely sinful and have not yet fled temptation and am still surrounded by the devil's instruments"). He does not refer to any kind of "office" which he himself occupies. On one occasion he mentions the existence of "elders" (τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) as a group whom "we" might have been exhorted by (17,3). But it is not clear if the author himself belongs to this group. Certainly he makes no claim about his own status as establishing his authority to make the appeal he does to his hearers/readers. Leadership within the Christian communities seems then to be a fairly rudimentary stage, similar to that reflected in 1 *Clement*⁴¹, and certainly a long way removed from the situation presupposed by Ignatius

39. The clearest examples are 2 *Clem* 3,2 // Matt 10,32 (probably MattR of Q), and 2 *Clem* 13,4 // Luke 6,32 (LkR of Q). For a full analysis of the parallels between 2 *Clement* and the canonical gospels, see H. KOESTER, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (TU, 65), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1957, 62-123; A.F. GREGORY – C.M. TUCKETT, 2 *Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament*, in *Id.*, *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (n. 22), 251-292; also the relevant sections of TUCKETT, 2 *Clement* (n. 10).

40. I presume here that the author was male – this is highly likely given the general social conditions of the time.

41. Arguably it might be seen as slightly more rudimentary than in 1 *Clement* where an ἐπισκοπή is mentioned alongside πρεσβύτεροι (44,4-5), though it is unclear how technical this terminology is.

with a three-fold ministry of bishop, priests and deacons. As before, one cannot presuppose a clear unilinear development in the development of church order; but a date some time before the middle of the second century seems likely.

Again in a way similar to *1 Clement*, the position of *2 Clement* in relation to Jews and Judaism is quite surprising. The author of *2 Clement*, as noted already, cites Jewish scriptures extensively. Yet he betrays no awareness at all that these texts might belong to another “faith community” (or at least another, socially distinct, group) as well as his own Christian group. It is assumed as self-evident that the texts from Jewish scripture apply directly and unambiguously to the Christian community/-ies of the present. His uncompromising message generally is about the importance of ethical behaviour in the present and he hammers this home at every opportunity. However, he never appeals to the events of the past in Jewish history. He assumes Jewish monotheism and indeed the fact that God is the creator of the world (cf. 15,2 “God who created us”: on this see further below). Yet he never refers to significant parts of Jewish history such as the Exodus, the giving of the Law on Sinai, or any details of the Genesis creation story. There are general references to the will and the commands of God and/or Christ⁴², but as often as not these are not spelt out in any detail. The author appears to include himself with his addressees in 1,6, claiming that their (common) past life was one of worshipping material idols, language which in the biblical tradition (which seems to be consciously echoed here) refers consistently to non-Jews. Thus for the present, he seems to claim that he has now joined the “Jewish” community. Outsiders to the Christian group are mentioned once – as “Gentiles” (τὰ ἔθνη: 13,2-3). Thus the author presumes that he and his fellow Christians now occupy the place of the Jewish people, quoting their scriptures as their own without any questioning, and adopting many linguistic aspects relating to their identity. But there is not the slightest hint that this is in any way contested, or that others might seek to claim this heritage and/or identity for themselves. As with *1 Clement*, the author of *2 Clement* and his community seems to live in a setting that has no contact at all with Jews and non-Christian Judaism.

The one exception might be a brief reference in ch. 2. Here the author cites Isa 54,1 (unusually without any introductory formula at all: evidently he feels he can assume that the text is well-known enough to his hearers not to have to indicate explicitly that this is a citation). He then

42. For the will of God, see 5,1; 8,4; 9,11; 10,1; 14,1; for the will of Christ, see 6,7. For the commands of God and/or Christ, see 3,4; 4,5; 6,7; 8,4; 17,1.3.6.

proceeds to provide a three-part interpretation of each line of the oracle. In the third part of the interpretation, the words from Isaiah 54 “For the woman who is deserted has more children than the one who has a husband” are interpreted as meaning “our people seemed to have been deserted by God, but now that we who have believed are more in number than those who seem to have God (τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν θεόν)” (2,3). Who or what is in mind in the final reference to “those who seem to have God” has caused considerable debate. The text from Isaiah 54 contrasts two women, one who has been deserted and/or is childless, and one who has a husband. The same text is cited by Paul in Gal 4,27, and interpreted in relation to Sarah and Hagar, the two women by whom Abraham has children, with the children interpreted in relation to present day groups (probably the Christian community and non-Christian Jews, though this is debated). So too in *2 Clement*, the two women represent two community groups, one of which is “our church” (cf. 2,1). What though the other woman, and/or the other contrasting group, might be is not stated. Whether *2 Clement* presupposes Paul’s argument in Galatians 4 is also uncertain: however, nothing here indicates any awareness of linking the Isaiah 54 citation to the story of Abraham and his wives or children. Many have claimed that the woman “who has a husband”, interpreted as “those who appear to have God”, is a reference to Jews and/or Judaism⁴³. But there is nothing really in the text to show this clearly. And there is no other clear reference to Jews or Judaism as a contrasting group anywhere else in the text.

There are indications at a few points elsewhere in the text of the existence of some “opponents”. Thus the language of 10,3-5, referring to people who “prefer the pleasures of the present to the promise that is to come”, and not only do such things themselves but also “continue to teach evil to innocent souls”, seems too specific to be just a general reference to possible false teachers in any place. The whole of *2 Clement* is primarily devoted to arguing that proper ethical behaviour is essential for the Christian life, with some people apparently arguing (and putting

43. So e.g. recently M. WOLTER, *Die unfruchtbare Frau und ihre Kinder: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Jes 54,1*, in P.-G. KLUMBIES – D.S. DU TOIT (eds.), *Paulus – Werk und Wirkung: Festschrift für Andreas Lindemann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 103-127, 119; J.A. KELHOFFER, *Pigeonholing a Prooftexter? The Citations of 2 Clement 2 and Their Allegedly Gnostic Background*, in ZNW 107 (2016) 266-295, pp. 279-280; ROTHSCHILD, *Two Dispositiones* (n. 38), p. 131. Older interpreters taking this line include LIGHTFOOT, *Apostolic Fathers 1* (n. 1), vol. 2, p. 215; K.P. DONFRIED, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity* (NTSup, 38), Leiden, Brill, 1974, p. 199.

into practice) an opposing point of view⁴⁴. But it is then hard to see such “opponents” as non-Christian Jews encouraging ethical laxity. For Jews were people who above all took morality seriously, and proper ethical behaviour was regarded as vitally important, not irrelevant or unnecessary. There is no hint in *2 Clement* that the issue is the particular content of ethical and practical demands (as if the writer has one set of rules in mind, and the opponents have another, e.g. [parts of] the Jewish Law). The reference to “preferring the pleasures of the present” (10,3) suggests that the opponents are arguing for, and practising, ethical laxity, not ethical demands which do not coincide with “Clement’s” own. The writer appeals to Jewish tradition, just as to Christian tradition, as the authoritative source for his ethical exhortations, with no suggestion that this is in any way disputed. It would seem then that any opposition group is not to be identified as one of non-Christian Jews.

This makes it unlikely that the people possibly mentioned in 2,3 (“those who seem to have God”) are non-Christian Jews. Such a theory would then appear to demand driving a wedge between “those who seem to have God” (2,3) and the opponents who are leading the community astray by their teaching (10,3-5). Students of early Christianity are by now very aware of the dangers of “mirror-reading” and positing opponents to explain every statement by a Christian author⁴⁵. Hence in part the attractiveness of the possibility that the words “those who seem to have God” here refer to no specific group: rather, they are formulated as the antithesis to what is said about “our church” in 2,1, viz. that it “seemed to have been deserted by God” (as the reality corresponding to the deserted woman of Isaiah 54 in the text cited); but just as in the cited text, the barren woman is mentioned alongside, and in contrast with, another woman who “has” a husband, so then the writer here invents a verbal entity to correspond to this woman by referring to “those who seem to have God”⁴⁶.

44. The precise motivation for such a stance is not made explicit here. Whether it was on specifically ideological grounds (such as might be reflected in Rom 6,1: we should “remain in sin so that grace may abound”), or simply on the grounds that the material body (the “flesh”) is transitory and thus unimportant, so that ethical behaviour in the present bodily life does not matter, we simply do not know.

45. The danger is felt to be acute in study of the Pauline letters.

46. The use of *δοκέω* may arise because the writer says that our church “seemed” to have been deserted by God, perhaps implying that although that was what appeared to be the case, in reality God had never abandoned his church: and the parallelism leads to the repetition of the verb in the second half of the assertion as well. For this suggestion, see TUCKETT, *2 Clement* (n. 10), pp. 143-144. I fully accept that the suggestion is rather speculative, but alternative suggestions are no less so!

The identity of the “opposition” group has provoked much discussion. A widely held view is that the writer has in mind the dangers posed by “Gnostic” teachers⁴⁷. Thus the author’s language of God as the “Father of truth” (3,1) may be using Gnostic language in a mildly polemical way; the reference to Christ and the church as some kind of syzygy⁴⁸ has (loose) parallels in Gnostic mythology and speculation about pre-existent aeons; and the insistence on the importance of the “flesh” in the subsequent argument here would be a powerful argument against Gnostic denials of the value of the flesh and the present material world order. The insistence too on the resurrection as both future and involving the flesh would speak against some Gnostic views. If this is the case, then the text should probably be placed at a time when Gnostic theories were developing and were thought to be a critical danger to “orthodox” Christian communities.

The theory is however questionable⁴⁹. The fact remains that any “polemic” which has been identified in the text is at most very muted, and may in fact be non-existent. Thus the assertion that “we know the Father of truth” seems to be used in 3,1 in a totally un-selfconscious way without any suggestion that the terminology is contested or is being used here polemically (as if to claim that “we know” but “you” do not). So too the language of Christ and the church in ch. 14 is used without any apology or questioning. It may well be that the writer is using an earlier tradition (he tries to interpret the “mythology” in a way that is very forced and tortuous, indicating perhaps that the tradition is somewhat alien to him and can only make the point he wishes to make with considerable difficulty). But there is no indication that he is seeking to correct another interpretation of the same tradition. Further, however one might define “Gnosticism”, one key feature has often been seen in the claim that the creation of the material world is the work of a deity other than the supreme God, that deity being at best ignorant or at worst malevolent; coupled with this too is often a detailed explanation of the creation of the world, engaging with the creation accounts in Genesis and giving an alternative

47. See e.g. DONFRIED, *Setting* (n. 43), p. 112 (and *passim*); R. WARNS, *Untersuchungen zum 2. Clemensbrief*, Marburg, Doctoral dissertation, 1989, pp. 76-90 (and *passim*); LINDEMANN, *Clemensbriefe* (n. 1), p. 192; JEFFORD – HARDER – AMEZAGA, *Reading* (n. 1), pp. 122-127; W. PRATSCHER, *Der zweite Clemensbrief* (KAV, 3), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, pp. 50-55; others cited in TUCKETT, *2 Clement* (n. 10), pp. 47-48.

48. See especially 14,2: “‘God made man male and female’. The male is Christ and the female is the church”.

49. In more detail, see TUCKETT, *2 Clement* (n. 10), pp. 49-56; also J.A. KELHOFFER, *Second Clement and Gnosticism: The status quaestionis*, in *Early Christianity* 8 (2017) 124-149.

reading of that narrative. Of this there is not the slightest hint in 2 *Clement*. As noted already, nowhere does the author refer to the Genesis creation story at all, let alone engage with it; and indeed, as also already noted in passing, at one point the writer does refer to the claim that God is the Creator (15,2), but with no indication at all that this might be contested or controversial in the writer's context. It is not argued for, defended, or asserted in any aggressive way: it simply slips out as something that can be apparently taken as read as common ground between the writer and his readers/hearers. All this is very surprising if the author were writing with Gnostic opponents in mind.

In fact the writer seems able to use language and terminology which was also congenial to Gnostics without any apparent indication that this might be controversial. Thus he speaks of the "Father of truth" (3,1); far from any opposition to "Gnostic" devaluing of the present world, he urges his readers/hearers not to be afraid to leave behind the present world if necessary in language that is itself almost quasi-Gnostic (ch. 5). He uses the language about knowing one's origins in 1,2 that has clear parallels in other Gnostic texts⁵⁰. He refers to the future state to which Christians can look forward as one of "rest" (ἀνάπαυσις: 5,5; 6,7), a term used by Gnostics (as by others).

All this suggests that Gnosticism may simply not be within the writer's purview at all. Gnostics did not invent all their language and terminology (even some of their distinctive ideas) out of nothing. The overlaps between the language of 2 *Clement* and that of (some) Gnostics may then simply reflect the wide-ranging pool of language and ideas current at the time. It is theoretically possible to see some use of this language as part of a highly sophisticated attempt to use, in order to undermine, the language of the opponents. But any polemic is muted to the point of virtual silence and to read the text in this way involves reading a great deal between the lines of the actual text. And nothing really indicates that the author of 2 *Clement* possesses this degree of literary sophistication. It may be that Gnostic ideas are starting to develop. The fact remains that the background for the (probable) tradition which the author uses in

50. In 1,2, sinning is said to be "if we do not know where we were called from, and by whom, and to what place". Cf. Clement, *Exc.* 78,2, for the similar often-cited set of rhetorical questions expressing Gnostic self-understanding. See too *Gos. Truth* (NHC I,3) 22,5.14-15; 40,30-42,35; and the questions by the hostile powers to the soul in *Gos. Mary* 15-16. Cf. WARNS, *Untersuchungen* (n. 47), p. 78; PRATSCHER, *Zweite Clemensbrief* (n. 47), p. 68. On the other hand, the questions themselves are not necessary Gnostic – only some of the answers one might give: see I. DUNDERBERG, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2008, pp. 29-30.

ch. 14 about Christ and the church has its closest analogies in Gnostic speculations. But the lack of any polemic, and the unreflective way in which the writer seems able to adopt terminology also favoured by Gnostics, suggests that one is still at a relatively early stage in what became the increasingly hostile relationship between Gnostic Christians and “orthodox” Christians.

As a rider to this, many of the same considerations would apply to any theory suggesting that 2 *Clement* was written to counter Marcionite ideas or groups⁵¹. The lack of any debate about the identification of the God of Jewish scripture with the God of the Christian witness, and the completely unapologetic way in which Jewish texts are freely cited here (and applied without questioning to the current situation of the Christian community/ies being addressed) makes it very unlikely that Marcion, or Marcionite groups, provide the context for the text.

Overall, the text seems to come from a context where neither Marcionite nor “Gnostic” influences are perceived as in any way a threat. This, coupled with the relatively undeveloped form of hierarchy within the writer’s community as well as the lack of appeal to the fourth gospel, suggests a date not too late in the second century. On the other hand, the evidence from the form of Jesus tradition used here (presupposing the existence of the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke) suggests a date perhaps later than the end of the first century (and hence perhaps a little later than 1 *Clement*). A date at some stage in the first half of the second century seems most likely, with the text written in a context where there was no substantive Jewish community in the neighbourhood.

1 Wallingford Road
Cholsey
Wallingford OX10 9LQ
UK
christopher.tuckett@theology.ox.ac.uk

Christopher M. TUCKETT

51. Cf. ROTHSCHILD, *Two Dispositiones* (n. 38), p. 141: “2 Clement was composed within and for a context of heretical disputes – so-called “gnosticism”, or even Marcionism – some time after Marcion and before Justin”.

THE *DIDACHE* AND THE *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS* IN THE CONTEXT OF ASSOCIATION RULES

Although the *Didache* and *Apostolic Constitutions* book 7 seem to conform to the genre of the “bylaws” of cultic associations and occupational guilds, known from many inscriptions and papyri, detailed comparisons of those bylaws with the *Didache* and *Apostolic Constitutions* 7 are rare. As this paper will show, a close comparison reveals both many important similarities, which justify classifying the *Didache* as an association νόμος. But there are several important distinctives of the *Didache* which point in the direction of the development of a knowledge economy within early Christ assemblies.

I. BYLAWS OF CULTIC ASSOCIATIONS

Numerous small groups existed in the ancient Mediterranean, organized around the cult of a deity or a hero, a diasporic identity, an occupation or set of related occupations, a neighbourhood, or in the case of *collegia domestica*, the domestic workers of an elite household. So common were these associations that it has been estimated that at least thirty percent of the male population of any town or village were members of an association or a guild¹. As more or less permanent associations, these groups

1. U. FELLMETH, *Politisches Bewußtsein in den Vereinen der städtlichen Massen in Rom und Italien zur Zeit der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit*, in *Eirene: Studia Graeca et Latina* 27 (1990) 49-71, p. 52. Similarly, A. GUTSFELD, *Das Vereinigungswesen und die Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in H. KAEUBLE – J. SCHRIEWER (eds.), *Gesellschaften im Vergleich: Forschungen aus Sozial- und Geschichtswissenschaften* (Komparatistische Bibliothek, 9), Frankfurt a.M. – New York, Lang, 1999, 13-33, p. 18 argues that a large portion of the subelite population were guild members. In 79 CE there were about 45 associations in Pompeii (F.M. AUSBÜTTEL, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches* [Frankfurter Althistorische Studien, 11], Kallmünz, Michael Laßleben, 1982, p. 33) representing a population of 15,000-20,000. With a mean size of occupational guilds at about 100 members, this would imply that between 22.5-30 percent of the total population belonged to occupational guilds or 45-60 percent of the male population. R. ALSTON – R.D. ALSTON, *Urbanism and the Urban Community*, in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997) 199-216, p. 205. P. VAN MINNEN, *Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt*, in *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6 (1987) 31-88, pp. 37-38, extrapolating from Byzantine figures, suggests that “a considerable part of the population (30-50%) did not live on agriculture, but were engaged one way or the other in a particular craft”.

required both leadership and rules to regulate admission, the activities of the group (including financial matters), and the conditions under which members might be denied entry or expelled.

At least forty bylaws are extant, preserved on stone, papyrus, or parchment, some complete and others quite fragmentary². The majority of

2. **IV BCE**: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 241 (ed. F. DE CENIVAL, *Papyrus Seymour de Ricci: Le plus ancien des règlements d'association religieuse* [4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.] [Pap. Bibl. Nationale E 241], in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 39 [1988] 37-46); IG II² 1361 = GRA I 4 (Piraeus, 330-324/3 BCE); **III BCE**: IG II² 1275 = GRA I 8 (Piraeus, 325-275 BCE) (fragmentary); Agora 16:161 = GRA I 14 (Athens, early III BCE); IG II² 1283 = GRA I 23 (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); P.Bagnall 42 (Tebtynis, 250-210 BCE); P.Würzburg.dem. 10 (Arsinoites, 245-243 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29 = P.Assoc. p. 3-10 (Pisais [Arsinoites], 223 BCE) [TM 2784]; **II BCE**: IG II² 1328 = GRA I 34 (Piraeus, 183/2, 175/4 BCE); five Demotic regulations from the same association of the god Sobek, extending over 33 years: P.Mil. Vogl.dem. inv. 77-78 (178 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 = P.Assoc. p. 45-51, 218-219 (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Hamburg.Bibliothek.dem. 1 = P.Assoc. p. 59-61, 219-220 (Tebtynis, 151 BCE); P.Cair. 31179 = P.Assoc. p. 63-68, 221-222 (Tebtynis, 147 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 = P.Assoc. p. 73-78, 222-225 (Tebtynis, 145 BCE); other Demotic associations: P.Stan-GreenDem 21 (Bakchias?, 190-170 BCE); P.Cair. 31178 = P.Assoc. p. 39-40, 215-218 (Tebtynis, 179 BCE); P.Cair. 30619 = P.Assoc. p. 93-97, 227-229 (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Prague.Satzung = P.Assoc. p. 83-91, 225-227 (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 = P.Assoc. p. 103-131 (Memnoneia, Thebes west, 109-108 BCE); P.Cair. 30618 A-B = P.Assoc. p. 229-236 (Tebtynis, II BCE); **II/I BCE**: TAM V 1539 = GRA II 117 (Philadelphia, Lydia, II/I BCE); **I BCE**: IG II² 1339 = GRA I 46 (Athens, 57/6 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 (Philadelphia, Fayûm, 69-58 BCE); **I CE**: LSAM 80 = GRA II 152 (Elaioussa Sebaste, Cilicia, 27 BCE-14 CE); P.Mich. V 243 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245 (Tebtynis, 47 CE); AÉ 1929, 161 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE); BGU XIV 2371 (I CE); **II CE**: IG II² 1369 = GRA I 49 (Liopesi, Attica, II CE); SEG 31:122 = GRA I 50 (Liopesi, Attica, early II CE); CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117-138 CE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); AÉ 2012, 312 (Ostia, II CE); CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE); IG II² 1368 = GRA I 51 (Athens, 164/5 CE); IG IX,1² 670 = GRA I 61 (Physkos, Locris, mid II CE); **II/III CE**: IG II² 1365-1366 = GRA I 53 (Laurion, late II/early III CE); CIL 8.14683 (Africa Proconsularis, II/III CE?).

IQS (Manual of Discipline) would seem to qualify as an association rule, giving rules regarding entrance into the *Yahad*, meal practice, the behaviour of members in general, the activities of the officers (*mebeqqar*, *maskil*, *paqid*), and disciplinary rules. On IQS as an association rule, see M. WEINFELD, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA, 2), Fribourg/CH, Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986; M. KLINGHARDT, *The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations*, in J.J. COLLINS – M. WISE – N. GOLB – D. PARDEE (eds.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 722), New York, New York Academy of Sciences, 1994, 251-270; R. HERRMANN, *Die Gemeinderegel von Qumran und das antike Vereinswesen*, in J. FREY – D.R. SCHWARTZ – S. GRIPENTROG (eds.), *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (AJEC, 71), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2007, 161-203.

Two other charters are a fifth-century BCE Demotic charter of a guild of funerary workers (P.Dem.Louvre E 7840 bis = P. Louvre Eisenlohr 6 (ed. F. DE CENIVAL, *Comptes d'une association religieuse Thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis* [P. Démot. Louvre E 7840 bis], in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 37 [1986] 13-29), and a sixth-century CE set of bylaws of a guild of fishermen (SB 3.6704; Aphrodito, Upper Egypt, VI CE).

these are for cultic associations dedicated to a wide range of deities³, but a few are bylaws of such occupational guilds as guilds of sheep and cattle breeders, wood and salt merchants, fishermen, and persons exempt from liturgical service⁴. P.Mich. II 123, a *grapheion* register from the village of Tebtynis in the Fayûm for the year 45/46 CE, lists the documents filed during an eleven month period. During that time Kronion the *κομογραμματεὺς* processed documents from twenty-two different guilds and produced and filed copies of several association *νόμοι*⁵. Assuming a mean guild size of 20-30 members and village population of 4000-7500⁶,

3. Amon: P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 = P.Assoc. p. 103-131 (Memnoneia, Theban area [Upper Egypt], 109-108 BCE); Aesculapius and Hygia: CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE); Agdistis: TAM V 1539 (Philadelphia [Lydia] II/I BCE); Bendis: IG II² 1361 (Piraeus, 330-324/3 BCE); IG II² 1283 (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); Diana and Antinoüs: CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); Dionysos: IG II² 1368 (Athens, 164/5 CE); IG IX,1² 670 (mid II CE); Herakles: SEG 31:122 (Liopesi, early II CE); Hero: IG II² 1339 (Piraeus, 57/6 BCE); Horus: P.Lille.dem. 29 (Pisais, 223 BCE); Echelos and the Heroines: Agora 16:161 (Athens, early III BCE); Jupiter: CIL 8.14683 (Africa Proconsularis, II/III CE?); Men: IG II² 1365-1366 (Sounion, late II/early III CE); Mother of the gods: IG II² 1328 (Piraeus, 183/2, 175/4 BCE); Sabbathikos (?) Sambathikos (?): LSAM 80 (Elaïoussa, 27 BCE-14 CE); Silvanus: AÉ 1929, 161 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE); Sobek: P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77-78 (Tebtynis, 178 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Hamburg.Bibliothek.dem. 1 (Tebtynis, 151 BCE); P.Cair. 31179 (Tebtynis, 147 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 (Tebtynis, 145 BCE); Sobek and Sarapis: P.Prague.Satzung = P.Assoc. p. 83-91 (137 BCE); Zeus Hypsistos: P.Lond. VII 2193 (Philadelphia, 69-58? BCE); unknown cultic: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 241 (ed. DE CENIVAL, *Papyrus Seymour de Ricci* [n. 2] (IV BCE); P.Cair. 31178 (179 BCE); P.Cair. 30618 A-B (Tebtynis, II BCE); P.Cair. 30619 (137 BCE); IG II² 1275 (Piraeus, 325-275 BCE); BGU XIV 2371 (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Mich. V 248 (Tebtynis, I CE)?; IG II² 1369 (Liopesi, II CE); P.Dem.Louvre E 7840 bis = P.Louvre Eisenlohr 6 (ed. DE CENIVAL, *Comptes d'une association religieuse Thébaine* [n. 2]); P.Bagnall 42 = P.Tebt. Suppl. 1578 (Tebtynis, 250-210 BCE); P.StanGreenDem 21 (Bakchias? 190-170 BCE); P.Würzburg, Akademie der Wissenschaften.dem. 10 (Arsinoites, 245-243 BCE).

4. Sheep and cattle breeders: P.Mich. V 243 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE); citrus wood and ivory merchants: CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117-138 CE); salt merchants: P.Mich. V 245 (Tebtynis, 47 CE); *apolyssimoi*: P.Mich. V 244 (Tebtynis, 43 CE); fishermen: SB 3.6704 (Aphrodito, Upper Egypt, VI CE).

5. P.Mich. II 123.6.18; 9.45; 10.6; 11.36; 16.12; 17.38 (Tebtynis 45-46 CE); P.Mich. II 124 2.23 (Tebtynis 46-47 CE).

6. Estimates of the population of Tebtynis vary, from 4000-5000 (J. ROWLANDSON, *Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt*, in A.K.B. ROGAN – E. ROGAN [eds.], *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times* [Proceedings of the British Academy, 96], Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, 39-158, p. 147), to 7500 (2500 adult males) (A.J. CONNOR, *Temples as Economic Agents in Early Roman Egypt: The Case of Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2014, pp. 25-27). K. MÜLLER's (*Settlements of the Ptolemies: City Foundations and New Settlement in the Hellenistic World* [Studia Hellenistica, 43], Leuven – Dudley, MA, Peeters, 2006, p. 187) estimate of 1320 is for Ptolemaic Tebtynis and is probably too low for Roman Tebtynis. D. RATHBONE's (*Villages, Land, and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36 [1990] 103-142, pp. 132-134) figures for Narmouthis, comparable in size to Tebtynis, is 2100 men and 6500 in total, but it is now unclear whether the figures for Narmouthis apply to the village alone or to the village and the *chora* surrounding the village.

this implies that a substantial fraction of the village population were guild members⁷.

Despite the relatively small number of νόμοι that have survived, there are good reasons to suppose that most associations codified their practices in bylaws. At least in Egypt but probably elsewhere too, fiscal and legal considerations motivated the creation of associations' νόμοι. Most associations collected dues from members to pay for periodic banquets and other activities; some occupational guilds became nodes for the extraction of the poll tax and the χειρωναξίον, a tax on crafts; and many – perhaps all – associations undertook to pay for, or contribute to, the funerals of members.

The fiscal responsibilities of guilds help to account for the need for written bylaws. In the case of occupational guilds that served as the nodes for tax extraction, the president of a guild was often empowered by the νόμος to seize sureties from any members who failed to their pay dues or their portion of the taxes owing⁸. A guild was responsible for the craft tax whether or not individual members had contributed their portions of the tax, and a guild was responsible for payment even if the member had decamped⁹. This provided a strong incentive for the guild to empower the president to take measures to compel payment and it was the νόμος of the guild that provided the juridical warrant for such powers. Moreover, associations that either provided for, or contributed to, funerals also had fiscal responsibilities. There were cases of an association that failed to provide the funeral or the ταφικόν (funeral benefit) for a deceased member. In such a case, the matter was resolved by directing an administrative official, probably the κωμογραμματεὺς, to examine a copy of the association's νόμος, a copy of which was held in the village grapheion. This could indicate whether the bylaws had enshrined this benefit and whether the deceased was in fact a member in good standing and entitled to that benefit¹⁰. The contractual nature of an association's νόμος is also underscored by the Egyptian practice of appending to the bylaws a membership list in which each of the members signalled his or her approval (ἐῶδοκῶ)¹¹. This is true of both cultic associations

7. I owe this calculation to my doctoral student, Ryan Olfert.

8. E.g., P.Cair. 30606.8 (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29.22 (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.3 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.10-12, 19-20 (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Würzb. 4 (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE).

9. E.g., Stud.Pal. IV cols. vii-x (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE).

10. E.g., P.Enteuxis 20 (Magdôla, 221 BCE); 21 (Magdôla, 218 BCE).

11. E.g., P.Mich. V 243 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 248 (Tebtynis, I CE).

as well as occupational guilds, since both provided benefits to members and both expected both financial support and compliance with the association's behavioural rules.

Why have so few νόμοι been preserved in relation to the large number of associations that existed in antiquity? We might instead ask the opposite question. Why were some bylaws inscribed on material like stone or bronze? In the case of epigraphical documents such as IG II² 1368 (the Iobakchoi inscription), or CIL 14.2112 (the Lanuvium *lex collegi*) or CIL 6.10234 (the bylaws of the collegium of Aesculapius and Hygia), it seems that the bylaws survived because they were associated with another epigraphical genre, a record of the association's recruitment of a new and important benefactor in the case of IG II² 1368, or an acknowledgement of an endowment (in the case of the other two). In the normal course of an association's life, it was probably more economical to record bylaws on non-durable materials (papyrus, parchment and wooden tablets) rather than to have inscriptions cut¹². Membership constantly changed, the result of deaths, defections, and new recruits. Hence, the membership list appended to association bylaws had to be updated frequently and copies filed with the village archives, at least in Egypt. In fact most of our Egyptian evidence comes from two archives in Tebtynis and the copies of the bylaws we have are the grapheion copies.

II. NOMOI AND LEGES COLLEGIORUM

Association bylaws exhibit certain regularities. From a grammatical point of view Attic νόμοι tend to be framed as a decree of the association (mimicking civic decrees), introduced with some variation of the formulae δεδόχθαι τοῖς θιασώταις or ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ and followed by the provisions of the decree in an accusative-infinitive construction¹³. Other νόμοι frame their provisions in third person imperatives¹⁴ or as infinitives following μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐξέστω¹⁵. These bylaws also typically envisage a series of hypothetical situations introduced with ἐὰν δέ τις followed by

12. The use of wooden tablets to record a *nomos* is mentioned in IG XII,3 330.276-277 (Thera, 210-195 BCE).

13. Agora 16:161.2 = GRA I 14; IG II² 1283.13 = GRA I 23; IG II² 1328.8 = GRA I 34; IG II² 1339.5-6 = GRA I 46; SEG 31:122.3 = GRA I 50; IG IX,1² 670 = GRA I 61: following κατατετέλεσται "to have ratified" instead of δεδόχθαι. See also P.Lond. VII 2193; P.Mich. V 245.3.

14. IG II² 1369 = GRA I 49; IG II² 1368.32, 37, etc. = GRA I 51.

15. P.Lond. VII 2193.13; BGU XIV 2371.1.

either an infinitive or a third person imperative, or alternatively $\delta\varsigma$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with a finite verb stating a fine or a penalty. Latin *leges* often introduce individual provisions of the bylaws with *item placuit*¹⁶, and hypothetical situations with a combination of *qui (ita)*, *si ita*, and *ne quisquis*¹⁷.

Individual bylaws treat a range of topics, typically four: entrance and initiation practices; meals; general behaviour of members; and funerals.

(1) Entrance and initiation routinely began with the payment of an entrance fee, variously called a *εἰσηλύσιον*, *εἰσόδιον*, *ἐντάγιον*, or *σιωπητικόν*¹⁸. It was, however, also common to stipulate that the new member is required to pass an examination called a *δοκιμασία*:

IG II² 1361.21-24: ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ εἰσενέγκαντι | [...δρ]αχμὰς μετεῖναι αὐτῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν στήλην ἐγγράφεσθαι τ[οὺς] | [δ' ἐγγραφο]μένους εἰς τὴν στήλην δο[κι]μ[ά]ζειν τοὺς ὀργεῶνας καὶ παρα[διδό]ν[αι] τῶν δοκιμασθέντων τὰ ὀνόματα τῷ γραμματεῖ.

It is permitted for anyone who wishes to contribute ... drachmae to become a member of the sanctuary and to be inscribed on the stele. Let the members vet those who are to be inscribed on the stele, and hand over the names of those approved to the secretary.

AM 32 (1907) 295-297 (no. 18).4-11 (Pergamon, imperial period): ἐὰν δοκιμασῶσι[ν ὑπὸ τῶν συμφώ(?)]]νων, οὕτως μετέχειν τοῦ συνεδρίου.... ὁμοίως δὲ εἰσέρχεσθαι τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν μετεχόντων, δοκιμασθέντας μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς, διδόντας δὲ εἰσηλύσιον (δην.) ν, εἴ γε αὐτῶν οἱ πατέρες πρὸ πενταετίας μελλεῖχον τοῦ συστήματος,

If they have been vetted by the symphonoi, they may join the association (syndrion)....

Likewise, the sons of members (may) come, and after having been vetted and paying the entrance fee of 50 drachmae, if their fathers were members of the association (*systema*) for five years¹⁹.

16. CIL 6.10234.11; CIL 14.2112.

17. AÉ 1928, 161; CIL 6.10298.

18. AM 32 (1907) 295-297 (no. 18).7-9 (Pergamon): 50 dr.; CIL 6.10234.6-7 (Rome, 153 CE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): 100 sesterces [25 den.] and an amphora of good wine; ID 1521.17-18 (Delos, II BCE): unspecified (τοῦ καθήκοντος εἰσοδίου); IG II² 1361.22 = GRA I 4 (Piraeus, 330-324/3 BCE): 2 dr.; IG II² 1339.17 = GRA I 46 (Athens, 57/6 BCE): 30 drachmae; IG II² 1368.37-38 = GRA I 51 (164/65 CE): 50 dr. and a libation but 25 for the son of a member; IG VII 2808.b.9-12 (Hyettus [Boeotia], after 212 CE): 50 dr. for family members; 100 dr. for others; IPergamon II 374.D.17-22 = GRA II 111 (129-138 CE); IProse I 40.41 = GRA III 160 (Psenamosis [Delta], 67-64 BCE); I.Smyrna 731.14-15 (Smyrna, 80-131 CE); I.Smyrna 732 (80s or 150s-160s CE); P.Lond. III 1178.6, 70 = GRA III 265 (Hermopolis, 200-212 CE): 100 den; P.Mich. VIII 511.4 = GRA III 240 (Karais, early III CE): 24 dr. for initiation (σιωπητικόν); SEG 31:122.39 = GRA I 50 (Liopesi, 121/2 CE): a sacrifice.

19. See L. ROBERT, *Deux inscriptions de l'époque impériale en Attique*, in *American Journal of Philology* 100 (1979) 153-165, p. 155. Other examples in J.S. KLOPPENBORG,

IG II² 1368.31-38: μηδενὶ ἐξέστω ἰόβακχον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἰ πρῶτον ἀπογράψῃται παρὰ τῷ ἱερεὶ ἢ τὴν νενομισμένην ἀπογραφὴν καὶ ἢ δοκιμασθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰοβάκχων ψήλῳ, εἰ ἄξιός φαίνεται καὶ ἐπιτήδειος ἢ τῷ Βακχείῳ.

It is not allowed for anyone to become an Iobakchos unless he first register with the priest the customary notice and is vetted by a vote of the Iobakchoi, if he appears to be worthy and suitable for the Bakcheion.

The vetting of prospective association members is clearly an imitation of the δοκιμασία required by Greek cities for prospective candidates to public office²⁰, which had to establish that the candidate was in fact a citizen and exhibited the behaviour expected of a citizen (devotion to the gods and the care for parents' graves)²¹. Sometimes, however, the examination focussed on probity of life and candidates could be disqualified for moral breaches.

A moralized version of the δοκιμασία appears to have been developed for cultic associations. This was likely due in part to the philosophical critique of sanctuary rules. As early as the early third century BCE Theophrastus urged that the mere ability to pay for sacrifices cannot be a sufficient basis for participation in the cult of a deity, since the gods cannot be pleased with the offerings of egregiously immoral persons. On the contrary, Theophrastus insisted that the gods desired a "pure mind and a soul free of passions"²². Both later Greek sanctuaries regulations

The Moralizing of Discourse in Greco-Roman Associations, in C.J. HODGE – S.M. OLYAN – D. ULLUCCI – E. WASSERMAN (eds.), "The One Who Sows Bountifully": *Essays in Honor of Stanley K. Stowers* (Brown Judaic Studies, 256), Providence, RI, Brown Judaic Studies, 2013, 215-228.

20. On the δοκιμασία, see C. FEYEL, *Dokimasia: La place et le rôle de l'examen préliminaire dans les institutions des cités grecques* (Études anciennes, 36), Nancy, Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l'antiquité, 2009.

21. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 55,3: καὶ τοῦτο κύριόν ἐστι τῆς δοκιμ[α]σίας. ἐπερωτῶσιν δ', ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν, πρῶτον μὲν «τίς σοι πατήρ καὶ πόθεν τῶν δήμων, καὶ τίς πατὴρ πατήρ, καὶ τίς μήτηρ, καὶ τίς μητὴρ πατήρ καὶ πόθεν τῶν δήμων»; μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων Πατρώος καὶ Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστιν, εἴτα ἡρία εἰ ἔστιν καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα γονέας εἰ εὖ ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰ τέλη <εἰ> τελεῖ, καὶ τὰς στρατείας εἰ ἐστράτευται. ταῦτα δ' ἀνερωτήσας; "This is the principle of the examination. When they make the examination, they ask first, 'Who is your father and to what deme does he belong?' And 'Who is your father's father, and who your mother, and who is her father and what his deme?' After that (they ask) whether he has a Apollo Patroos and Zeus Herkeios, and where these shrines are; then whether he has family tombs (*hēria*) and where they are; then whether he does well by his parents, and does he pay taxes, and whether he has done his military service". Xenophon (*Mem.* 2,2,13) reports that the δοκιμασία inquired into whether the candidate had failed to honor his parent's graves. See T.E. RIHLL, *Democracy Denied: Why Ephialtes Attacked the Areiopagus*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995) 87-98, pp. 93-94.

22. "Believing that the gods have no need of [sacrifices], but rather see the character (τὸ ἥθος) of those who approach them, since they take as the greatest sacrifice having the

and the νόμοι of cultic associations appear also to have responded to this critique by developing tests that focussed on the piety of the candidate:

IG XII,3 183 (Astypalaea after 300 BCE): [ἐ]ς τὸ ἱερὸν μὴ ἐσέρπεν ὅστις μὴ ἄγνός ἐστι, ἢ τελεῖ ἢ αὐτῷ ἐν νῶι ἐσσεῖται.

Let not anyone who is not pure [ἄγνός ἐστι] enter the temple; either to offer (a sacrifice) or to be in the shrine itself.

IG II² 1369.31-34 (Liopesi [Attica] II CE): [μη]δενὶ ἐξέστω ἰσι[έν]αι ἰς τὴν σεμνοτάτην ἰ σύνοδον τῶν ἐρανιστῶν πρὶν ἂν δοκιμασθῇ εἴ ἐστι ἄ[γν]ός καὶ εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἀγλα[9]ός·.

It is not permitted for anyone to enter the most august synodos of the eranstai unless he is vetted, whether he is pure and pious and moral.

1QS 5.20-21 also prescribed an examination for those proposing to enter the *Yahad*, which focussed on the candidate's knowledge of the Torah:

וכִּי־א יבוא לעשות ככול החוקים האלה להיחד ... ודרשו את רוחם ביחד בין איש לרעהו לפי שכלו ומעשיו בתורה

And therefore, he shall enter into the covenant in order to act according to all these statutes for the *Yahad* ... And they shall examine their spirits within the *Yahad* between (each) man and his neighbour according to his insight and his works in the Torah²³.

Three other topics are common in association bylaws: (2) provisions for the communal meal and the etiquette expected at that meal; (3) the behaviour of members to one another outside the meal; and finally, (4) the provision of a funeral for deceased members and the requirement of members to contribute to and participate in that funeral.

(2) Bylaws that concern the banquets typically treat the funding of the banquet, supported either from endowment income (but usually only for one banquet in a year)²⁴; or monthly dues, or by the liturgical service

correct opinion concerning them [the gods] and their deeds, how is this not prudent, and holy, and righteous (σώφρων καὶ ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος)? For the gods, the best offering of first fruits is a pure mind and a soul free of passions (νοῦς καθαρὸς καὶ ψυχὴ ἀπαθής). (Theophrastus, *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* frag. 8 = Porphyry, *De abstinence* 2,60-61).

23. Translation: J.H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck; Louisville, KY, Westminster John Knox, 1994, pp. 24-24 adapted slightly. See also 1QS 6.13-14: "And regarding each one who freely offers himself from Israel to join the Council of the Community, the Overseer (מבקר) at the head of the Many shall examine him (ידרשהו) with respect to his insight and his works".

24. E.g., AÉ 1987, 198 (Ostia antica, 256 CE); CIL 10.6483 (Ulubrae, time of Hadrian); IG XII,3 330.139-141 (Thera, 210-195 BCE). CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE) extraordinarily reports an endowment sufficient for six banquets.

imposed upon the yearly officers of the association²⁵. Some bylaws provided details on how much food and drink each member was allotted²⁶; and a few prescribe a calendar for banquets, although most seem to have met at least monthly²⁷. More space is usually devoted to elaborating the behaviour that is expected at banquets, sanctioning various forms of misbehaviour, including “seat-stealing”, fighting, calumniating or abusing other members, and in general disorderly conduct²⁸.

(3) The behaviour that is expected of members outside the common banquet is sometimes a subject of bylaws, although not all bylaws contain such provisions. When such provisions are present, they have mainly to do with establishing and maintaining what Andrew Monson has called a “trust network”²⁹: a social formation that cultivates mutual trust among its members by a combination of positive practices and sanctions of certain kinds of misbehaviour. Members could often expect the association to stand surety for a member in need or who was arrested³⁰. Individual members were also expected to assist members in need and were fined if they failed to do so³¹. Lawsuits against fellow members were proscribed³² and sexual interference with the family of another member recruited high fines³³. A cult rule from Philadelphia states, members were

25. E.g., CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); 4 magistri elected yearly supply the meal; IG XII,3 330.139-141 (Thera, 210-195 BCE): monthly officers; P.Lond. VII 2193.8-10 = GRA III 199 (Philadelphia, 69-58? BCE): the president supplies the monthly meal; P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2 = GRA III 210 (Tebtynis, 37 CE): president supplies beer; P.Tebt. II 401. vi.23-24 = GRA III (Tebtynis, after 14 CE): the president supplies beer; P.Mich. V 244.15 = GRA III 212 (Tebtynis, 43 CE): the president supplies beer or wine.

26. CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117-138 CE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE).

27. CIL 14.246 (Ostia, 140-172 CE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE).

28. E.g., IG II² 1368 = GRA I 51 (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670 = GRA I 61 (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); ID 1520.58-68 (Delos 153/2 BCE); P.Cair. 30606.19 = GRA III 191 (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 = GRA III 199 (Philadelphia, 69-58? BCE); SB 3.6319 r.ii.43-44 = GRA III 197 (Magdôla, II-I BCE).

29. A. MONSON, *The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations*, in *Ancient Society* 36 (2006) 221-238.

30. P.Mich.Zen. I 57.3 = GRA III 185 (Philadelphia, 248 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.3, 9 = GRA III 206 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.9-10 = GRA III 212 (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Ryl. II 94 = GRA III 205 (Euhemeria, 14-37 CE).

31. P.Cair. 30606.21 = GRA III 191 (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Mich. V 243 = GRA III 206 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE).

32. IG II² 1368.90-94 = GRA III 51 (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Cair. 30606.18 = GRA III 191 (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29.25 = GRA III 188 (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.7-8 = GRA III 206 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE).

33. P.Lille.dem. 29.10 = GRA III 188 (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.8 = GRA III 206 (Tebtynis, 14-37 CE); SB 3.6319 r.ii.45-46 = GRA III 197 (Magdôla, II-I BCE).

not to “withdraw their goodwill” from fellow members³⁴. The combination of benefits and sanctions were designed to ensure that members could have a high level of trust in one another, knowing that membership entailed moral commitments and that misbehaviour would be sanctioned.

(4) Finally, funerary practices are commonly the subject of bylaws. Some associations owned graveyards and buried their members there and others had access to portions of columbaria in which their members would be buried. Still others collected funds to contribute to the cost of members’ funerals, hence prompting the occasional complaints of family members when the deceased’s association failed to contribute. Virtually every association expected all members to participate in the funerals of members, fining those who failed to do so³⁵. Hence, *collegiati* not only dined with their fellows in life, but were imagined dining with them in death.

III. THE *DIDACHE* AND *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS* AS BYLAWS

Of the many ancient literary genres extant, it is perhaps the bylaws of associations that most closely approximate the rules of Christ groups such as those of the *Didache* and *Apostolic Constitutions*³⁶. There are indeed many resonances between the pagan bylaws and the rules of Christ groups, but also some telling differences.

From the perspective of grammar, the *Didache* does not formulate its bylaws as a decree of the group. This is perhaps due to the compositional history of the document. The *Didache*’s obviously composite nature probably means that the introductory framings of chaps. 7–10, or 11–15, if there were any, were removed when components of the *Didache* were combined. What remains is a series of imperatives: βαπτίσατε, νηστεύσατε, προσεύχεσθε, εὐχαριστήσατε, δέξασθε, etc. At the level of sentences, the *Didache* adopts the same forms as other association bylaws, framing its regulations as a set of hypothetical scenarios with ἐὰν δέ + imperative (7,2.3; 11,1.5.6.12; 13,4.5), or εἰ δέ (τις) + imperative (10,6; 12,2.3.4.5), or ὅς ᾧν + imperative (11,1.12), or as general rules with πᾶς δέ (11,4.8.10.11; 12,1; 14,2).

34. TAM V 1539.22-23 (Philadelphia [Lydia] ca. 100 BCE).

35. E.g., AE 1929, 161.13-15 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE); IG II² 1368.162-163 = GRA I 51 (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Mich. V 244.16-18 = GRA III 212 (Tebtynis, 43 CE).

36. J.A. DRAPER, *Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the Didache Community*, in *NT 33* (1991) 347-372 in fact argues that the *Didache* was the community rule for Matthew (esp. pp. 355, 372).

Didache 7 conceives baptism as an entrance ritual that qualifies persons to participate in the main communal ritual, the eucharist (9,5). No mention is made of entrance fees, nor is there any mention of the vetting of new recruits prior to their initiation. There is, however, reason to suppose that some kind of vetting was routine. Vetting is expressly prescribed in relation to any traveller who approaches the group for hospitality:

πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω, ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν.

Everyone who comes to you in the name of the Lord, let him be received, and then having vetted him you will know, for you understand what is true and what is false (12,1).

If visitors were vetted, it seems hard to believe that new recruits did not also undergo a δοκιμασία. Vetting is mentioned again in relation to a prophet who is allowed to speak or teach (11,11) and to supervisors (ἐπίσκοποι) and assistants (διάκονοι) (15,1). As noted above (p. 80), some form of examination was prescribed in 1QS, with which the *Didache* shows many similarities³⁷. Nothing is said of entrance fees, but given the fact that special regulations were proposed to support apostles and prophets who wished to settle in the group (13,1-3) from common resources, we should assume that the group recruited funds or produce from its ordinary members.

Like other association bylaws considerable space is devoted to the communal meal (*Didache* 9–10). Again, nothing is said of the funding of the meal, and so we are probably left to assume that it was supported either through dues or by liturgical service imposed on the ἐπίσκοποι, or both³⁸. More attention is paid to special practices at the meal. *Did.* 14,1-2 enjoins both the confession of sins prior to partaking in the meal and acts of reconciliation with members with whom one might have had any dispute. From the standpoint of source criticism, the latter advice seems related to Matt 5,23-24 which Matthew frames as a reconciliation occurring prior to an offering in the Temple (τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον). The *Didache* does not have the Temple in view, but nonetheless uses the vocabulary of sacrifice (ἡ θυσία), now used metaphorically of the communal meal. The intent of the *Didache*'s injunctions is to ensure that the cultic meal is pure, a point made by the repetition

37. J.P. AUDET, *Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du 'Manuel de Discipline'*, in *Revue Biblique* 59 (1952) 219-238.

38. On the funding of communal meals, see J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth*, in *NT* 58 (2016) 167-203.

in 14,1-2: ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ ... ἵνα μὴ κοινωνῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.

Although the idiom of *Did.* 14,1-2 most closely approximates Matthew's language³⁹, the intent corresponds to that commonly seen in association bylaws. Association meals, whether or not they involved sacrifice – many did not – nevertheless had a cultic cast. Some were explicitly framed as eating before the god, which would have required attention to purity and propriety, and we should assume that all included prayers and libations. Association bylaws related to the communal meal were typically designed to eliminate forms of conflict and to ensure a level of decorum suitable for cultic eating.

The *Didache's* meal practice is distinctive (though not unique) insofar as it prohibited new initiates from participating in the meal (9,5). This of course recalls the bylaws of Serek, which prohibited a new recruit from participating in the “drink of the many” (presumably a communal meal) until he had completed two years of membership and a further examination (1QS 6.20-21)⁴⁰. While some cultic associations seemed to welcome guests and newcomers, others had more restrictive practices. A group of Sarapiastai in the Fayûm admitted new initiates to their *klinē* but required them to remain silent⁴¹. An association devoted to Silvanus (Trebula Mutenesca, 60 CE) decreed:

cum ad
sacrum ventum erit ne quis litiget
n<e>ve rixam faciat n<e>ve extran<e>-
um invitet ea die: si ita fecerit d(are) d(ebeat) HS XX (AÉ 1929, 161.12-14)

When one attends the sacred rites he shall not be contentious or make a disturbance nor shall he invite a stranger (extran<e>um) on that day; if someone does this he will owe a fine of 20 sesterces.

Here, the meal of the association was restricted to members. A collegium of ivory and citrus wood merchants from Rome (CIL 6.33885) from the time of Hadrian prohibited anyone who was not an ivory or citrus wood merchant from attending and threatened to terminate the membership of anyone who introduced such a person.

39. On whether the *Didache* here knows Matthew, see K. NIEDERWIMMER, *The Didache: A Commentary*, ed. H.W. ATTRIDGE (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1998, p. 198 and the literature cited there.

40. Compare Josephus, *Bell.* 2,138, which also describes a two year waiting period and an examination (δοκιμάζεται) before the initiate can touch the common food.

41. P.Mich. VIII 511, on which see H.C. YOUTIE, *The Kline of Sarapis*, in *HTR* 41 (1948) 9-29.

As pointed out above, association rules often enjoined upon members the duty to assist others in distress and sanctioned any behaviour that divided members – for example, appealing to the civil courts against a fellow member –, and imposed fines on those who violate those norms. The *Didache* also displays an interest in promoting harmonious relationships but does so by advising against any forms of correction done in anger (15,3). Rordorf cites 1QS 5.25 and its requirement that correction and admonishment not occur in anger⁴²:

אל ידבר אלוהיהי באף או בתלונה

He [who corrects] must not speak to his fellow with anger or with a snarl.

Instead of imposing fines on those who violate common standards, the *Didache* advises shunning until the offender repents: καὶ παντὶ ἄστο-
χοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὁμῶν ἀκουέτω,
ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ (15,3).

A final similarity of the *Didache* to the practices of associations concerns the designation of leaders and the modes of their selection. In associations, the most common leadership titles are ἐπιμελητής, προστάτης and ἡγούμενος. Ἐπίσκοπος (supervisor), however, is also attested⁴³. An association on Thera had multiple ἐπίσκοποι and the *Didache* also has ἐπίσκοποι⁴⁴. And while there is a temptation to suppose that permanent supervisors were appointed, it should be pointed out that the most common practice in associations was to elect (χειροτονεῖν) officers for a limited term, normally for one year⁴⁵. The

42. W. RORDORF, *La rémission des péchés selon la Didachè*, in *Irenikon* 46 (1973) 283-297, p. 295 n. 3; ID. – A. TUILIER, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè): Introduction, texte, traduction, notes, appendice et index*, deuxième édition, revue et augmentée (SC, 248), Paris, Cerf, 1998, p. 194.

43. ASAA 22 (1939/40) 148,2; Clara Rhodos 2 (1932) 193,21; ID 1522.8, 10, 17 (Delos, time of Trajan); IG XII,1 49; IG XII,1 50; IG XII,1 731; IG XII,3 329.12 (Thera, ca. 200 BCE); ILindos II 208; ILindos II 378; Maiuri, NSER 20; Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 2 (Rhodes, II/I BCE).

44. IG XII,3 329 + IG XII,3 Suppl. 1295 (Thera, ca. 200 BCE).

45. χειροτονέω: IRhamnous II 59.2, 6 = GRA I 27; IG II² 1012.19 = GRA I 42 (Athens, 112/11 BCE). One-year term of office: BGU VIII 1741; 1742; 1743 + XIV 2368.5 = GRA II 248 (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE): προστάτης; I.Alex.imp. 46 = GRA III 176; I.Alex.imp. 90 = GRA III 167 (Alexandria, 10/9 BCE) (προστάτης); I.Alex.imp. 92.4 = GRA III 182 (Alexandria, I CE): πρεσβύτερος?; I.Alex.imp. 94.2 = GRA III 173 (Alexandria, early I CE): προστάτης; I.Alex.imp. 96 = GRA III 166; I.Fayum II 122 = GRA III 229 (Theadelphia, 109 CE): *phontistēs*; I.Fayum III 212.8 = GRA III 204 (Arsinoites, 3 CE): προστάτης; IG II² 1298.13 = GRA I 20 (Athens, 248/7 BCE): priests; IG II² 1324 = GRA I 32 (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE) (*epimelētēs*); IG II² 1328 = GRA I 34 (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE): priestess; IG II² 1334 = GRA I 45 (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE) (priesthood, but renewable); IGRR I 1114.2 = GRA III 203 (Memphis, 17 BCE); OGIS I 130 = GRA III 244 (Setis Island, 143-142 BCE): προστάτης, ἱερεύς; P.Mich.

Didache does not mention any term of office, but it seems likely that the supervisors of *Did.* 15,1 were also elected yearly. Permanent supervisory offices were in fact quite rare⁴⁶.

What is more striking about *Didache* when set beside the νόμοι of associations are the detailed prescriptions about the prayers to be recited. *Did.* 8,2-3 not only prescribes prayer three times daily but offers the actual text of the prayer itself, the Lord's Prayer. In chap. 9-10 the texts of two prayers are provided for the communal meal, the first at the meal, and the second immediately afterwards.

Matthias Klinghardt has argued, rightly, that all associations had some "religious intention" that was expressed in prayers during the libation ceremonies at their regular meetings: a "sympotic paean was crucial for the religious identity of the respective association"⁴⁷. He noted, moreover, that in Greek, Roman, and Judaeon cultures, formulaic prayer rather than extemporaneous prayer was the norm. Aulus Gellius, for example, explains,

conprecationes deum immortalium, quae ritu Romano fiunt, expositae sunt in libris sacerdotum populi Romani et in plerisque antiquis orationibus.

The prayers to the immortal gods, as they are prayed in accordance to Roman rite, are set forth in the books of the priests of the Roman people, as well as in many early books of prayers (*Noct. Att.* 13,23,1).

Prayers were understood to require verbatim recitation; any deviation from the formulary rendered the prayer inefficacious. Hence, Pliny reports that there was a general belief that a sacrifice would be useless without a certain form of prayer (*sine precatone non videtur referre aut deos rite consuli*) and that the magistrate was to read the prayer from a book while a monitor stood by to ensure that it was read without error⁴⁸. Cicero reports that at the games, if the aedile used the wrong word or made a mistake, the games had not been celebrated and the "minds

V 244.18 = GRA III 212 (Tebtynis, 43 CE): ἡγούμενος, ἐπιμελητής; SEG 54:235 = GRA I 47 (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE): secretary; treasurer.

46. Some officers were designated an officer διὰ βίου or *perpetuus*, but this is likely an honorific rather than a functional designation.

47. M. KLINGHARDT, *Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion*, in *Numen* 46 (1999) 1-52, p. 10.

48. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 28,3: *videmusque certis precationibus obsecrasse summos magistratus et, ne quod verborum praetereatur aut praeposterum dicatur, de scripto praeire aliquem rursusque alium custodem dari qui adtendat*; "We see too, how that our highest magistrates use certain formulae: that not a single word may be omitted or said out of its place. One reads (the formula) from a written ritual, and another watches".

of the gods must be appeased by their [correct] repetition"⁴⁹. A similar concern for accurate repetition of the prayer can be found in Greek and in Judaeal sources⁵⁰.

I am not aware of any association bylaws that include actual prayer formularies to be recited prior to the meal (or any other occasion); exact formulae are prescribed only for the public announcement of honours that the association had approved, a provision evidently devised to prevent any alterations in the decree that would diminish or mitigate the honours awarded to the honouree⁵¹. Both Serek (1QS 6.2-3) and the Community Rule (1QSa 2.21) require that benedictions be recited in conjunction with its meal ritual. 1QS mandates, וברכו ויחד, "they shall say benedictions in unity"⁵², while 1QSa 2.21 enjoins a communal meal at which first the priest says a blessing over the bread and the wine, and then "all the congregation of the community shall bless (and partake)" (וברכו כול עדה היחד)⁵³.

These prescriptions suggest that the meal blessings were homophonic recitations. But while Serek provides the exact wording of curses to be recited (1QS 2.5-10, 11-19), neither 1QS nor 1QSa reproduces the text of the blessing to be recited at the meals. This implies that the blessing was available in some other form for all to recite, perhaps in one of the several Qumran blessing texts. This also accords with Greek and Roman prayer practices, where prayer formularies were to be recited in association meals, but must have been available, recorded in books or on stelai or in other media and not in the bylaws themselves⁵⁴. What is striking about

49. Cicero, *De Haurispicum responso* 11,23: *si aedilis verbo aut simpulivo aberravit, ludi sunt non rite facti, eaque errata expiantur, et mentes deorum immortalium ludorum instauratione placantur*; "if an aedile has used a wrong word or made the slightest mistake, then the games have not been duly celebrated, and those mistakes are forced to be expiated and the minds of the immortal gods are appeased by their repetition".

50. E.g., *m. Ber.* 4,3; 5,1, and other examples in KLINGHARDT, *Prayer Formularies* (n. 47).

51. E.g., IG II² 1297.15-17 = GRA I 24 (Athens, 236/5 BCE), where the key parts of the decree are to be repeated in the assembly: "The *thiasotai* crown their *archeraniestēs* Sophron on account of his excellence and the piety he has shown to the goddess".

52. Translation: CHARLESWORTH, *Rule of the Community* (n. 23), p. 27. Charlesworth (*ibid.*, p. 27, n. 140) reports that ויחד has been rendered variously: "in common" (Qimron); "together" (Knibb). In common has the advantage of underscoring the linguistic link with יחד, but "suggests too much the ordinary". "Together" "seems too idiomatic and misses the link with Yahad...". The cave 4 fragment (4QS ms D.frag. 1.2.7 likewise has וברכו יחד כלו יחד, "and they shall eat (in) unity, say benedictions (in) unity...".

53. But no texts of a blessing is recorded. 1QSB 1.1-10 which may be a blessing invoked over community members, but no context for the blessing is given.

54. KLINGHARDT (*Prayer Formularies* [n. 47], p. 6 and n. 12) refers to evidence of the existence of prayer books for the Eleusian mysteries (Pausanias 8,15,1), the Orphic mysteries (Plato, *Resp.* 364E; Demosthenes, *De Corona* 259: ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ

the *Didache* is not that it expects verbatim recitation of prayers, but that the rule also needed to provide the prayer texts to be recited⁵⁵. This would seem to point to the early stages of the development of a community rule, before prayer formularies became widely-known, and hence had to be supplied in the association's bylaws.

IV. TEACHING AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE *DIDACHE*

Two features of the *Didache* (and *Apostolic Constitutions*) are especially striking and they are likely related to each other: the amount of space that is devoted to teaching and learning, and warnings about travelling teachers and prophets. The vocabulary of teaching and the cultivation and transmission of knowledge is mostly missing in Greek and Roman cultic associations. At best, the bylaws of the Iobakchoi enjoin the priest to "set before the gathering (*stibas*) a libation and the θεολογία "which the former priest Nikomachos inaugurated out of his zeal" (IG II² 1368.111-117 = GRA I 51). This seems to be a speech, probably in honour of Dionysos, since it is associated with the Katagogia, a festival of Dionysos⁵⁶. Yet this is hardly a matter of teaching; it is at best a recollection of some aspect of the story of Dionysos and Ariadne, or perhaps an exhortation.

It is at Qumran that the bylaws (1QS, 1QSa) privilege learning and the study of the Torah (1QS 6.6-7) and indeed, 1QS interprets "prepare the way of the Lord" in Isa 40,3 self-referentially to refer to the study (מדרש) of the Torah commanded by Moses (1QS 8.15). The vetting that the group prescribed for admittees was an examination of their knowledge of Torah (above, p. 80). The group at Qumran might aptly be called a "textual community", to use the term of Brian Stock⁵⁷. Although

τελούση τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες; "arriving at adulthood, you read the books for your mother as she performed her initiations"); and cult of Mithras (F. CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Chicago, IL, Open Court; London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1903, p. 150).

55. That the *Didache*'s prayer in 9,2-5 was understood as a set formula is supported by the fact that an almost identical version of the prayer appears in Ps.-Athanasius, *De virginitate* 13, Serapion, *Euchologium* 13,13, and P.Deir.Balizeh ii.v.3-11. See NIEDERWIMMER, *Didache* (n. 39), p. 150.

56. F. POLAND (*Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, p. 268) suggests that this is "die Festpredigt zu Ehren des Gottes", while F. SOKOLOWSKI (*Lois sacrées des cités grecques* [École française d'Athènes: Travaux et mémoires, 18], Paris, Boccard, 1969, p. 101) thinks it is "un panégyrique ou sermon en l'honneur des dieux".

57. B. STOCK, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press,

Stock's study of textuality focuses on the Mediaeval period, it would seem that Qumran qualifies as a community formed around the reading, interpretation, and preservation of texts.

The groups addressed by the *Didache* probably did not rise to the learned level of the covenanters at Qumran. Yet both Qumran and the groups represented by the *Didache* were knowledge economies in ways that most other association were not. The Two Ways section is, of course, framed as a διδασχά, employing the common didactic trope of two paths and treats its addressees as children instructed by a parent (τέκνον μου). The second, post-eucharistic prayer is a thanksgiving for knowledge: ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἥς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου (10,2).

Most cultic associations were ritual economies, with activities centred on the performance of certain rituals, especially honorific practices, the common meal with its associated libations and prayers, processions, and funerary rites⁵⁸. These would have required ritual specialists, in most case members of the association itself. Honorific rituals seems to have been conducted by the ἐπιμελητής or ταμίας and required the public recitation of the honorific formula that had been approved by the assembly. The meal was normally presided over by the προστάτης or ιεροποιός (evidently a kind of banquet manager) or ἀγορανόμος⁵⁹ who was probably responsible for leading the prayers and libations. Other members might be responsible for organizing processions and funerary rites.

Qumran and the groups represented by the *Didache* were of course ritual economies. But they were also knowledge economies, privileging learning. In the case of Qumran, it would seem that knowledge experts for the most part were available within the group itself, in particular,

1983, p. 90: "What was essential to a textual community was not a written version of a text, although that was sometimes present, but an individual, who, having mastered it, then utilized it for reforming a group's thought and action. The text's interpreter might, like St. Bernard, remain a charismatic figure in his own right, whose power to motivate groups derive from his oratory, gestures, and physical presence. Yet the organizational principles of movements like the Cistercians were clearly based on texts, which played a predominant role in the internal and external relationships of the members. The outside world was looked upon as a universe beyond the revelatory text; it represented a lower level of literacy and by implication of spirituality". See also W.A. JOHNSON, *Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity*, in *American Journal of Philology* 121 (2000) 593-627, esp. pp. 602-603 who, adapting Stock, uses the term "reading community" to refer to earlier (pre-Mediaeval) iterations of group formed around the reading of texts.

58. See J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Associations, Guilds, and Clubs*, in R. URO *et al.*, *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Ritual*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018, 154-170.

59. E.g., P.Mich. VIII 511.

the *maskil*⁶⁰. What distinguishes the *Didache* not only from the bylaws of associations but also the rule texts of Qumran is the fact that knowledge experts seem also to have been available from outside – or at least, the *Didache* anticipates that knowledge experts, variously called ἀπόστολοι, προφηταί, and διδάσκαλοι, might offer themselves from outside the group.

In the past scholars have been tempted to parse these into three distinct categories. It may be that 11,4-12 on the reception of travelling “apostles” and “prophets” is a piece of tradition that has been incorporated and which treats ἀπόστολοι as a category distinct from προφηταί⁶¹. At the level of the editing of the *Didache*, however, the redactor’s interest is in teaching and its surveillance, and seems to subsume all of those functions – apostles, prophets and teachers – under the general category of teaching.

Niederwimmer argues that 11,1-2 is redactional, from the hand of the Didachist. *Did.* 11,1, ὃς ἂν οἷν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν, forms a bridge between the liturgical section (chaps. 7–10) and the next piece of tradition available to the Didachist, and ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα most obviously refers back to the Two Ways section and the liturgical section⁶². This suggests that whatever role differentiation existed prior to redaction, for the Didachist, apostles, prophets, and teachers are collapsed into the general category of ὁ διδάσκων (11,2)⁶³. The criteria for the reception of such teachers

60. C. NEWSOM, *The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maškil*, in J.G. GAMMIE – L.G. PERDUE (eds.), *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake, IN, Eisenbrauns, 1990, 373-382. The maskil might also have had some liturgical role: C. DOHMEN, *Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran (1QS VIII-IX)*, in *Revue de Qumran* 11 (1982) 81-96.

61. NIEDERWIMMER (*Didache* [n. 39], p. 46) thinks that only 11,4-12 (apart from an insertion in 11,11) is old tradition; the rest is from the Didachist (11,1-3; 12,1–15,4) except for 13,4, a later gloss. It should also be observed that 15,1-2 interrupts the discourse about conduct at the communal meetings in 14,1-4 and 15,3-4, which might imply that 14,1-4; 15,3-4 is traditional, interrupted by an editorial insertion in 15,1-2. See further, RORDORF – TUILIER, *La Doctrine* (n. 42), pp. 49, 63, 93; S. GIET, *L'énigme de la Didachè* (Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, 149), Paris, Éditions Ophrys, 1970, pp. 240-244. It might be observed, however, that association rules sometimes randomly shift from topic to topic and so it is perhaps unwise to expect coherence at any level of composition.

62. NIEDERWIMMER, *Didache* (n. 39), p. 171. He points out that ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες in 6,1b has the same role of joining the liturgical section (on baptism) to the Two Ways section.

63. A. DE HALLEUX (*Ministers in the Didache*, in J.A. DRAPER [ed.], *The Didache in Modern Research* [AGAJU, 37], Leiden, Brill, 1996, 300-320, pp. 306-307, 313, 315) argues that the absence of a second article in the phrase περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν (11,3) and again in 15,1.2 in the phrase τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων should be read as a hendiadys: “the apostles who are also prophets” (p. 307). The “two pairs could be reduced ... to a single figure, that of the prophet” (p. 315).

are coherence with the teaching that is already in place and whether that teaching cultivates what the Didachist calls δικαιοσύνη. Versions of these criteria are echoed throughout: “Apostles and prophets” are to be treated κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (11,3, which Niederwimmer also treats as redactional⁶⁴); and prophets are to be evaluated by recourse to the οἱ τρόποι κυρίου (11,8) and by the degree to which their behaviour corresponds to their teaching (11,10).

The concern that the *Didache* shows about persons “coming” and teaching seems to reflect a situation similar to that depicted in Matt 7,15, which describes false prophets who ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων and 2 John 10, which advises refusing to welcome anyone who “comes” but who does not agree with the author’s διδαχή.

Although it is often claimed that the *Didache* provides evidence of a social class of wandering radicals who indeed were the founders of Christ groups, Jonathan Draper has pointed out that there is very little evidence to support this contention⁶⁵. As many commentators observe, the final redaction of the *Didache* as well as the particular instructions on the reception of “apostles” and “prophets” in 11,4-12 are framed from the standpoint of the settled assembly, not that of the travellers. Moreover, there is no hint that the “apostles” were remembered as founders of any group. Hence it is misleading and probably anachronistic to refer to them as “missionaries”.

How then should we conceive of the strangers who arrive, claiming to be Christ followers and evidently holding themselves out as teachers. Instead of positing a class of itinerant radicals or a second form of the Christ movement that was characterized as itinerant⁶⁶, it is better to imagine a network of Christ assemblies, within which certain agents moved. There is ample evidence of such networks attested by the epistolary production of Christ groups: Paul’s letters attest the existence of networks of Christ assemblies in Greece and Macedonia; 2 John knows of mobile Christians who might approach an assembly; and the author of 3 John indicates that he not only is in contact with other groups via correspondence but intends to visit other groups. Likewise the pseud-

64. NIEDERWIMMER, *Didache* (n. 39), p. 173.

65. J.A. DRAPER, *Weber, Theissen, and ‘Wandering Charismatics’ in the Didache*, in *J ECS* 6 (1998) 541-576.

66. E.g., G. THEISSEN, *Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum*, in Id., *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums* (WUNT, 19), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1979, 79-105; K. NIEDERWIMMER, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus im Traditionsbereich der Didache*, in W. PRATSCHER – M. ÖHLER (eds.), *Quaestiones theologicae: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (BZNW, 90), Berlin, De Gruyter, 1998, 70-87.

epigraphical letters, 1 Peter, 2 Peter and James, the letters of Apocalypse 2–3, and the letters of Ignatius all presuppose the existence of a network of groups and imagine various kinds of communication (carried by letter carriers and travellers) among those groups⁶⁷.

It is probable that such networks were in the first instance commercial, structured by trading relationships that existed between various cities of the Mediterranean. That at least seems likely in the case of the network of the early fourth century Leonides, a flax merchant and in Oxyrhynchus who also possessed a poorly written copy of Romans (P¹⁰) which was undoubtedly obtained through commercial travel from Alexandria⁶⁸. And the fact that a copy of *Adversus haereses* appears in Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 405) only two decades after its composition in Lyons in the 180s is likely due to commercial travel between the Rhône valley, Ostia, and Alexandria.

Two features of Christ groups facilitated the developments that are seen in the *Didache*. First, the privileging of a knowledge economy created a demand for knowledge experts. And second, the existence of Christ groups within networks created by commercial exchange provided a ready-made path for mobile experts to approach Christ groups offering to respond to their need for teaching.

It is just this scenario that Lucian of Samosata describes in his essay on Perigrinus of Parium, an itinerant philosopher-prophet-teacher who, he claims, joined a Christ assembly in Palestine. He represented himself as a prophet (προφήτης) and even became the cult leader (θιασάρχης) and assembly president (ξυναγωγεὺς)⁶⁹. According to Lucian Perigrinus also served as an interpreter of Christian writings and even composed some of his own. They treated him as a lawgiver (νομοθέτης) and inscribed him as their president (προστάτην ἐπεγράφωντο) (*De morte Perigrini* 11).

When Perigrinus was eventually imprisoned, the Christ followers first attempted to obtain his freedom and when this was proved to be impossible, they visited him, supplied him with food, brought their sacred books to the prison, and bribed the guards so that they could sleep in the prison with him (Lucian, *De morte Perigrini* 12). Christ

67. On evidence of later networks, see C.W. CONCANNON, *Assembling Early Christianity: Trade, Networks, and the Letters of Dionysios of Corinth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

68. On this see A. LUIJENDIJK, *A New Testament Papyrus and Its Documentary Context: An Early Christian Writing Exercise from the Archive of Leonides* ('P.Oxy.' II 209/ p¹⁰), in *JBL* 129 (2011) 575-596 and the description of the Leonides archive in Trismegistos TM Arch id: 132: https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?arch_id=132#archdetail-table.

69. Lucian, *De morte Perigrini* 11.

followers from Asian cities flocked to him, contributing funds, so that when Perigrinus was released he had acquired considerable wealth. He continued to affiliate with Christ followers after his release, but was eventually expelled, Lucian thinks, for a violation of food practices (*De morte Perigrini* 16).

Lucian's description, which is hardly neutral or free from hyperbole, nevertheless accords with what is otherwise known of associative practices. The titles Lucian reports are all well attested as typical association titles: *θιασάρχης*, *ξυναγωγεὺς*, and *προστάτης*. As has been pointed out above, associations often undertook to support and defend members who were arrested and stood surety for their debts. Lucian's account represents the Christians as naive and easily taken in by a charlatan; this serves his larger goal of depicting Perigrinus as a fraud. Whether this association of Christ followers were quite as naive as Lucian makes out might be doubted; associations generally took care to manage their income and expenses carefully, and to guard against fraud. This in fact accords with the *Didache's* prescriptions about how to guard against fraud by travelling teachers.

Lucian's caricature of Perigrinus and the implied description of those who "come" to the Christ assemblies of the *Didache* correspond to what Heidi Wendt has called "freelance religious experts"⁷⁰: self-authorized experts who displayed a variety of competences ranging from wonder-working and prophecy, to teaching, the interpretation of sacred texts, and philosophical knowledge, combining some or all of these functions. The symbolic capital of these experts was only enhanced by persecution or exile⁷¹. Some capitalized on ethnicity, especially those from Babylon, Armenia, or Judaea. Lucian's comment that Perigrinus' imprisonment in fact brought him wealth (*De morte Perigrini* 13) underscores the role that suffering and hardship played in the authorization of such experts.

Wendt makes a good case for categorizing Paul as just such a freelance religious expert: self-authorized; appealing to revelations and special experiences; a teacher; an interpreter of Judaeian texts and expert in Judaeian practices; a wonderworker; a prophet; and one who had experienced hardship, prison, and even faced death⁷². But some version of this also fits those who the *Didache* imagines as approaching the group. They displayed both prophetic abilities and functioned as teachers

70. H. WENDT, *At the Temple Gates: The Religion of Freelance Experts in the Roman Empire*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2016.

71. See Juvenal's comments (*Sat.* 6,557-564) to the effect that astrologers gained symbolic capital by being exiled, imprisoned, or condemned to death.

72. WENDT, *At the Temple Gates* (n. 70), pp. 146-189.

– as argued above, the redaction of the *Didache* in 11,1-2 subsumes all of the travellers under the category of teaching –, and they might occasionally display certain exotic competences.

The *Didache*'s proposed tests of these “experts” is of a piece with the practices of associations, which displayed a keen awareness of the possibility of financial fraud. Associations typically kept detailed and exact financial records, and some mandated an audit to be performed on the accounts of an outgoing treasurer to confirm that he had not purloined any of the group's funds, or used them for unauthorized purposes. Hence, the *Didache*'s rule, declaring as a ψευδοπροφήτης anyone who asks for money while speaking as a prophet reflects the same awareness of fraud that one sees amply attested in associative practices.

At the same time, however, the nature of the groups represented by the *Didache* as knowledge economies, and their network connections created both advantages and dangers that were largely unattested in other cultic associations. The privileging of knowledge, reading, and teaching aligned Christ assemblies with elite sectors of Roman society where the ability to read and engage in learned discussions of difficult texts conferred social capital. This development within Christ groups, I have suggested elsewhere, was one of the critical factors in the eventual attraction of elite to Christ groups in the Antonine and Severan periods⁷³. But the development of a knowledge economy also came at a cost, since Christ assemblies also had to develop more complex methods to manage mobile knowledge experts such as Perigrinus, who might prey on Christ assemblies but also ways to assess the competence of in-house knowledge experts, whose claims to knowledge had to be measured against their behaviour (conformity with the τρόποι κυρίου, 11,8).

The *Didache* offers some evidence of role differentiation not entirely unlike that within cultic associations, but organized in relation to the knowledge economy. *Did.* 15,1 advises the election of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, vetted of course, who might also have served as teachers (since they are said to have the same λειτουργία as that of the prophets and teachers), but were also likely managers, as the name ἐπίσκοπος implies.

V. CONCLUSION

The comparison of the *Didache* with the bylaws of Greek, Roman, and Judaean associations indicates many commonalities, but some distinctive

73. J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Christ's Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2019, pp. 335-339.

features as well. It is unexceptional that the *Didache*'s regulations treated entrance and initiation, the vetting of those who wished to join or interact with the group, meal practices, the general behaviour that should be expected of members, and a keen interest in not falling prey to financial fraud. The selection of leaders – that is, the ἐπίσκοποι – is also unexceptional.

What is more distinctive is the *Didache*'s need to stipulate the exact texts of the prayers to be said daily and at the eucharist, and the *Didache*'s strong orientation to teaching and the reception of those who claim to teach. Both of these distinctives seem symptomatic of a group that cannot rely on long-established practices and shared knowledge on the part of its members.

The privileging of teaching points to one of the singular features of the early Christ cult when compared with other associations: the investment in what would eventually become “book culture” and the development of textual communities. Justin's description of the typical meeting of a Christ group in Rome draws attention to the reading of texts and their learned exposition (*I Apol.* 65). This would eventually produce a set of robust textual communities that were involved not only in reading practices, but in the creation of books and in the transmission of book knowledge via a network of scribes. The existence of networks through which knowledge was transmitted also provided opportunities for freelance experts with a suite of competences, including not only thaumaturgic and prophetic skills, but who would also advertise themselves as teachers, philosophers, textual interpreters, and even the composers of new texts and commentaries – both Paul and Perigrinus fall into this category. Hence, the need to develop tests for authentic and approved teaching. The *Didache*'s tests – both financial and behavioural – can be seen as adaptations of the common practices of associations and guilds developed for a new situation in which Christ groups took on some of the traits of textual communities or even philosophical groups and hence needed ways to control their knowledge production.

University of Toronto
Department for the Study of Religion
Jackman Humanities Bldg.
170 St. George Street
Toronto Ontario
Canada
john.kloppenborg@utoronto.ca

John S. KLOPPENBORG

Research Associate, University of Pretoria

WHENCE THE *GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS*?

After an introductory reflection about general problems of dating and locating early Christian texts, the present contribution focuses on a particularly interesting example which is, however, extremely difficult to contextualise: It is a fragmentarily preserved gospel text that might be a relatively early example of a gospel that in the end was not included in the New Testament canon, but instead was almost forgotten, together with its original tradents or communities. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as it is called already in Antiquity¹, might also be one of the earliest preserved Christian texts from the ancient intellectual “hub”², the Egyptian metropolis Alexandria.

But how can we gain any degree of certainty about its original context, its origin, and its date? The methodological problems should not be underestimated. For this reason, I will begin with some methodological reflections.

I. ON DATING AND LOCATING EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS

Dating and locating early Christian texts is a complicated and much debated field. The discussions are, however, more about particular texts, not so much about the criteria and the principles of evaluating the data for locating and dating texts³. The enterprise, fundamental for any “Introduction to the New Testament”, requires not only a clear analysis of the respective text(s) and their mutual interrelations, but also a verdict about the relevance of the respective textual data for answering such “introductory” questions and, most importantly, an overall historical picture of the intellectual and institutional development of early Christianity in its various regions and places. Severe difficulties arise from

1. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2,45,5; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2,12 (on John 1,3).

2. Cf. the forthcoming volume by B. SCHLISSER *et al.* (eds.), *Alexandria – Hub of the Ancient World* (WUNT), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2021 (in press).

3. See however, the proceedings of a conference held in Giessen (Germany) from May 30th until June 1st, 2019, entitled “Das Baujahr hinter der Fassade: Probleme bei der Datierung neutestamentlicher Pseudepigraphen und neuere Lösungsansätze”, which have been accepted for publication in WUNT in 2021, edited by Wolfgang GRÜNSTÄUDL and Matthias SCHMIDT.

the lacunae in our knowledge about the origins and early development of the Jesus movement in many regions of the Mediterranean, including parts of Syria, Egypt, and Rome. What kind of textual knowledge can we assume to be available, to whom, and at what time? What about the different streams of tradition within Judaism and beyond, and what about the various strata of ancient society and cultural education? What can we presuppose for the author of a particular text, and which textual aspects are significant for reconstructing its context? What does, for example, the lack of reference to the Jerusalem temple or to its destruction mean with regard to a date before or after 70 CE? What does the use of philosophical terms such as *logos* (John 1,1) mean with regard to the location of a text in an urban centre or even in Alexandria? To what extent can observations regarding Scriptural quotations or references to the Jesus tradition, hints to the perception of a “delay” of the expected end or the parousia of Jesus, or the mention of a particular institutional form of local communities or church ministries serve as an argument for a particular dating of a text? And if it is true that the institutional and ideological developments, such as the “separation” between Jewish Jesus followers and Synagogal Judaism, did not happen uniformly, but with considerable differences in various regions or among different groups, how can we then draw any conclusion from the developments in one region to those in another one?

There are further issues with regard to the philosophy of historical reasoning. Is the only safe argument for dating texts their material evidence (i.e., the time of the production of a codex or the writing of a manuscript), while any suggestion of an earlier origin and development of its text must remain hypothetical? In view of the very fragmentary evidence that has survived from antiquity, however, such a “minimalistic” view is most likely wrong. Most texts from the Hebrew Bible are much older than their earliest manuscripts which have accidentally survived in the Qumran corpus, and most probably the canonical gospels were composed much earlier than their earliest manuscript evidence or their quotations in church authors such as Marcion, Justin, or Irenaeus. But from time to time, hypercritical authors bring up such “dissenting” ideas to question the commonly accepted views⁴. On the other hand, authors suggest a very early date of the same texts, based on other types

4. Cf. currently the suggestions of a very late dating of the gospels by Markus Vinzent and Matthias Klinghardt; see M. VINZENT, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (Studia Patristica Supplements, 2), Leuven, Peeters, 2014; M. KLINGHARDT, *Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien: Untersuchung – Rekonstruktion – Übersetzung – Varianten* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, 60/61), 2 vols., Tübingen, Franke, 2015.

of reasoning, for example, their still thoroughly Jewish character or the observation that Jesus' prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem does not really match the actual history and should thus be regarded as a prediction, rather than as a *vaticinium ex eventu*⁵. Where is the burden of proof, then? Do we have to prove an early date, or a late date, or is the safe place in-between? It is the method of historical reasoning which has to be discussed, even more so in a society wherein the leading paradigms of thought are taken from the hard sciences, rather than from historical and hermeneutical thinking.

In biblical scholarship, we have the everlasting dispute between those (mostly more conservative) scholars preferring early dates, at least for the canonical texts, and those (mostly more liberal) scholars with a general tendency to advocate later dates. Closely linked with the dating issues are, of course, the issues of authenticity or pseudonymity of canonical writings and the issues of textual dependence between canonical writings or other canonical and apocryphal writings (e.g., the *Gospel of Thomas*). But all these issues are embedded in a wider framework of concepts about evolving early Christianity: How quickly did the early Jesus movement develop, and how did it spread into the various regions of the Mediterranean or the various strata of society? Is there a common beginning (in Jerusalem, with the apostles), or is there a plurality of equally original patterns of Jesus fellowship or equally original gospel genres side by side⁶, in different groups, and with different theological concepts? Is there a development from "orthodoxy" to various types of "heresy", as the church fathers had claimed, or did the development actually move in the reverse direction, from a certain "experimental" stage which was later considered doctrinally insufficient, toward a clearer definition of doctrine with a marked distinction between "orthodoxy" and "heresy"⁷?

5. Thus the provoking book by J.A.T. ROBINSON, *Redating the New Testament*, London, SCM Press, 1976, which was warmly welcomed by conservative and evangelical authors. Another early dating of canonical and non-canonical texts is provided in the secular "Bible" edition, crafted from canonical and non-canonical texts (Apostolic Fathers, New Testament Apocrypha) arranged according to their assumed historical sequence by Klaus Berger and Christiane Nord: *Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften*, übersetzt und kommentiert von K. BERGER – C. NORD, Frankfurt a.M. – Leipzig, Insel, 1999; cf. also Berger's short commentary on the whole New Testament: K. BERGER, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher, 2011.

6. Cf., e.g., the programmatic essay by Helmut Koester: H. KOESTER, *One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels*, in *HTR* 62 (1968) 203-247 who influentially established the view of the existence of various pre-canonical types of gospel tradition side by side and, thus, implicitly of various original types of "Christianity".

7. Thus influentially W. BAUER, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 10), Tübingen, Mohr, ²1964.

Furthermore, all these debates are not “purely” driven by historical questions. They are always linked with ideas about normativity or the desire to defend or challenge a certain concept, for example, of unity or diversity as “original” and thus normative for the church or for society. Discussing issues of historical contextualisation of early Christian texts, thus, requires not only a sober awareness about what we cannot know for sure, but also an awareness of the hermeneutical circles we all are involved in and will never completely escape from.

One of the areas we have only very little and fragmentary information about is the city of Alexandria in the first and early second century. We do not know how the message about Jesus got there, or how it developed within and also outside of the large Jewish community in that metropolis and its surroundings. This is particularly disturbing, given the important role of Alexandria for the development of Christianity in the mid-second century and onwards. Our case study for contextualising early Christian texts, specifically the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, will lead us precisely into this lacuna of knowledge⁸, where all our reasoning nevertheless remains hypothetical.

II. JEWISH-CHRISTIAN GOSPELS – A WAY BACK TO THE CHRISTIAN ORIGINS?

One of the often ignored or marginalised early Christian traditions is the tradition of Jewish or Judaeo-Christianity (i.e., Jesus followers who still were or deliberately remained Jewish) which continued keeping Jewish practices and remained in a close relationship with Synagogal Judaism⁹. Of course, the beginnings of the Jesus movement developed

8. See A. FÜRST, *Christentum als Intellektuellen-Religion: Die Anfänge des Christentums in Alexandria* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, 213), Stuttgart, Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2007, p. 70: “Wirklich sichere Nachrichten über das Christentum in Alexandria besitzen wir erst aus der Mitte und dem Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts”. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 70-80; see further A. JAKAB, *Ecclesia alexandrina: Évolution sociale et institutionnelle du christianisme alexandrin (II^e et III^e siècles)* (Christianismes anciens, 1), Bern, Peter Lang, 2001, pp. 35-61; A. MARTIN, *Aux origines de l’Alexandrie chrétienne: Topographie, liturgie, institutions*, in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* (BETL, 164), Leuven, Peeters, 2003, 105-120.

9. On the issues of definition of Jewish or Judaeo-Christianity see J. CARLETON PAGET, *Jewish Christianity*, in W. HORBURY – W.D. DAVIES – J. STURDY (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 3: *The Early Roman Period*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, 731-775, pp. 733-742. On Jewish Christianity, see the comprehensive surveys O. SKARSAUNE – R. HVALVIK (eds.), *Jewish Believers in Jesus*, Peabody, MA, Hendrickson, 2007, and E. BROADHEAD, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus* (WUNT, II/266), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

entirely within the context of Judaism, whereas later in the fourth and fifth centuries Jesus followers who continued practicing Jewish rites were increasingly marginalised and ultimately ceased to exist as distinct groups between Rabbinic Judaism and the Gentile Christian church.

But due to the fact that some church authors such as Eusebius and in particular Jerome considered Jewish-Christian traditions particularly close to original Christian practice, some of those traditions were collected and cited, especially with regard to textual variants of the gospel text (especially of Matthew) but also for some “haggadic” explanations of the Jesus story. This is the reason why fragments from Jewish-Christian gospel writings or gospel traditions are preserved in scattered fragments which were selected and quoted by those church fathers according to their knowledge and particular interests¹⁰. But due to the selective preservation of only a few fragments and quotations, the reconstruction of the original shape of those writings or a closer analysis of their character is possible only to a very limited degree.

We must further consider that Jewish Christianity as such cannot be considered a unified movement, but rather consisted of various groups in different regions, with different christological teachings, and different degrees of Jewish observance. The “unity” of Jewish Christianity is a modern construction, more precisely a fruit of the theology-historical constructions of F.C. Baur who considered the antagonism between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity the most important constellation in early Christian history. The descriptions in Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome about Jewish-Christian groups of Ebionites, Nazoreans/Nazarenes, etc. show that there was no doctrinal unity between the various and locally scattered groups and that there was also no coherent line of tradition between the Jewish Christians of the fourth century and those of the second century or even earlier. Thus, the idea – or illusion – that the Jewish-Christian traditions could provide a path to the very origins of Christianity, even to a more original state than the canonical gospels represent, cannot stand critical scrutiny. Deists such as John Toland¹¹ and

10. See my survey of traditions in J. FREY, *Die Fragmente judenchristlicher Evangelien*, in C. MARKSCHIES – J. SCHRÖTER (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*. I/1: *Evangelien und Verwandtes*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 560-660, pp. 560-592; cf. also A.F.J. KLJN, *Jewish Christian Gospel Tradition* (VigChrSup, 17), Leiden, Brill, 1992, and, most recently, A. GREGORY, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel of the Ebionites* (Oxford Early Christian Texts), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017.

11. J. TOLAND, *Nazarenus: or Jewish, Gentile and Mahometan Christianity*, London, 1718 considered Nazarene Christianity a more original form of Christianity, and referred to it in the interest of Antitrinitarianism.

Enlightenment authors such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing¹² were still convinced from the ancient traditions about Jewish-Christian gospels that they could provide a chance to solve the problems of the synoptic gospels, to restore the shape of an original “Nazarene” or “Hebrew” gospel and thus possibly get back to the undistorted origins of the Christian doctrine.

III. THE CONFUSION IN JEROME AND THE DISTINCTIONS OF MODERN CRITICISM

The modern idea of an early and still undogmatic and original “Nazarene” gospel goes back to the confusion caused by the church fathers, in particular Jerome¹³ who frequently mentions Jewish-Christian traditions in the context of his search for the *hebraica veritas*. But in adopting a fragment of a “Gospel according to the Hebrews” probably from Origen¹⁴ and a number of textual and exegetical variants he had received directly or indirectly from Jewish Jesus followers of his time, Jerome was probably convinced that these traditions represented one single Jewish-Christian gospel writing. He also identified that writing with the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, as mentioned in the note of Papias quoted by Eusebius¹⁵. According to his claims, this Hebrew “original” of Matthew is the *Gospel of the Hebrews* which is read by the Nazoreans in Beroea (= Aleppo) in their Aramaic language. With this construct, most probably based on a number of confusions, Jerome has created the impressive image of *one* Jewish-Christian gospel writing that was

12. G.E. LESSING, *Neue Hypothese über die Evangelisten als bloß menschliche Schriftsteller betrachtet* (1777/78), in L. ZSCHARNACK (ed.), *Lessings Werke*. 23. Teil: *Theologische Schriften* 4, Berlin – Leipzig, Bong, 1925, 120-139, links Jerome’s references to the Nazarenes with the designation of the first Christians as Nazarenes in Acts 24,5. Cf. D. LÜHRMANN, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien: Studien zu neuen Texten und neuen Fragen* (NTSup, 112), Leiden, Brill, 2004, pp. 259-266.

13. For the analysis of Jerome’s numerous references and his particular claims, see FREY, *Fragmente* (n. 10), pp. 578-587; cf. also T.C.G. THORNTON, *Jerome and the Hebrew Gospel according to Matthew*, in E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Patristica 28: Other Latin Authors, Nachleben of the Fathers, Index Patrum*, Leuven, Peeters, 1993, 118-122.

14. It is significant that the fragment Jerome quotes three times with varying introductions (*Comm. Mic.* 2 on Mic 7,5-7: “the gospel which was edited according to the Hebrews”; *Comm. Isa.* 11, on Isa 40,9-11: “the gospel which is written according to the Hebrews and which the Nazarenes read”; *Comm. Ezech.* 4, on Ezek 16,13: “the gospel of the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes read”) is also quoted twice in Origen, once without an introduction (*Comm. Jer.* 15,4, on Jer 15,10), but before that with the probably correct name “the gospel according to the Hebrews” (*Comm. Jo.* 2,12, on John 1,3), as it is also preserved in Clement (*Strom.* 2,45,5).

15. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,39,17.

transmitted from the first to the fourth century. He even boldly claims to have translated this gospel into Greek and Latin.

The authority of the church father and the dense web of his claims has made it difficult for modern scholarship to critically separate the layers of tradition. Only since Adolf Hilgenfeld in the nineteenth century¹⁶ have the fragments quoted by Epiphanius¹⁷ from a gospel writing used by a group of Ebionites been singled out and considered parts of a separate “Gospel of the Ebionites”. And only since the works of Hans Waitz at the beginning of the twentieth century¹⁸, have critical scholars begun to distinguish between a Semitic (most probably Aramaic) writing which Jerome had heard about or seen parts of and which is usually called with the name (attested only since Medieval times) “Gospel of the Nazoraeans”, and a Greek writing, the “Gospel according to the Hebrews” which is already quoted in Clement and Origen. Strong arguments for this distinction is the saying from the “Gospel according to the Hebrews” quoted in Clement with its nice wordplay, which must have been originally in Greek¹⁹, and Eusebius’ note about the Jewish-Christian author Hegesippus who is said to quote “from the Gospel according to the Hebrews as well as from the Syriac (gospel), especially from the Hebrew [i.e., Aramaic] language”²⁰. Therefore, a distinction between a Greek writing – the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* – and another writing or textual tradition in a Semitic language, most probably Aramaic, seems necessary. Only such a distinction between the two writings can produce greater clarity regarding their respective profiles.

Admittedly, the separation of the fragments and their attribution to either of these writings is not always clear, and there are still scholars such as Simon Mimouni²¹, Petri Luomanen²², and Andrew Gregory²³

16. A. HILGENFELD, *Das Evangelium der Hebräer*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 6 (1863) 345-385.

17. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.

18. H. WAITZ, *Das Matthäusevangelium der Nazaräer (Nazaräerevangelium)*, in E. HENNECKE (ed.) *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1924, 17-32, and Id., *Hebräerevangelium*, *ibid.*, 48-55; cf., Id., *Neue Untersuchungen über die sogenannten judenchristlichen Evangelien*, in *ZNW* 36 (1937) 60-81.

19. On this saying see below, part IV.2.

20. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4,22,8. When Eusebius later, in his *Theophania*, quotes from a gospel “in Hebrew letters” (Eusebius, *Theoph.* frag. 4,22), he interestingly does not identify this work with the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

21. S. MIMOUNI, *Early Judaeo-Christianity: Historical Essays* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 13), Leuven, Peeters, 2012; cf. the French original Id., *Le judéo-christianisme ancien: Essais historiques* (Patrimoines), Paris, Cerf, 1998; Id., *Les fragments évangéliques judéo-chrétiens ‘apocryphés’: Recherches et perspectives* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, 66), Paris, Gabalda, 2006.

22. P. LUOMANEN, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels* (VigChrSup, 110), Leiden, Brill, 2012, pp. 83-144.

23. GREGORY, *Gospel* (n. 10).

who refuse to follow that distinction. They rather present a unified corpus of the fragments of the “Gospel according to the Hebrews”, including the fragments elsewhere attributed to the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*, based on the assumption that the quotations presented by Jerome are actually from a single work that was read in Greek by Clement and Origen, but was accessible to Jerome in a Semitic version²⁴. But can we really assume that the work was read in second-century Alexandria in Greek and that Hegesippus already encountered the same work in a Semitic translation at the same time in Jewish Palestine? And should Papias also have read the same work in Asia Minor? Apart from the fact that the textual transmission from the second to the fourth century is completely uncertain, the credulity with regard to Jerome’s claims only leads to a lack of clarity. Therefore, the majority of specialists, including the contributors to the former editions of Hennecke’s collection, Philipp Vielhauer and Georg Strecker²⁵, Daniel Bertrand²⁶, Albertus F.J. Klijn²⁷, Hans-Josef Klauck²⁸, and Keith Elliott²⁹, accept the need for a more critical distinction. In my contribution to the new Hennecke³⁰, I decided to go even further and also separate the fragments of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* from some other glosses on Matthew’s text which are attributed in some ancient manuscripts to a so-called *Ioudaikon*, a “Jewish (gospel)”, and were often also considered part of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*³¹.

Following all those critical deconstructions of the impressive unity once presented by Jerome, we must reckon with a much more fluid textual form in all these works, since the stabilising factors of the canonical process did not affect them. The consequence is that we cannot be

24. Thus, *ibid.*, pp. 43-51.

25. P. VIELHAUER – G. STRECKER, *Judenchristliche Evangelien*, in W. SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1990, 114-147.

26. D. BERTRAND, *Fragments évangéliques: Textes traduits, présentés et annotés*, in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens 1* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442), Paris, Gallimard, 1997, 393-495, pp. 433-462.

27. KLIJN, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (n. 10).

28. H.-J. KLAUCK, *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction*, London, T&T Clark, 2003.

29. J.K. ELLIOTT, *Jewish-Christian Gospels*, in ID., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, 3-16.

30. FREY, *Fragmente* (n. 10); cf. also ID., *Gospel of the Hebrews*, in J. SCHRÖTER – C. JACOBI (eds.), *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries. Volume Two: From Thomas to Tertullian: Christian Literary Reception of Jesus in the Second and Third Centuries CE*, London, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2019, 183-192.

31. J. FREY, *Die Scholien nach dem ‘jüdischen Evangelium’ und das sogenannte Nazoräerevangelium*, in ZNW 94 (2003) 122-137; ID., *Fragmente* (n. 10), pp. 655-660. The effect of this further distinction is that even the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* which has often been considered a slightly changed or “targumic” version of Matthew now appears as a distinct writing with a proper choice of contents.

sure that the texts quoted by the fathers in the fourth century are identical or only similar with the texts that possibly already existed in the second century. With regard to the Aramaic *Gospel of the Nazarenes*, the hints provided by Jerome and also Eusebius point to the region of Syria. However, even though Hegesippus is said to quote from a “Syriac” gospel³² and the collection of Jewish-Christian traditions can easily be imagined in the period after the Bar-Kokhba War, we cannot be sure that Hegesippus already had the text which is later quoted by Jerome and Eusebius. A consistent textual transmission – in either language – of the Jewish-Christian gospel traditions from the second to the fourth century cannot be ascertained³³.

IV. THE FRAGMENTS OF THE *GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS* AND ITS CHARACTER

1. *The Fragment Quoted by Jerome from Origen*

For the fragment of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* presented three times in Jerome, it is quite clear that the source of Jerome’s quotations is not a work in a Semitic language but simply Origen’s text. The fragment adopted in Jerome’s commentaries on Micah (*Comm. Mich.* 2 on Mic 7,5-7), Isaiah (*Comm. Isa.* 11 on Isa 40,9-11), and Ezekiel (*Comm. Ezech.* 4 on Ezek 16,13)³⁴ is just the same text that had already been presented by Origen in his commentary on John and his homilies on Jeremiah, a saying of Jesus about his “mother, the Holy spirit” carrying him away by his hairs to the great mountain Tabor. Since Jerome does not provide any further piece of this tradition beyond what is quoted in Origen, and even shortens the reference, it is most probable that he takes this quotation not from an actual manuscript of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* but from the Greek text of Origen’s quotations, which he then renders in Latin.

In the earliest attestation of this tradition, in his commentary on John, Origen writes (*Comm. Jo.* 2,12 on John 1,3): “If somebody accepts the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himself says: A moment ago my Mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of my hairs

32. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4,22,8.

33. In particular the late Dieter Lührmann has suggested that the rendering of the canonical gospels into Aramaic or Syriac happened not before the fourth century (cf. LÜHRMANN, *Evangelien* [n. 12], p. 257), so that he ultimately dates the composition of an Aramaic gospel writing also to the fourth, not to the second century.

34. See above, note 14.

and brought me to the great mountain, the Tabor...". In his second usage of the tradition, in the homilies on Jeremiah (*Comm. Jer.* 15,4 on Jer 15,10), he writes, "If somebody accepts (the following): A moment ago my Mother, the Holy Spirit, took me and brought me to the great hill, the Tabor...". In both instances, Origen introduces the quotation by a remarkable introductory phrase, "if somebody accepts...", that is, as a quotation from a work not universally accepted as an authority, but in any case acceptable. In his commentary on John, he gives the source of the quotation, "it is the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews'".

Jerome, in the three instances mentioned, quotes the saying in Latin, with the indication of the source "which was edited according to the Hebrews", "which is written according to the Hebrews ... and which the Nazarenes read", or just "of the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes read". He thus varies the introduction and adds the claim that the Nazarenes (i.e., the Jewish Christians speaking Aramaic or Syriac) also read *this* gospel, but there is no evidence that he knows more than what he could take from Origen, as he does not add any further part of the saying or the related story beyond the fragments quoted by Origen. Thus, his claim "which we translated not long ago" (*quod nuper transtulimus*), leaves it open whether he translated this from the Greek text of Origen into Latin, or – as he might want to suggest – from an original "Hebrew" source into Greek and Latin. The way the saying is introduced, however, makes it clear that at least in this case he does not draw on a separate source different from Origen. There is no reason to assume that this saying or story was originally written in Aramaic or Hebrew, although we cannot rule out that it was also translated into a Semitic idiom at some point of time.

The fragments are apparently taken from a narrative in which Jesus talks about an experience of "rapture" or supernatural transport to Mt. Tabor. Such a story is not contained in the synoptic gospels but could be a variation either of the transfiguration story or of the temptation story, both of which were linked with Mt. Tabor in the later Patristic tradition³⁵. Unlike in the synoptic stories, the incident is narrated by Jesus himself. This might be a secondary "upgrading" of an earlier narrative tradition³⁶.

35. The transfiguration is linked with Mt. Tabor in Origen, *Sel. Pss.*, on Ps 88,13 (PG 12, 1548D) and Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 12,16. The temptation is linked with Mt. Tabor in Epiphanius, *Panarion* 51,21,7. In the NT Ms. 1424, there is a marginal gloss on Matt 28,16-20 which even locates the post-Easter appearance of Jesus to his disciples on Mt. Tabor; cf. KLJN, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (n. 10), p. 55.

36. On the various textual and conceptual changes that can indicate the secondary composition of a writing related to already more authoritative writings (that I have called "apocryphication"), cf. J. FREY, *From Canonical to Apocryphal Texts: The Quest for Processes of "Apocryphication" in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature*, in ID. – C. CLIVAZ – T. NICKLAS (eds.), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts: Processes of*

But the story markedly differs from any of the synoptic accounts. According to Matt 4,8, Jesus is brought onto a high mountain, but he is guided there by the devil, not by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, there is no indication in the synoptics how the transportation is imagined. The motif of being taken by one's hairs is prefigured in the Greek version of Ezekiel where the prophet is lifted up and transported by his hairs, and there are additional, similar passages in the Jewish tradition³⁷. But the wider context of the quotation is not presented. The only interest of the fathers in quoting the saying was that in this tradition the Holy Spirit is called Jesus' mother. All the other details of the story or context were apparently irrelevant to them. Therefore, we do not know in which narrative context the saying originally occurred in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. We can only state that the narrative or the incident referred to markedly differs from our synoptic accounts.

2. The Fragment Quoted by Clement

The earliest available fragments of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* are quoted in Clement. In his "carpets"³⁸, the Alexandrian author quotes a tradition from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* which he later³⁹ quotes again in fuller form, but without explicit mention of its source. There, the saying reads, "He who seeks will not cease until he finds and having found he will marvel and having marvelled he will become king, and having become king, he will rest". The abbreviated version, "He who has become astonished will become king and he who has become king will rest" is introduced by "as it is also written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews"⁴⁰. Thus, Clement, in Alexandria at the end of the second century, can quote a saying from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" as an authority confirming his argument. Unlike Origen, some decades later, he does not add any qualification of the type "if someone accepts the Gospel according to the Hebrews"⁴¹, but seems to take it for granted that his readers consider the source acceptable, not dubious.

Reception, Rewriting, and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity (WUNT, 419), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2019, 1-43, p. 38.

37. Ezek 8,6 LXX; cf. also *Bel et Draco* 5,36.39 and 2 *Bar* 6,3 where Baruch is lifted up by the Spirit. In the Jesus tradition, the element is adopted in the Diatessaronic reading of Luke 4,29-30; cf. T. BAARDA, *The Flying Jesus: Luke 4,29-30 in the Syriac Diatessaron*, in *VigChr* 40 (1986) 313-341; see also GREGORY, *Gospel* (n. 10), p. 72, and KLIJN, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (n. 10), p. 54.

38. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2,9,45.

39. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5,96,2-3.

40. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2,9,45.

41. Origenes, *Comm. Jo.* 2,12.

In its full form, the saying is almost equally attested in the Greek fragment of the *Gospel of Thomas* from Oxyrhynchus⁴² and, then, slightly altered, in its Coptic version from Nag Hammadi⁴³. In Greek, the saying has the form of a *gradatio*, a saying that comes to its climax in several steps⁴⁴. While the Coptic version has disturbed the wordplay, the structure works nicely in Greek. Here, the saying encompasses a sequence of four steps. The first one “he who seeks will find” is known from the canonical sayings tradition (Matt 7,7; Luke 11,9), but there are three subsequent steps in a chain-locked structure: being astonished, becoming king or ruler, and, finally, resting. The whole sequence describes the steps of a path of seeking insight or even “salvific” wisdom. Clement quotes it in order to give reason for the Platonic idea of astonishment as the beginning of philosophy and, in the second passage, as an explanation of a passage from Plato’s *Timaios*. But in spite of this particular kind of reception, the basic ideas of the saying are deeply rooted in Jewish wisdom thought. The motif of seeking and finding is a well-known wisdom motif⁴⁵, and according to the Book of Wisdom, “the desire for and pursuit of wisdom leads to a kingdom”⁴⁶, and the motif of rest is also an important eschatological motif, not only in Ben Sira, but also in the Jesus tradition (Matt 11,29). Rulership and rest are linked in 2 *Clement*⁴⁷ and in the *Dialogue of the Saviour*⁴⁸, but rest is also an important idea in the Platonic tradition. The fragment, therefore, draws on motifs based in the Hellenistic Jewish tradition, which were adopted and developed in a variety of ways within early Christian thought⁴⁹, but could also be understood within a wider philosophical framework. It is precisely in this discourse, due to the interest of presenting the Christian tradition in a philosophical mode, that Clement refers to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* as an authority.

If Clement’s attribution is correct (and there is no reason to doubt this), the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was originally written in Greek and, at least in its present form, not based on a Semitic original. The saying quoted by Clement is rooted in motifs of the Jewish wisdom tradition, but also articulated with an openness towards philosophical

42. P.Oxy 654,5-9.

43. *Gospel of Thomas* 2 (NHC II,2 32,14-19).

44. Thus KLIJN, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (n. 10), p. 49.

45. Cf. Prov 2,4-5; 8,17; Wis 6,12.

46. GREGORY, *Gospel* (n. 10), p. 66. Cf. Wis 6,20; Philo, *Prob.* 42; *Mut.* 152; etc.

47. 2 *Clem* 5,5 and 6,7.

48. NHC II,4 138,6-15 and 141,3-4.

49. Cf. the list of references in GREGORY, *Gospel* (n. 10), p. 67.

reflection. With all due caution, in view of the artificial linguistic structure and the motifs adopted, it may be more plausible that the saying should be located in Alexandria rather than in Jewish Palestine. This is an important argument for locating not only the reading and early reception but also the composition of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* in the context of Alexandrian Jewish tradition or Alexandrian Jewish Christianity.

3. *The Fragment from Didymus*

The third Alexandrian author who quotes the work is Didymus. In his commentary on the Psalms⁵⁰, he explains that in the gospels a person can have two different names, as in the case of Levi and Matthew (cf. Luke 5,27; Matt 9,9), using a reference to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* wherein Levi is identified with the Matthias from Acts 1,23⁵¹. The precise context of the reference remains unclear, but we can see that even in the fourth century, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was sufficiently present in Alexandria to be used as a reference. At least some of Didymus' readers must have known it well enough to have understood the reference.

4. *The Title and Its Meaning*

The quotations from these three Alexandrian authors – Clement, Origen, and Didymus – are the clearest testimonies for the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* that point to the precedence and reception and – in particular the fragment from Clement – also to the composition of this work in Alexandria. There, it was known with the title (as given by Clement and Origen) καθ' Ἑβραίους (lat. mostly *secundum/iuxta Hebraeos*). This title exactly matches the form of the canonical gospel titles. So we can assume that the phrase really represents the title of the work, not just a free reference or characterisation, and we can assume that, like the canonical gospels, the title had the form of a *superscriptio*. As in the canonical gospels, “according to” refers to the origin of the tradition. In this case, where a plurality exists, and not a single person is mentioned, it probably points to the group in which the work is considered to be authored, rather than to the users⁵². Only in later testimonies

50. M. GRONEWALD (ed.), *Didymos der Blinde, Psalmenkommentar (Tura Papyrus)* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, 6), Bonn, Habelt, 1967, p. 184.

51. Matthias and Matthew appear potentially conflated.

52. In her stimulating essay bringing together the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* from the perspective of Ancient readership, Claire

is the title applied to a group of users (thus in Latin: *evangelium Hebraeorum*) or even mixed up with the hints to a “Hebrew gospel” (*Hebraicum evangelium*)⁵³, and from those varying terms, the confusion about its original language arose.

A close parallel is the title of “Gospel according to the Egyptians”⁵⁴, which Clement also refers to. In view of these two similar titles, Walter Bauer reasonably suggested that the title “Gospel according to the Hebrews” was created in analogy to the title of the “Gospel according to the Egyptians”, in order to distinguish the work of Jewish Christians from another work composed by Gentile Christians of the same region⁵⁵. The designation “the Hebrews” suggests a perspective from outside of Jewish Palestine, because in Jewish Palestine, Jewish Christians would not have been called “the Hebrews”. Furthermore, the title suggests an external perspective on the work: It was probably written by others who were not (or no longer) part of those “Hebrews”, but received and transmitted their gospel writing. With its reference to the plurality of “the Hebrews” as origin and testimony of the text, the title could even strengthen the impression of its originality and authority.

5. *The Testimony of Eusebius*

Interestingly, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is never categorised as “heretical” or suspect by the early Christian authors. Clement uses it without any reservation, and Origen uses it in a more cautious way, which reflects the fact that the work was not considered a primary authority in the church. Yet, none of the Alexandrian fathers express any doubts with regard to the “orthodoxy” of the writing.

In the growing awareness of the need to list the authoritative writings of the church, it was Eusebius (who was not an Alexandrian, but dependent on Origen), who mentioned the “Gospel according to the Hebrews” in his list of disputed works⁵⁶ confirming its usage in Jewish-Christian circles. It is unclear whether he simply had this information from Origen (so it would be still linked to Egypt) or whether he was aware of its usage

Clivaz has to ignore that important difference between the titles of the two writings, but the comparison is worthwhile in spite of the different forms of the title. See C. CLIVAZ, (*According*) *To the Hebrews: An Apocryphal Gospel and a Canonical Letter Read in Egypt*, in FREY – CLIVAZ – NICKLAS (eds.), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts* (n. 36), 271-288.

53. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 5,4.

54. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3,63,1.

55. BAUER, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (n. 7), pp. 54-57.

56. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,25,5.

among Jewish Christians in the Syro-Palestinian region. At least, he reports about the Palestinian Jewish-Christian author Hegesippus who is said to quote from the “Gospel according to the Hebrews” and from another work, a “Syriac” (i.e., Semitic) gospel. This implies that Eusebius could distinguish between the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and another Jewish-Christian writing in a Semitic language, and he also made such a distinction in what he read from Hegesippus.

More questionable is Eusebius’ note that the so-called *Gospel of the Hebrews* was used among the Ebionites⁵⁷, from which Epiphanius later wrongly concludes that the Ebionites called their gospel writing “Gospel of the Hebrews”⁵⁸. But this is part of the confusion that grew in the later periods.

6. Additional Fragments

Can we attribute additional fragments to this Jewish-Christian gospel writing in Greek language? Can we apply valid criteria to select within the bulk of fragments presented by Jerome and others? Such criteria of attribution are, quite generally, early attestation, language, and content. The earliest fragments, quoted by Clement and Origen, have already been discussed. All the fragments and quotations that refer to a textual variant or refer to a phenomenon of Semitic languages can with good reason be attributed to a writing in Aramaic (i.e., to the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*)⁵⁹. But if there is no reference to a phenomenon of Semitic languages and the differences noted by the church fathers are not merely textual variants, a fragment might be an additional fragment from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. The most difficult decisions are those made with regard to the mere content of a saying or fragment, since we have to assess the possible coherence with the ideas in the fragments already established as part of the work, but there is much uncertainty about how much ideological coherence can be assumed for this work and the traditions adopted in it.

57. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,27,4.

58. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30,3,7. Here, the title is linked with the tradition about an originally Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (*Panarion* 30,13,2), which is adopted from Papias (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,39,16). In particular, due to the fact that Epiphanius provides quotations from the gospel used by the sect of the Ebionites, a kind of gospel harmony with some Jewish-Christian and vegetarian changes, it is implausible that the Ebionites of his time still used the “Gospel according to the Hebrews”, the work attested by Clement, Origen, and Didymus in Egypt.

59. See the discussion and the presentation of the fragments of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* in FREY, *Fragmente* (n. 10), pp. 623-654.

With all uncertainty and due caution, we might add the logion on love for the brother quoted by Jerome in his early commentary on Ephesians from what he calls the “Hebrew gospel”⁶⁰ and possibly also the logion on the sin of aggrrieving a brother’s spirit⁶¹. However, these sayings do not add very much difference to the character of the writing, apart from presenting some (more) examples of sayings of Jesus included here.

An attribution to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is further strongly suggested for the narration of the appearance of the Risen One to his brother James⁶². This story, quoted by Jerome, is indeed quite significant for assessing the distinctively Jewish-Christian character of the gospel⁶³ and for its links to the Palestinian-Jewish tradition about James “the Just”, the brother of the Lord who, at least after his martyrdom⁶⁴, became the “hero” of Jewish Christianity and is here granted the honour of seeing the Risen One first and, therefore, is granted priority over Peter and the others. The tradition was most probably not composed before James’ martyrdom or even before 70 CE. It might have its origins in Palestinian Jewish Christianity, but could have also originated in Egypt to be incorporated in the gospel writing of the Jewish Christians there. An origin of the whole writing in Jewish Palestine is not necessarily required, and, as we have seen, it is rather implausible in view of the fragment quoted by Clement.

Another important piece that can be attributed to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* for reasons of content is the fragment on Jesus’ baptism quoted by Jerome in his commentary on Isa 11,1-3⁶⁵. According to this fragment, the Holy Spirit comes upon Jesus after his baptism, “rests” on him, and addresses him with the words, “My son, in all the prophets I was expecting you that you would come, and that I would rest on you. For you are my rest, you are my firstborn son, who will rule for ever”⁶⁶. As in the fragment from Origen, the Holy Spirit is considered Jesus’ mother, addressing him as son, so that in this interesting variation of the synoptic baptism tradition, Jesus is presented as begotten or even born by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, the fragment adopts the Jewish sapiential

60. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 3, on Eph 5,4; cf. J. FREY, “*Et numquam laeti sitis...*”: Ein apokryphes Jesuswort und die Probleme des Hebräerevangeliums, in G. BRÜSKE – A. HAENDLER-KLÄSNER (eds.), *Oleum laetitiae: Festgabe für P. Benedikt Schwank* (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum, 5), Münster, Aschendorff, 2003, 187-212.

61. Jerome, *Comm. Ezech.* 6 (on Ezek 18,5-9).

62. Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2,12-13.

63. See J. FREY, *Die Vielgestaltigkeit der judenchristlichen Evangelienüberlieferung*, in ID. – J. SCHRÖTER, with J. SPAETH (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen: Beiträge zur außerkanonischen Jesusüberlieferungen aus verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturtraditionen* (WUNT, 254), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, 93-137.

64. Josephus, *Ant.* 20,199-203.

65. Jerome, *Comm. Isa.* 4 (on Isa 11,1-3).

66. Translation according to GREGORY, *Gospel* (n. 10), p. 111.

tradition of (Lady) Wisdom looking for rest (cf. Sir 24,7; Wis 7,27), and the final point of her eschatological rest is the Messiah Jesus. Jesus is the firstborn son of Wisdom, rather than the firstborn son of God (John 1,14.18), and unlike in the synoptic baptism accounts, it is not the Divine voice but the Spirit as mother who addresses him. The tradition presents a dense reception of Jewish wisdom traditions, in a certain analogy with the Johannine prologue (cf. John 1,14b), but the form is much closer to the direct speech of Lady Wisdom in Sirach 24 or Wisdom 7–9. In the reception of wisdom tradition, the female image of the Spirit as Jesus' mother, and the theme of eschatological rest, the fragment of a baptism scene comes very close to the ideas of the fragment quoted by Origen. The coherence of themes gives an important clue for assessing the character and context of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

With even more caution, we might also assume that the story mentioned by Didymus (but introduced only as being found “in certain gospels”)⁶⁷ about a woman accused of sin, a parallel to the textually secondary pericope *de adultera* (John 7,53–8,11)⁶⁸, could have been a part of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. But there are a number of differences between the text adopted in the Johannine textual tradition, the quotation in Didymus, and Eusebius' note about a similar story in Papias⁶⁹, such that the attribution remains more uncertain.

7. The Content and Character of the Writing

Based on these fragments, it is almost impossible to reconstruct the content and overall structure of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. It was probably a narrative gospel including stories about Jesus' baptism and temptation, and also his last meal and a first Easter appearance. But it is merely guesswork which aspects of Jesus' life and ministry were included in the gospel narrative. In any case, the differences in the narrative design between the version of Jesus' baptism in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the synoptic gospels or between the resurrection appearances in the canonical gospels and in our work lead to the assumption that there might have been more differences than similarities. The Jewish-Christian gospel tradition demonstrates how little we actually know from the selection of traditions that was adopted in the canon of the New Testament.

67. Didymus, *Comm. Eccl.* on Eccl 7,22.

68. On the text-critical problems, see the recent survey by J. KNUST – T. WASSERMAN, *To Cast the First Stone: The Transmission of a Gospel Story*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2018.

69. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,39,17.

The Jewish-Christian character of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is confirmed by the intense reference to Hellenistic-Jewish wisdom (e.g., in the baptism scene) and, most clearly, by the singular position given to James the Just, the Lord's brother. James is not only granted the first Easter appearance but also depicted as a faithful believer even during Jesus' ministry, a participant of the Lord's Supper, and a pious Jew, pronouncing an earnest vow of fasting and thereby expressing his intense hope for the resurrection of his brother. In marked difference from the common canonical tradition that Jesus' family did not support his earthly ministry (Mark 3,20-21.31-35 parr.) and also that his brother stayed at a distance until a post-Easter appearance (1 Cor 15,7), James now surpasses Peter and is awarded with the position of not only the closest relative but also the most faithful and exemplary follower of Jesus⁷⁰.

This clearly mirrors the view of Jewish Christianity for which James was already a crucial figure while being the leader of the Jerusalem community, but thereafter became the "hero" of Jewish Christianity after his martyrdom in 62 CE, or after 70 CE. As Eusebius' list of the Jerusalem bishops and the traditions about the *desposynoi*, the relatives of the Lord, show, Palestinian Jewish Christianity in the period between 70 CE and the Bar-Kokhba War was still under a strong influence of the members of the family of Jesus⁷¹.

V. THE QUEST FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE *GOSPEL* ACCORDING TO THE *HEBREWS*

But how can we locate and date the composition of the work? Some hints have already been given above in the discussion of the most important fragments and the title: The origin or (alleged) authorship of the writing is "the Hebrews". As already mentioned, this designation is probably expressed from an external viewpoint, and thus it may point to a group of Jewish Christians, at some place in the diaspora rather than in Jewish Palestine. Not only the attestation by the Egyptian authors Clement, Origen, and also Didymus, but also the character of some of the fragments, strongly drawing on Jewish Wisdom tradition but also with an openness for more philosophical reflection support an origin in a Jewish-Christian milieu in Alexandria.

70. A similar position of James is also adopted in a *Gos. Thomas* 12.

71. Cf. the list of Jerusalem "bishops" mentioned in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4,5,3, and the tradition about the relatives of Jesus, the *desposynoi* and their influence in Jewish-Christian circles. Cf. R.J. BAUCKHAM, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1990.

However, any clear traces of its usage in Jewish-Christian communities are lost⁷². We have only the evidence of a usage or knowledge of the word among Gentile Christians, such as Clement and his readers who seem to know and – to some degree – respect the work. It can be quoted and is not considered dubious or heretical, but of course, it is not considered particularly authoritative for any part of Christian teaching. On the contrary, for Clement, it seems to be already a rather marginal tradition from which he quotes only one saying, in two different contexts of his extensive work, and a few decades later, Origen already indicates that the work is not universally accepted as authoritative.

How can we contextualise this writing historically, how can we locate and date it? If the martyrdom of James (63 CE) is presupposed in the fragment about Jesus' Easter appearance before James, and if the tradition about James "the Just" still needed to develop after his death, then the work was certainly composed after 70 CE, or better, some decades after 70 CE. On the other hand, the quotations in Clement and the presupposed knowledge of his readers suggest a date of composition not later than the early second half of the second century, and in fact it was likely composed somewhat earlier.

How can we find a more appropriate date and context in-between? Here we have to consider the history of Alexandrian Jewry, which found itself in conflict during the Messianic riots in large parts of the diaspora in 115-117 CE, but was then brutally suppressed and almost extinguished by the Roman military forces. Jewish communities (and among them probably also the communities of Jewish Jesus followers in Egypt) were completely destroyed⁷³, with the small exception of some Jews, possibly refugees, in Alexandria. Moreover, Jewish property was confiscated⁷⁴, and under these circumstances, "Jewish communities in Egypt had practically no chance of recovery"⁷⁵. After 118 CE, a continued life of the formerly so vivid Alexandrian Jewry, or generally of Hellenised diaspora communities in Egypt, was practically impossible.

72. It is not impossible that the work or parts of it were also translated into Aramaic and read and transmitted among Jewish-Christian circles in Roman Palestine, e.g., by Hegesippus. However, there is no firm evidence for this.

73. See A.M. SCHWEMER, *Zum Abbruch des jüdischen Lebens in Alexandria – Der Aufstand in der Diaspora unter Trajan (115-117)*, in T. GEORGES – F. ALBRECHT – R. FELDMEIER (eds.), *Alexandria* (Civitatium Orbis MEditerranei Studia, 1), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 381-399.

74. See M. PUCCI BEN-ZEEV, *Diaspora in Turmoil 116/117 CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 6), Leuven, Peeters, 2005, 186-190.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 189; cf. M. MODRZEJEWSKI, *The Jews of Egypt from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 222.

The complete destruction of Egyptian Jewry must also have devastated the circles of Jewish Jesus followers in Egypt. There was no easy way to escape for those who had still considered themselves to be a part of the *ethnos* of the Jews. It is, of course, possible that some Jewish Jesus followers now sought and found adoption in communities of Gentile Jesus followers in Egypt. So their traditions could be partly adopted within the Gentile Christian circles, while the group in which the traditions had originated and which had cared for their transmission and guaranteed their validity no longer existed. Can we even imagine that the title of the work, expressed from an external perspective, was only given or appended when the Jewish-Christian groups no longer existed and when the work entered a larger body of Christian literature?

If this is true, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is the surviving tradition of the lost Jewish-Christian communities in Egypt or rather Alexandria. We must be cautious against imagining too much, but this scenario might best explain the fact that 60 years later a text such as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was still known by some Gentile Christians but not actively transmitted or further considered by them. The text could not be charged as being doctrinally dubious or even heretical, but due to its “loneliness” or spurious origins, and maybe also due to its marked differences from the writings of the emerging four-gospels-collection, it did not receive universal acceptance as an authoritative testimony.

On the basis of these considerations, I suggest that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was composed in the early second century, still before the Jewish riots (i.e., at the latest in the first or early second decade of that century). The gospel may, therefore, roughly be contemporary with Matthew and John or only slightly younger than these two gospels. Probably soon after its composition, the work was bereft of its original circle of users or recipients but was transmitted (for a certain period of time) by other Christians who knew it, had no suspicions about its “orthodoxy”, yet also did not actively support or distribute it. Thus, with the passing of time, it was more and more forgotten, and the traces of this remarkable early testimony of a lost group of “Christianity” have only survived in a few, selectively chosen and fragmentarily preserved quotations in the Patristic tradition.

Theologisches Seminar
Kirchgasse 9
CH-8001 Zürich
Switzerland
joerg.frey@theol.uzh.ch

Jörg FREY

DATING AND CONTEXTUALISING
THE NAG HAMMADI CODICES AND THEIR TEXTS
A MULTI-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH INCLUDING
NEW RADIOCARBON EVIDENCE

No text can interpret itself, and no interpretation is independent of context. Whether it is acknowledged or not, a context of interpretation is always operative, and determines the interpretation of the text¹. It follows from this insight that whenever a text is read in light of a different context, it will result in a different interpretation. As scholars we choose our contexts of interpretation based on our research questions and on the basis of academic traditions. There are contexts of authorship, contexts of redaction and rewriting, contexts of transmission, and contexts of use. These contexts of interpretation may be chosen deliberately or operate implicitly without the scholar even being aware of it. Such choices, whether explicit or implicit, are neither simple nor self-explanatory. While it may seem natural to approach a text primarily as the creation of an author, and to use some idea of the author's historical context and possible intentions as keys to its interpretation, such a procedure is hardly unproblematic even with modern works in printed books by known authors², and it becomes especially difficult with texts from antiquity and

* The research underlying this article was to a great extent conducted under the aegis of the NEWCONT project (New Contexts for Old Texts: Unorthodox Texts and Monastic Manuscript Culture in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Egypt) at the University of Oslo, Faculty of Theology. The project was funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC Grant agreement no 283741. The radiocarbon dating itself was conducted and financed by the DFG-ANR-Project *Coranica*. I would like to thank Michael Marx and Tobias J. Jocham for including the samples discussed in this contribution in their radiocarbon dating project. Above all, I am greatly indebted to Martin Schøyen for providing the materials for radiocarbon analysis.

1. See esp. S. FISH, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1980.

2. See, e.g., R. BARTHES, *The Death of the Author*, in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. S. Heath, London, Fontana Press, 1977, 142-148; H.W. GABLER, *The Text as Process and the Problem of Intentionality*, in *Text 3* (1987) 107-116; J. STILLINGER, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991; J. BRYANT, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Editorial Theory and Literary Criticism), Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press, 2002; Id., *Versions of Moby-Dick: Plagiarism, Censorship, and Some Notes toward an Ethics of the Fluid Text*, in *Variants 4* (2005) 257-285; Id., *Witness and Access: The Uses of the Fluid Text*, in *Textual Cultures 2* (2007), no. 1, 16-42.

the middle ages preserved in manuscripts, due to the textual fluidity inherent in the transmission of texts in a manuscript culture³.

As we all know, our preserved manuscripts were often produced centuries after the original authorship of the texts we are studying, and each version of a text that is preserved in one of these manuscripts is certain to be different from the text as the author wrote it. Since what we have left are versions of texts preserved in manuscripts, and not the autographs, the question becomes which text we are interested in understanding and why. If we are interested in the text as composed by the author, and his or her context of authorship, we have to sift through the available witnesses and try to establish an approximation of that particular form of the text. This can be done with some success with relatively stable textual traditions with an abundance of preserved manuscripts, but it is problematic with more fluid textual traditions and with texts that are only attested in single or very few manuscripts. Especially problematic, of course, are cases where these problems are combined: highly fluid texts preserved in single or very few manuscripts⁴. With regard to the Nag Hammadi Codices, many of the texts are preserved in single copies, and we know from those texts that are preserved in two or more copies that there are significant differences between them that on the one hand do not allow us to reconstruct an original text with any degree of certainty, and on the other show us that these texts did not have stable histories of transmission⁵. The most secure context we have for these texts is thus constituted by the manuscripts in which the texts have been preserved. Someone

3. See, e.g., H. LUNDHAUG – L.I. LIED, *Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, in L.I. LIED – H. LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (TU, 175), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2017, 1-19; S.G. NICHOLS, *The New Philology: Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture*, in *Speculum* 65 (1990) 1-10; B. CERQUIGLINI, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie*, Paris, Seuil, 1989.

4. On this problem, see H. LUNDHAUG, *An Illusion of Textual Stability: Textual Fluidity, New Philology, and the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in LIED – LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions* (n. 3), 20-54.

5. On the textual fluidity of the Nag Hammadi texts, see F. WISSE, *After the Synopsis: Prospects and Problems in Establishing a Critical Text of the Apocryphon of John and in Defining Its Historical Location*, in J.D. TURNER – A.M. MCGUIRE (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (NHMS, 44), Leiden, Brill, 1997, 138-153; K.L. KING, *Approaching the Variants of the Apocryphon of John*, *ibid.*, 105-137; S. EMMEL, *Religious Tradition, Textual Transmission, and the Nag Hammadi Codices*, *ibid.*, 34-43; L. JENOTT, *Reading Variants in James and the Apocalypse of James: A Perspective from New Philology*, in LIED – LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions* (n. 3), 55-84; LUNDHAUG, *An Illusion of Textual Stability* (n. 4); H. LUNDHAUG, *Textual Fluidity and Post-Nicene Rewriting in the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in E. CRÉGHEUR – L. PAINCHAUD – T. RASIMUS (eds.), *Nag Hammadi à 70 ans: Qu'avons nous appris? / Nag Hammadi at 70: What Have*

produced these particular manuscripts, presumably with the intention that someone would read the texts contained in them. We may thus ask who these people were, and how and why the texts appear and were read in the form in which they are found in these manuscripts. In order to answer these questions, however, we need to know when and where the manuscripts were produced. In the present contribution I will therefore explore how the Nag Hammadi Codices may be dated and discuss why – and how – this is also important for the interpretation of the texts contained in them.

I. DATING AND CONTEXTUALISING THE NAG HAMMADI CODICES

The various methods of manuscript dating have different pros and cons, and different levels of certainty. The ideal situation is therefore to be able to compare the results of as many dating methods as possible. Let us take a look at the methods we have available for the dating of the Nag Hammadi Codices, and how they may also help us contextualise these manuscripts and their texts. Significantly I will also present new radiocarbon evidence not hitherto employed in the dating of the Nag Hammadi Codices.

1. *Archaeological Context*

Ideally one would prefer to deal with manuscripts discovered during controlled scientific excavation. In such cases, one is not only provided with a certain geographical context, but also ideally with a date range, if the discovery is made in a distinct archaeological layer. Most of the time, however, manuscripts are not discovered in controlled excavations, and the place of discovery is often at best identifiable on the basis of reports from their discoverers, whose trustworthiness may sometimes leave a lot to be desired. Such reports may nevertheless be useful for the contextualisation of manuscripts. With regard to the Nag Hammadi Codices, local reports, corroborated by later interviews, have provided useful information regarding the place and circumstances of their discovery⁶. The reported discovery of the codices by the cliffs of the Jabal al-Tarif

We Learned? Colloque international, Québec, Université Laval, 29-31 mai 2015 (BCNH.É, 10), Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT, Peeters, 2019, 47-67.

6. See esp. J.M. ROBINSON, *The Nag Hammadi Story*, 2 vols. (NHMS, 86), Leiden, Brill, 2014. See also D.M. BURNS, *Telling Nag Hammadi's Egyptian Stories*, in *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 45 (2016), no. 2, 5-11.

has in this case not only been corroborated by multiple interviews, but is also supported by clues contained in the codices themselves, where names of places in the region have been found in the cartonnage of the covers. The reported discovery location is also supported by knowledge of the geographical features of the area, where the regular flooding of the plains with the yearly inundation of the Nile excludes the discovery of the codices on the Dishna plain itself, thus limiting the likely discovery location to the nearby cliffs⁷.

In addition to explaining their good state of preservation, the reported discovery of the codices in a jar sealed with a bowl may also provide us with a general timeframe for the burial of the codices based on circumstantial evidence, if the bowl currently in the Schøyen collection is in fact what it is claimed to be, namely the bowl that was used to seal the reportedly destroyed and now lost jar that contained the Nag Hammadi Codices, or even if it is simply a bowl of the same type. While it is impossible independently to verify the discoverer's claim that the Schøyen bowl, which can be dated stylistically to the period from the second half of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century, was in fact used to seal the jar that contained the codices, the discovery of a similar bowl in the controlled excavation of the basilica of the Pachomian headquarter monastery at Pbow⁸, in the modern village of Faw Qibli, is certainly consistent with a fourth- to fifth-century date of burial, as the discarding of this second bowl may be dated to shortly before 459 based on the archaeological layer in which it was found, beneath the floor of the basilica⁹.

7. See H. LUNDHAUG – L. JENOTT, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (STAC, 97), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015, pp. 11–21.

8. On the Pachomian monasteries in the area, see L.T. LEFORT, *Les premiers monastères Pachômiens: Exploration topographique*, in *Le Muséon* 52 (1939) 379–407.

9. J.E. GOEHRING, *An Early Roman Bowl from the Monastery of Pachomius at Pbow and the Milieu of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in L. PAINCHAUD – P.-H. POIRIER (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (BCNH.É, 7), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006, 357–371. The archaeological survey of the area surrounding the basilica and the discovery site of the Nag Hammadi Codices did not yield much datable materials relevant to the codices, but did establish the monastic presence along the Jabal al-Tarif and in the Wadi Sheikh Ali. See J.M. ROBINSON, *The First Season of the Nag Hammadi Excavation: 27 November – 19 December 1975*, in *Göttinger Miszellen* 22 (1976) 71–79; B. VAN ELDEREN, *The Nag Hammadi Excavation*, in *The Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 225–231; P.C. HAMMOND, *Proton-Magnetometer / Resistivity Survey: Gebel et-Tarif, Egypt*, in *Journal of Field Archaeology* 3 (1976) 229–230; P. GROSSMANN, *The Basilica of Pachomius*, in *The Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 232–236; ID. – G. LEASE, *Faw Qibli – 1989 Excavation Report*, in *Göttinger Miszellen* 114 (1989) 9–16; M.W. MEYER, *Archaeological Survey of the Wadi Sheikh Ali December 1980*, in *Göttinger Miszellen* 64 (1983) 77–82; J.E. GOEHRING, *Exploring the Wadi Sheikh Ali: Photographic Evidence from the 1980 Survey*, in J. BIDMEAD – G.J. STEARNS (eds.), *Invest Your Humanity: Celebrating Marvin Meyer*, Eugene, OR, Wipf and Stock, 2015,

2. Colophons

Another ideal situation for manuscript dating is to have dated colophons. With Coptic manuscripts dating from after the Islamic conquest of Egypt this is not seldom the case. Unfortunately, however, the practice of providing the date of copying or donation of manuscripts did not start until centuries after the production of the Nag Hammadi Codices. What the colophons of the Nag Hammadi Codices provide us with, however, is highly useful information regarding the contextualisation of the manuscripts. Especially the colophons in Codices II and VII are important in this regard, as they furnish us with important indications of a monastic provenance for the codices¹⁰.

3. Covers: Cartonnage and Codicology

Further useful evidence for contextualising the Nag Hammadi Codices, and important evidence for dating them, is constituted by the documents and letters reused as cartonnage in their covers. Such cartonnage was found in more than half of the Nag Hammadi Codices¹¹, but it is the cartonnage of Nag Hammadi Codex VII that both provided us with the most abundant cartonnage materials, as well as the most useful information regarding their date of production. First of all, the documents included a number of monastic letters, that help connect the codices to the vibrant monastic presence in the region¹², among which were even found a letter written by a monk named Papnoute to his “beloved father Pachome”, which could very well be the famous founder of Pachomian monasticism himself, who was certainly active in this area around the time when this letter is likely to have been written¹³.

Such letters are not only indications of the context of the manuscripts’ production, but also of their date, indicating the codices production after the advent of monasticism. There are also other indirect indications of date, such as in the case of Nag Hammadi Codex V, where the high sums

69-90; S. EMMEL, *The ‘Coptic Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi’ and the Faw Qibli Excavations*, in G. GABRA – H.N. TAKLA (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*. Vol. 2: *Nag Hammadi-Esna*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2010, 33-43; LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 39-42.

10. LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 178-206.

11. Codices II, III, X, XII, and XIII did not provide any cartonnage documents.

12. See LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 46-55, 129-145; P. TUTTY, *The Monks of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Contextualising a Fourth-Century Monastic Community*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oslo, 2019.

13. LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 135-139, 144-145.

of money recorded in some of the papyri from its cartonnage would seem to make most sense in a period no earlier than the second half of the fourth century, based on what we know about rising inflation in Egypt at that time¹⁴. In addition, we have to allow for the possibility that there may have elapsed some time from the production of these documents to their reuse in the covers (more on that below).

More directly datable evidence was found in the cover of Codex VII, which not only yielded evidence of monastic activity and correspondence, but also contained the most concrete evidence for the date of the Nag Hammadi Codices, in the form of three dated papyrus fragments, from 341, 346, and 348. The latest of these dates, 348, is thus the *earliest possible* year in which the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex VII may have been produced. The *latest possible* date is a more difficult problem, which requires an answer to the abovementioned question of how long it might have taken from the date of the production of the two contracts for loans of wheat (from 341 and 346) and the deed of surety (from 348), to their eventual reuse as cartonnage in the cover of Codex VII. Comparative evidence from the reuse of papyri indicates that there could have elapsed as much as a hundred years, if not more, before papyri with writing on one side were reused on the other, blank, side¹⁵, and we know from later evidence that similarly long spans of time could elapse between the writing of a document and its reuse as cartonnage in a book cover¹⁶.

14. See, e.g., R.S. BAGNALL – P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, *Currency in the Fourth Century and the Date of CPR V 26*, in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111-124. As Roger Bagnall puts it, commenting on other papyri with similar figures, “it is very unlikely that a papyrus in which amounts in the thousands and tens of thousands of talents appear as tax payments, and in which the solidus appears as worth 28,000 talents, can antedate the inflation which began in the 350’s” (*ibid.*, p. 120). See further the discussion of the cartonnage evidence in LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 46-55, 104-145; J.F. DECHOW, *The Nag Hammadi Milieu: An Assessment in the Light of the Origenist Controversies (with Appendix 2015)*, in H. LUNDHAUG – L. JENOTT (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (STAC, 110), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2018, 11-51.

15. E.G. TURNER, *Recto and Verso*, in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 (1954) 102-106. Although Turner’s study is on timespans that elapsed between the inscription of papyri’s rectos and versos, his findings apply in principle to the reuse of papyri as cartonnage. Cf. S. EMMEL, *The Coptic Gnostic Texts as Witnesses to the Production and Transmission of Gnostic (and Other) Traditions*, in J. FREY – E.E. POPKES – J. SCHRÖTER (eds.), *Das Thomasevangelium: Entstehung – Rezeption – Theologie* (BZNW, 157), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2008, 33-49, pp. 38-39.

16. See, e.g., L. DEPUYDT, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, 4-5; Oriental Series, 1-2), Leuven, Peeters, 1993, vol. 1, p. L n. 30, with reference to fragments from ninth-century codices that were used after a period of about fifty years as cartonnage in a tenth-century codex. There is also the interesting case of Chester Beatty papyrus 2554, an unbound quire constructed from a reused scroll that had been cut and pasted together into sheets. Dates of

This comparative evidence thus gives room for a possible date-range for the production of the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex VII stretching from 348 and well into the fifth century and beyond, on the basis of the reuse of the dated papyrus document alone.

With this piece of evidence provided by the dated papyri from the cartonnage of Codex VII, the obvious question to ask is how representative this evidence is with regard to the dating of the other Nag Hammadi Codices. While the three dated papyri from Codex VII have also been used as the primary basis for dating the rest of the Nag Hammadi Codices, the other codices could in principle have been produced quite some time either earlier or later. While there is little evidence for determining approximate dates for each codex individually, or even relative to each other, we do have certain additional data that at least furnishes us with closer connections between some of the codices. As James M. Robinson has shown, the covers may be divided into groups on the basis of a number of features¹⁷. While the covers of Codices XII and XIII are lost, and the cover of Codex III does not resemble any of the other extant covers, the construction, sizes and formats of Codices IV, V, and VIII are highly similar, and thus constitute the most coherent group. The second group consisting of Codices II, VI, IX, and X is distinct from the first group, but individual members of the group also share various features

298 and 300 are found on the original side of the papyrus, while on the other side we find dates as late as 345. See J.M. ROBINSON, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery's Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin*, Eugene, OR, Cascade, 2011, p. 74. Another piece of comparative evidence doubtlessly relevant to the Nag Hammadi Codices is constituted by the cartonnage of the cover of P.Berol. 8502, the codex containing *Gos. Mary*, *ApocrJn*, *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, and *Act. Peter* (see the edition by W.C. TILL – H.-M. SCHENKE [eds.], *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502: Herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet* [TU, 60], Berlin, Akademie Verlag, ²1972. On the construction of the codex, see M. KRUTZSCH, *Beobachtungen zur Herstellungstechnik früherer gnostischer Kodizes*, in C. MARKSCHIES – J. VAN OORT [eds.], *Zugänge zur Gnosis: Akten zur Tagung der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft vom 02.-05.01.2011 in Berlin-Spandau*, Leuven, Peeters, 2013, 285-293, 347-352), which contained a letter of recommendation dated (based on its genre) to the late third or early fourth century. This papyrus letter was then reused in a book cover that appears to be from the sixth century at the earliest (dated on stylistic grounds). See K. TREU, *P. Berol. 8508: Christliches Empfehlungsschreiben aus dem Einband des koptisch-agnostischen Kodex P. 8502*, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 28 (1982) 53-54; M. KRUTZSCH – G. POETHKE, *Der Einband des koptisch-agnostischen Kodex Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, in *Forschungen und Berichte* 24 (1984) 37-40, p. 40.

17. J.M. ROBINSON, *The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in M. KRAUSE (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts: In Honour of Pahor Labib* (NHS, 6), Leiden, Brill, 1975, 170-190. On the covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices, see also J. DORESSE, *Les reliures des manuscrits gnostiques coptes découverts à Khénoboskion*, in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 13 (1961) 27-49, which includes pictures of the covers.

with other Nag Hammadi covers. As for the three remaining Codices I, VII, and XI, they are the tallest codices, albeit together with Codex II, which shares third place in this regard. Apart from this feature, they may, however, be grouped on the basis of palaeographical analysis, a point I will return to below.

4. *Palaeography*

While palaeography, the most common method of dating early manuscripts, is of little use as a pure dating tool for Coptic manuscripts, including the Nag Hammadi Codices¹⁸, it is still useful in a more general sense, as it helps us identify scribes and thus make connections between manuscripts¹⁹. Most importantly with respect to dating is the fact that Codex VII, from which we have our three dated cartonnage papyri, is connected via scribal overlap to Codices XI and I. Codex XI is the key here, as it was penned by two scribes who both worked on other Nag Hammadi Codices. The scribe who copied the first half of Codex XI also copied the fourth of the five texts in Codex I, while the scribe who copied the second half of Codex XI also copied the entire Codex VII²⁰. Codices I, VII, and XI are thus not only the three tallest Nag Hammadi Codices, but are also connected by shared scribes. Now, while we cannot take for granted that these three codices were therefore produced at exactly the same time, we may at least surmise that they were produced within the same generation.

The *terminus post quem* of 348 for Nag Hammadi Codex VII is thus an important piece of information that needs to be taken into consideration, also when we consider the date of production of Codices I and XI. While dates for these codices are still uncertain even when this evidence is taken into consideration, there are limits, based on the period of activity of the scribes under consideration, to how distant from each other in

18. See C. ASKELAND, *Dating Early Greek and Coptic Literary Hands*, in LUNDHAUG – JENOTT (eds.), *Nag Hammadi Codices* (n. 14), 457-489.

19. On the palaeography and scribes of the Nag Hammadi Codices, see esp. M.A. WILLIAMS, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 243; ID., *The Scribes of Nag Hammadi Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX*, in M. RASSART-DEBERGH – J. RIES (eds.), *Actes du IV^e congrès copte. Vol II: De la linguistique au Gnosticisme* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 41), Louvain-la-Neuve, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1992, 334-342; S. EMMEL, *The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project: A Final Report*, in *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt* 104 (1978) 10-32, pp. 27-28; LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 208-214.

20. See, e.g., WILLIAMS, *Rethinking* (n. 19), pp. 242-243.

time they could have been produced. To reach the widest possible time-span between their production we would have to posit that the first scribe of Codex XI worked on Codex I early in his career and on Codex XI late, while the scribe of Codex VII did his work on Codex XI early and on codex VII late in *his* career²¹. Even postulating such a scenario, however, the time span between the production of Codices I and VII could hardly be more than a 100 years, and most likely far less. A 100-year time-span requires a not impossible, but still largely unlikely, scenario where for instance the scribe who copied the *Treatise on the Resurrection* in Codex I did so at the age of 20, and the first half of Codex XI at the age of 70, while the second scribe wrote the second half of Codex XI at the age of 20 and Codex VII and the age of 70. This scenario requires both Codex I and Codex VII to have been produced 50 years before and after Codex XI respectively. While such a scenario is not completely impossible, I would propose that a maximum separation of around 20 years from Codex XI results in much more likely estimates.

Codices I, VII, and XI give us the clearest example of scribal overlap between Nag Hammadi Codices, but there are also other possible cases. The main hand of Codex II is highly similar to that of Codex XIII, to the extent that these codices could be the work of the same scribe²². Moreover, the second scribe of Codex II, who copied only a few lines of the *Gospel of Thomas*, could possibly be the one who also copied Codex X. In addition, there are several codices that are palaeographically highly similar, but probably not the work of the same scribe, namely Codices IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX. Moreover, Codices VI and XIII, while they cannot be grouped together on the basis of handwriting, are nevertheless connected, since the latter was found tucked into the front cover of the former, having most probably been put there already in antiquity²³. While the very close palaeographical similarity between Codices IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX renders it likely that these codices were inscribed in the same community at approximately the same time-period, it is important to stress that the very different hands of the scribally overlapping Codices I, VII, and XI must serve as a caution against using difference in

21. We will see below, when we take radiocarbon dating into consideration, that the opposite cannot be the case.

22. Cf., however, M.A. WILLIAMS – D. COBLENTZ, *A Reexamination of the Articulation Marks in Nag Hammadi Codices II and XIII*, in LUNDHAUG – JENOTT (eds.), *Nag Hammadi Codices* (n. 14), 427-456, who argue on statistical grounds that the two codices were probably penned by different scribes.

23. J.M. ROBINSON, *Inside the Front Cover of Codex VI*, in KRAUSE (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts* (n. 17), 74-87.

hands as an indication of an originally separate provenance. The same holds true also with regard to cover construction, as Codices IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX, which are highly similar with regard to handwriting, are distributed across the two most distinct groups of covers, while the second most distinct group of covers (II, VI, IX, X) contain codices with notably different handwriting²⁴. Such overlaps add support to the other indications of the common provenance of the Nag Hammadi Codices as a group²⁵.

While there has been some debate regarding the possible relation between the monks of the Nag Hammadi cartonnage letters and the producers of the Nag Hammadi Codices²⁶, one of the strongest single pieces of evidence in support of such a connection is the very close palaeographical similarity between the hand that wrote one of the monastic letters used as cartonnage in the cover of Codex VIII, known as C16, and the hand that wrote Codex VIII itself²⁷. This piece of evidence indicates that some of the monks who wrote the letters that were later reused as cartonnage in the covers were also among the scribes who copied the texts in the codices themselves, and strongly supports the hypothesis of internal recycling as a likely source for a majority of the documents reused as cartonnage in the Nag Hammadi Codices²⁸.

5. Radiocarbon Dating

Finally, we may now add another method of manuscript dating to the evidence outlined above, and that is radiocarbon dating. While this dating method has not previously been applied to the Nag Hammadi Codices, no doubt partly due to the fact that the method used to require significantly larger samples than is now the case with considerably improved laboratory processes, we can now finally add a small piece of radiocarbon evidence to our other indications of date for the Nag Hammadi

24. For thorough discussions of subgroups of Nag Hammadi Codices based on codicological and palaeographical features, and the many overlaps between them, see LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 208-214; H. LUNDHAUG, *Material Philology and the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in D. BURNS – M. GOFF (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Codices* (forthcoming).

25. On these questions, see LUNDHAUG, *Material Philology* (n. 24).

26. For discussion and references, see LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7); TUTTY, *The Monks* (n. 12).

27. This was recently pointed out by TUTTY, *The Monks* (n. 12).

28. For recent treatments of the question of internal recycling and the connection between the monks of the cartonnage documents and the producers and users of the codices, see LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 104-145; TUTTY, *The Monks* (n. 12).

Codices. In collaboration with the DFG-ANR-project *Coranica* at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften²⁹ the ERC-project NEWCONT at the University of Oslo dated three samples from the Schøyen Collection, among them two from the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I³⁰. The owner, Martin Schøyen, generously agreed to donate a small piece of the sheepskin³¹ cover as well as one small fragment of papyrus from its cartonnage for analysis. Schøyen himself cut a piece of the leather cover (Figure 1), and selected an uninscribed papyrus fragment from the cartonnage (Figure 2). The samples were then brought to the laboratory at the ETH in Zürich, where the amount of ¹⁴C in the samples were measured using accelerator mass spectrometry³². The leather sample was divided in three, facilitating three test runs, heightening the accuracy of the measurement, while the cartonnage fragment was too small to allow for more than one test run³³.

Since understanding the results of radiocarbon measurements is not straightforward, a short explanation of the basics of the radiocarbon dating method³⁴ may be useful. Its basis is the insight that plants and animals absorb ¹⁴C from their environment while they are alive, but at the moment they die they no longer replenish their supply of ¹⁴C, and the amount of this carbon isotope in the organism starts to decrease at a constant rate. What is measured in the radiocarbon laboratory is the remaining amount of radiocarbon (¹⁴C) in the sample, and by comparing this measurement with the modern level of ¹⁴C in standard material, the organism's date of death can be calculated. In this case that would be the death of the sheep from which the leather cover was made, and the harvesting of the papyrus plant from which the papyrus fragment that

29. For details on this project, see M.J. MARX – T.J. JOCHAM, *Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften durch die ¹⁴C-Methode*, in *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien* 2 (2015) 9-43; IID., *Radiocarbon (¹⁴C) Dating of Qur'an Manuscripts*, in A. KAPLONY – M.J. MARX, *Qur'an Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents, 7th-10th Centuries*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, 188-221.

30. The third sample was taken from Schøyen MS 193, commonly known as the Crosby-Schøyen Codex. For the results and details of the dating of this sample, see H. LUNDHAUG, *The Date of MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection: New Radiocarbon Evidence*, in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 57 (2020) 219-234.

31. ROBINSON, *Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (n. 17), p. 172.

32. I visited the Schøyen Collection together with Lance Jenott on 9 April, 2014, when the samples were taken. I then took the samples to Berlin, from where they were taken to the lab at ETH in Zürich by Tobias J. Jocham of the *Coranica* project. The first test run was conducted in November 2014 and the second and third runs in December 2014.

33. On the test procedure, see MARX – JOCHAM, *Zu den Datierungen* (n. 29), pp. 18-20.

34. See W.F. LIBBY, *Radiocarbon Dating*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1955; M. WALKER, *Quaternary Dating Methods*, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 2005, pp. 17-33.

ended up as cartonnage was made³⁵. The measurement result from the laboratory is commonly given as a so-called date “Before Present” (BP), where “present” is defined as 1950, with an added plus/minus number indicating the measurement accuracy. If the level of ^{14}C in the atmosphere had been stable throughout the ages, we would have gotten an accurate calendar date result by simply subtracting the BP number from 1950. Unfortunately this is not the case, and this is where the radiocarbon dating method gets complicated. The level of radiocarbon in the atmosphere has in fact fluctuated, and in order to convert the BP numbers from the laboratory into actual calendar date ranges, it is therefore necessary to *calibrate* the final measurement results based on our knowledge of historical levels of ^{14}C in the atmosphere. This is done using a calibration curve that has been generated on the basis of dendrochronology. The most up-to-date calibration curve is the so-called IntCal13 (see Figure 3)³⁶.

The calibration itself is done by running the BP result through a digital calibration tool, which produces a graphic rendering of the calibrated calendar date ranges³⁷. An example can be seen in Figure 4, where the purely hypothetical measurement result 1350 ± 15 BP, produces a simple plot where the red bell-curve represents the measurement and its accuracy in BP, read on the y-axis, the blue curve is the IntCal13 calibration curve, and the grey hump is the calibrated result, which produces the calendar date ranges, which can be read on the x-axis. The calendar date results are shown as 1σ , 2σ , and 3σ , representing different degrees of probability. The results typically given are the 2σ results, which provide us with a calendar date-range with a 95.4% likelihood. In this hypothetical case the 2σ result is the calendar date range of 650-680 CE. However, in order to capture even more of the possible calendar date range, we may sacrifice some specificity for comprehensiveness, and instead opt to use the 3σ range, which gives us a calendar date range of 642-691 CE with a likelihood of 99.7%.

35. The ^{14}C method can therefore only be used to date organic materials, and what is calculated is an organism’s time of death.

36. On the IntCal13 calibration curve, see P.J. REIMER *et al.*, *IntCal13 and Marine13 Radiocarbon Age Calibration Curves 0-50,000 Years Cal BP*, in *Radiocarbon* 55 (2013) 1869-1887. See also WALKER, *Quaternary Dating Methods* (n. 34), pp. 32-33.

37. The standard calibration tool is OxCal, developed by Christopher Bronk Ramsey *et al.* at Oxford University. On OxCal version 4.3.2, used here, see C. BRONK RAMSEY, *Methods for Summarizing Radiocarbon Datasets*, in *Radiocarbon* 59 (2017) 1809-1833. On earlier developments, see also ID. – S. LEE, *Recent and Planned Developments of the Program Oxcal*, in *Radiocarbon* 55 (2013) 720-730.

This example represents a best-case result that is uncommonly neat. The IntCal13 calibration curve does not simply descend in a straight line, as it does for the relevant BP range in this example, but at certain points it also rises or stays the same. Such areas of the calibration curve produce by necessity much less specific calendar date results. We see this well illustrated with a hypothetical measurement result of 1550 ± 15 BP (see Figure 5). Note that this example produces a calendar date range of more than a hundred years, despite the fact that the *measurement* of ^{14}C in the hypothetical sample is no less accurate than in the first example. The radiocarbon method is thus far less useful for the purpose of manuscript dating in time-periods where the calibration curve displays such problematic characteristics.

Even here the problems do not end, for there is reason to believe that the IntCal13 calibration curve, which is generated primarily on the basis of sampled trees from North America and Europe, does in fact not represent with sufficient accuracy the historical fluctuations in radiocarbon levels in the part of the world from which our Nag Hammadi samples derive. There are in fact indications that we need to reckon with a significant radiocarbon offset in samples from this part of the world. Based on recent studies of securely dated botanical materials from the Nile valley and the Southern Levant responding to indications that radiocarbon dating has yielded calendar dates that seem to be too old, I have applied an average offset of 24 ± 5 BP to the measured results before calibration, in order to arrive at calendar dates that are likely to be more accurate³⁸.

In order to clarify the significance of these recent insights I will show two alternative calculations of calendar dates for the leather sample from the cover of Codex I. First the results as they would be if the IntCal13 calibration curve had been accurate for this region of the world (Figure 6), and then the calibrated results as they appear with a 24 ± 5 BP regional offset applied (Figure 7). Based on our current knowledge the latter is likely to better represent the radiocarbon situation in the Nile valley, and therefore to give more accurate calendar dates for the sample. Due to our

38. I have explained this choice and the studies underlying it in LUNDHAUG, *The Date of MS 193* (n. 30). For the underlying studies, see M.W. DEE *et al.*, *Investigating the Likelihood of a Reservoir Offset in the Radiocarbon Record for Ancient Egypt*, in *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37 (2010) 687-693; S.W. MANNING *et al.*, *Fluctuating Radiocarbon Offsets Observed in the Southern Levant and Implications for Archaeological Chronology Debates*, in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115 (2018) 6141-6146. See also D.J. KEENAN, *Why Early-Historical Radiocarbon Dates Downwind from the Mediterranean Are Too Early*, in *Radiocarbon* 44 (2002) 225-237.

lack of dendrochronological or botanical data from this particular time period of the Nile valley, however, it is important to remember the remaining uncertainties connected to the calibration of our measured BP results of the leather and papyrus from Nag Hammadi Codex I³⁹.

The measurement results, before calibration, as they emerged from the laboratory at ETH, can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. For the leather sample, the result of the three test runs combined yielded a ¹⁴C BP age of 1756±15⁴⁰. Calibrated using the OxCal calibration tool, this yields the results shown in Figure 6. When we take the average offset of 24±5 BP into account, we get the, likely more accurate, results shown in Figure 7. We see that this result is compatible with a calendar date for the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I between 241 and 387 CE with a probability of 99.7%⁴¹. The wide date-range is due to the nature of the calibration curve, not the accuracy of the laboratory measurement, which is in fact very high.

Since the calibrated results include date ranges stretching far back into the third century, it is important to note how this is connected to the nature of the IntCal13 calibration curve. We can see that the IntCal13 curve actually rises in the period c. 270-315 CE. This is why *any* measurement that yields a calibrated 2σ calendar date range that includes the first third of the fourth century (before 332) will automatically include calendar dates in the third century as well. Indeed, in order to get a 2σ calendar date range in the fourth century that excludes the third century one would need measurement values lower than 1683 BP for measurements with ±15 BP accuracy, which is thus a BP result that yields a 2σ calendar date range with 332 CE as its *lower* border value: 332-405 CE (95,4%). No results of radiocarbon dating that include calendar dates in the first third of the fourth century will exclude dates in the third century.

The laboratory test result of the papyrus fragment from the cartonnage of the cover of Codex I was a ¹⁴C BP age of 1796±27⁴², the greater uncertainty being caused by the fact that the fragment was too small to accommodate more than one test run. The calibrated result, with the

39. A 24±5 BP offset currently represents the best average estimate, but it should be noted that the radiocarbon level in the atmosphere in this part of the world fluctuated to such a degree that we may in reality be confronted with significantly larger offsets than the average offset applied here.

40. F14C 0,803663671±0,001534508.

41. Due to the remaining uncertainties with regard to the historical levels of atmospheric ¹⁴C in this region I prefer to use the full 3σ probability range. The 1σ and 2σ probability ranges are as follows: 1σ: 256-299 CE (45.9%), 318-340 CE (22.3%); 2σ: 249-357 CE (90.5%), 366-380 CE (2.1%).

42. F14C: 0.799648711±0.002681815.

24±5 BP offset applied, is shown in Figure 8. This very long calendar date range of 132–381 CE (99.7%)⁴³ is unfortunately not very helpful in determining the number of years between the production of the papyrus fragment and its re-use as cartonnage.

With regard to the leather cover, the long date range provided by radiocarbon analysis can be reduced when we take other dating methods into consideration. As we have seen, there is scribal overlap between Codices I and XI, and between XI and VII. This means that the secure *terminus post quem* of 348 CE for the production of Codex VII based on the dated papyrus fragment is relevant for the evaluation of the radiocarbon dating results of the scribally connected Codex I. First of all, the connection of Codex I to Codex VII renders a date for Codex I in the third century highly unlikely, as it is difficult to imagine Codex I having been produced more than 50 years earlier than Codex VII. As discussed above, considering the scribal connections between the three codices, a maximum time difference of 20 years for both Codices I and VII to Codex XI gives a maximum difference of 40 years between Codices I and VII. On this basis we could say that Codex I is likely to have been produced sometime between 308 (348–20–20) and 387 (the upper limit of the 3σ probability range of the calibrated ¹⁴C dating results). At the same time, the connection of Codex VII to Codex I also restricts the possible number of years elapsed between 348 and the reuse as cartonnage in the cover of Codex VII of the scrap of papyrus bearing this date, which thus gives us a plausible *terminus ante quem* for Codex VII around 427. Codex VII is thus likely to have been produced between 348 and 427 (387+20+20). It follows that the date of production for Codex XI, which was penned by scribes who worked on Codex I and Codex VII respectively, would then be between 328 (348–20) and 407 (387+20). Of course, if we were to widen or contract our estimate of the possible distance in time between the production of the Codices, these date ranges would change accordingly⁴⁴. We simply have to consider the likelihood of the various

43. 1σ: 232–261 CE (26.4%), 279–327 CE (41.8%); 2σ: 141–197 CE (8.7%), 209–340 CE (86.7%).

44. E.g., with a possible ten-year separation between the production of Codex XI to that of Codices I and VII respectively, which may be more reasonable, the date ranges would be: Codex I: 328–387; Codex VII: 348–407; Codex XI: 338–397. If we postulate a fifty-year gap, on the other hand, the ranges would be: Codex I: 248–387; Codex VII: 348–487; Codex XI: 298–437. If the codices were produced at the same time, that would thus likely be sometime between 348–387. It is clear that if Codices I and VII were produced far apart in time, the sequence of production must have been I, XI, and VII. Otherwise they may have been produced in any sequence.

scenarios, and I would think that the likelihood rises as the distance in time between the production of the codices are reduced.

Since both the *terminus post quem* of 348 for Nag Hammadi Codex VII, based on the dated cartonnage fragment, and the *terminus ante quem* in the 380s for Nag Hammadi Codex I, based on ¹⁴C, apply specifically to the covers, it is worth noting that these covers, like the other remaining Nag Hammadi covers, bear no evidence of reuse. There is also no evidence that any of the Nag Hammadi quires have been rebound⁴⁵. The dates of the covers are therefore likely to reflect the dates of the codices.

II. DATING AND CONTEXTUALISING THE NAG HAMMADI TEXTS

This leads us nicely over to the question of dating and contextualising the Nag Hammadi texts, and not just the codices. It goes without saying that it makes a significant difference whether we choose to contextualise our readings based on the dates and contexts of the hypothetical originals and their authors, or whether we choose to contextualise them in light of the date and provenance of the manuscripts. As argued above, due to the likelihood of significant textual fluidity in the transmission of each individual Nag Hammadi text, we do stand on somewhat firmer ground when we focus on the texts exactly as they appear in the manuscripts, in the form and language in which they have been preserved, than when basing our interpretations on hypothetical originals, often in a different language, in light of significantly more hypothetical dates and contexts. We may avoid that particular minefield by instead reading the texts as Coptic literature in light of other Coptic literature from the period of the manuscripts' production and use⁴⁶.

Once the choice of reading the texts in light of the manuscripts has been made, there are several options available. One may analyse each text in the context of the *other texts* in the codex, an approach first suggested by Michael Williams, and later followed by others⁴⁷. Such

45. The only exception is the removal of cartonnage from the inside of the front cover of Codex VI to make room for the pages removed from Codex XIII.

46. This was eloquently argued by EMMEL, *Religious Tradition* (n. 5). Cf. also the observations by WILLIAMS, *Rethinking* (n. 19), p. 209; LUNDHAUG, *Textual Fluidity* (n. 5).

47. See M.A. WILLIAMS, *Interpreting the Nag Hammadi Library as 'Collection(s)' in the History of 'Gnosticism(s)'*, in L. PAINCHAUD – A. PASQUIER (eds.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi et le problème de leur classification: Actes du colloque tenu à Québec du 15 au 19 Septembre 1993* (BCNH.É, 3), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995, 3-50; ID., *Rethinking* (n. 19), pp. 247-262; ID. – L. JENOTT, *Inside the Covers of Codex VI*, in PAINCHAUD – POIRIER (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica* (n. 9), 1025-1052;

approaches usually assume that the codices were intended by their producers to be read in their entirety and that their texts may thus mutually inform each others' interpretation. Yet, it is not necessary to assume that all texts in a codex were meant to be read together in order to read them in light of the time and place of the manuscripts in which they are found. Individual texts may simply be read in light of other texts written in the general period of the Nag Hammadi Codices' production and use. Such readings may take a purely reception-focused approach, but it may also look for echoes in the texts of the historical, religious, and social context of the codices. Echoes of fourth-century, and in some cases fifth-century, doctrinal debates may thus be the focus of enquiry⁴⁸. More specifically,

L. JENOTT – E.H. PAGELS, *Antony's Letters and Nag Hammadi Codex I: Sources of Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt*, in *JECS* 18 (2010) 557-589; L. JENOTT, *Recovering Adam's Lost Glory: Nag Hammadi Codex II in Its Egyptian Monastic Environment*, in ID. – S.K. GRIBETZ (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Cosmogony in Late Antiquity* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, 155), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 222-243; M. KALER, *The Prayer of the Apostle Paul in the Context of Nag Hammadi Codex I*, in *JECS* 16 (2008) 319-339; L. PAINCHAUD – M. KALER, *From the Prayer of the Apostle Paul to the Three Steles of Seth: Codices I, XI and VII from Nag Hammadi Viewed as a Collection*, in *VigChr* 61 (2007) 445-469; E. IRICINSCHI, *The Scribes and Readers of Nag Hammadi Codex II: Book Production and Monastic Paideia in Fourth-Century Egypt*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2009; I.S. GILHUS, *Contextualizing the Present, Manipulating the Past: Codex II from Nag Hammadi and the Challenge of Circumventing Canonicity*, in E. THOMASSEN (ed.), *Canon and Canonicity: The Formation and Use of Scripture*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2010, 91-108; K.A. FOWLER, *From the Apocryphon of John to Thomas the Contender: Nag Hammadi Codex II in Its Fourth-Century Context*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manchester, 2013; R. FALKENBERG, *The Making of a Secret Book of John: Nag Hammadi Codex III in Light of New Philology*, in LIED – LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions* (n. 3), 85-125.

48. R. MORTLEY, *'The Name of the Father Is the Son' (Gospel of Truth 38) [with Afterword by Michel Tardieu]*, in R.T. WALLIS – J. BREGMAN (eds.), *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 1992, 239-252; M.J. EDWARDS, *The Epistle to Rheginus: Valentinianism in the Fourth Century*, in *NT* 37 (1995) 76-91; A. CAMPLANI, *Per la cronologia di testi valentiniani: Il Trattato Tripartito e la crisi ariana*, in *Cassiodorus* 1 (1995) 171-195, p. 176. Cf. also ID., *Sulla trasmissione di testi gnostici in copto*, in ID. (ed.), *L'Egitto cristiana: Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 56), Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1997, 121-175; H. LUNDHAUG, *Begotten, Not Made, to Arise in This Flesh: The Post-Nicene Soteriology of the Gospel of Philip*, in E. IRICINSCHI – L. JENOTT – N. DENZEY LEWIS – P. TOWNSEND (eds.), *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels* (STAC, 82), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 235-271; ID., *The Nag Hammadi Codices in the Complex World of Fourth- and Fifth-Century Egypt*, in L. ARCARI (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE* (STAC, 103), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017, 339-358; LUNDHAUG, *Textual Fluidity* (n. 5); FOWLER, *From the Apocryphon of John to Thomas the Contender* (n. 47); J.C. DIAS CHAVES, *Nag Hammadi Codex V and Late Antique Coptic Hagiographies: A Comparative Approach*, Ph.D. dissertation, Université Laval, 2018.

the many indications that the Nag Hammadi Codices were produced and used by Egyptian monastics have spawned a number of studies reading both individual Nag Hammadi texts and whole codices in light of such a context, highlighting echoes of interests and preoccupations typical of their monastic context of use, and similarities with other monastic literature⁴⁹.

When reading the Nag Hammadi texts in light of fourth- and fifth-century contexts we may find that certain passages or features that have commonly been interpreted from the point of view of an earlier context⁵⁰, may be interpreted differently when read from the perspective of their manuscripts. In some cases we may also identify aspects of a text that make sense *only* from the perspective of a fourth- or fifth-century context. In all these cases it is important to remember that we cannot assume that the textual transmission of any of the Nag Hammadi texts has been stable. Indeed, our default assumption should rather be that they may all have been significantly adapted or rewritten during histories of transmission of different duration⁵¹.

49. LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (n. 7), pp. 234-262; JENOTT, *Recovering Adam's Lost Glory* (n. 47); H. LUNDHAUG, *Monastic Exegesis and the Female Soul in the Exegesis on the Soul*, in U. TERVAHauta – I. MIROSHNIKOV – O. LEHTIPUU – I. DUNDERBERG (eds.), *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity* (VigChrSup, 144), Leiden, Brill, 2017, 221-233; H. LUNDHAUG, *The Dialogue of the Savior (NHC III,5) as a Monastic Text*, in M. VINZENT (ed.), *Studia Patristica 93: Papers Presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2015*. Vol. 19: *The First Two Centuries; Apocrypha and Gnostica*, Leuven, Peeters, 2017, 335-346; C.H. BULL, *Women, Angels, and Dangerous Knowledge: The Myth of the Watchers in the Apocryphon of John and Its Monastic Manuscript-Context*, in TERVAHauta – MIROSHNIKOV – LEHTIPUU – DUNDERBERG (eds.), *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity*, 75-107; ID., *An Origenistic Reading of Plato in Nag Hammadi Codex VI*, in M. VINZENT (ed.), *Studia Patristica 75*. Vol. 1: *Studia Patristica – Platonism and the Fathers – Maximus the Confessor*, Leuven, Peeters, 2017, 31-40; ID., *Demons of the Air in the Perfect Discourse (NHC VI,8) and Monastic Literature*, in CRÉGHEUR – PAINCHAUD – RASIMUS (eds.), *Nag Hammadi à 70 ans* (n. 5), 105-120; M.H. SELLEW, *Reading Jesus in the Desert: The Gospel of Thomas Meets the Apophthegmata Patrum*, in LUNDHAUG – JENOTT (eds.), *Nag Hammadi Codices* (n. 14), 81-106; B. STEFANIW, *Hegemony and Homecoming in the Ascetic Imagination: Sextus, Silvanus, and Monastic Instruction in Egypt*, *ibid.*, 107-138; IRICINSCHI, *The Scribes and Readers* (n. 47); K.A. FOWLER, *The Ascent of the Soul and the Pachomians: Interpreting the Exegesis on the Soul (NHC II,6) within a Fourth-Century Monastic Context*, in *Gnosis 2* (2017) 63-93; EAD., *Reading Gospel of Thomas 100 in the Fourth Century: From Roman Imperialism to Pachomian Concern over Wealth*, in *VigChr 72* (2018) 421-446; S.K. GRIBETZ, *Women as Readers of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in *JECS 22* (2018) 463-494.

50. It is not uncommon for studies of the Nag Hammadi texts to present readings of the texts in light of a second- or third-century context, while simply taking for granted that there is a close enough similarity between the extant Coptic text and its hypothetical second-century, usually Greek, original.

51. This includes texts that have only been preserved in single copies. See LUNDHAUG, *An Illusion of Textual Stability* (n. 4).

On the one hand such studies of the Nag Hammadi texts in light of fourth- and fifth-century contexts rely upon the plausible date of the production of the manuscripts in the fourth and fifth centuries, but on the other hand such studies may also be used as evidence indicating the date of the codices themselves – evidence that may be added to the other methods of dating discussed above⁵². For instance, codices containing texts that show awareness of post-Nicene doctrinal debates can hardly have been produced prior to 325.

III. CONCLUSION

Each text in the Nag Hammadi Codices has a number of possible contexts of interpretation, and we need to choose whether to read them in their hypothetical contexts of authorship, with all the problems that entails in terms of textual fluidity, or we may read them as texts in use, in the form in which they have been preserved to us, thus shedding light on the context in which the manuscripts were produced. Analyses of their cartonnage and colophons indicate that the Nag Hammadi Codices were produced and used by monastics in the fourth and fifth centuries. Radiocarbon dating of the leather cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I is compatible with these indications when interpreted in light of Codex I's scribal connections with Codices XI and VII, the latter of which contains the only certain *terminus post quem* of any Nag Hammadi Codex. Radiocarbon dating does not, and cannot, provide us with a silver bullet for manuscript dating, but it does provide us with valuable added data that can fruitfully be used in conjunction with other dating methods. Radiocarbon dating of samples from the other Nag Hammadi Codices could no doubt contribute valuable additional evidence that may prove especially valuable with regard to those Nag Hammadi Codices that are not connected by scribal overlap to either Codices I or VII, for which our main evidence for their date of production is currently their association and general similarity with Codices I, VII, and XI.

University of Oslo
 Faculty of Theology
 Postboks 1023 Blindern
 NO-0315 Oslo
 Norway
 hugo.lundhaug@teologi.uio.no

Hugo LUNDHAUG

52. See Table 3 for an overview of the probable dates of the Nag Hammadi Codices without taking the contents of the texts into account. Once we also take into account the texts, we may add, e.g., references to doctrines and doctrinal conflicts to the evidence listed in this table, which in certain cases may further limit the plausible time spans listed here.

TABLES

Targ.	C14 age (BP)	±1σ	F14C	±1σ	δC13	±1σ	mg C	C/N
1	1751	27	0,80400	0,00300	-20,7	1,1	0,99	6,328329137
2	1747	19	0,804579557	0,001902909	-21,37851339	1		
3	1756	15	0,803663671	0,001534508	-21,32066617	1		

Table 1: Sample results, raw data, ETH-57861 MS 1804 Cover (leather).

The first row shows the results of the first test run (one target); the second shows the results of the first two test runs combined (two targets); and the third shows the combined results from all three test runs (three targets).

Targ.	C14 age (BP)	±1σ	F14C	±1σ	δC13	±1σ	mg C	C/N
1	1796	27	0.799648711	0.002681815	-9,8	1,1	0,99	402,0368132

Table 2: Sample results, raw data, ETH-57862 MS 1804 Cartonnage (papyrus).

NHC	Scribes	Approximate Date Range	Reason
I	1, 11 (A)	308-387	¹⁴ C; shared scribe with XI, which has shared scribe with VII.
II	2, 12 (C)	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices. Possible shared scribes with XII and XIII.
III	3	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices.
IV	4 (B)	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices. Palaeographically highly similar to V, VI, VIII, IX.
V	5 (B)	c. 350-V	High values mentioned in cartonnage fragment, seems to place it post 350s inflation. Palaeographically highly similar to IV, VI, VIII, IX.
VI	6 (B)	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices. Palaeographically highly similar to IV, V, VIII, IX.
VII	7 (A)	348-427	Cartonnage fragment dated 348; shared scribe with XI, which has shared scribe with I (dated by ¹⁴ C).
VIII	8 (B)	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices. Palaeographically highly similar to IV, V, VI, IX.
IX	9 (B)	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices. Palaeographically highly similar to IV, V, VI, VIII.
X	10	IV-V	General similarity with dated Nag Hammadi Codices.
XI	11, 7 (A)	328-407	Shared scribes with I and VII.
XII	12	IV-V	Possible shared scribe with II.
XIII	2 (C)	IV-V	Possible shared scribe with II.

Table 3: Probable Dates of Production of the Nag Hammadi Codices.

FIGURES



Figure 1: Sample cut from the leather cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I (Schøyen MS 1804).



Figure 2: Unscripted papyrus fragment from the cartonnage of the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I after removal from plexiglass frame (Schøyen MS 1804).

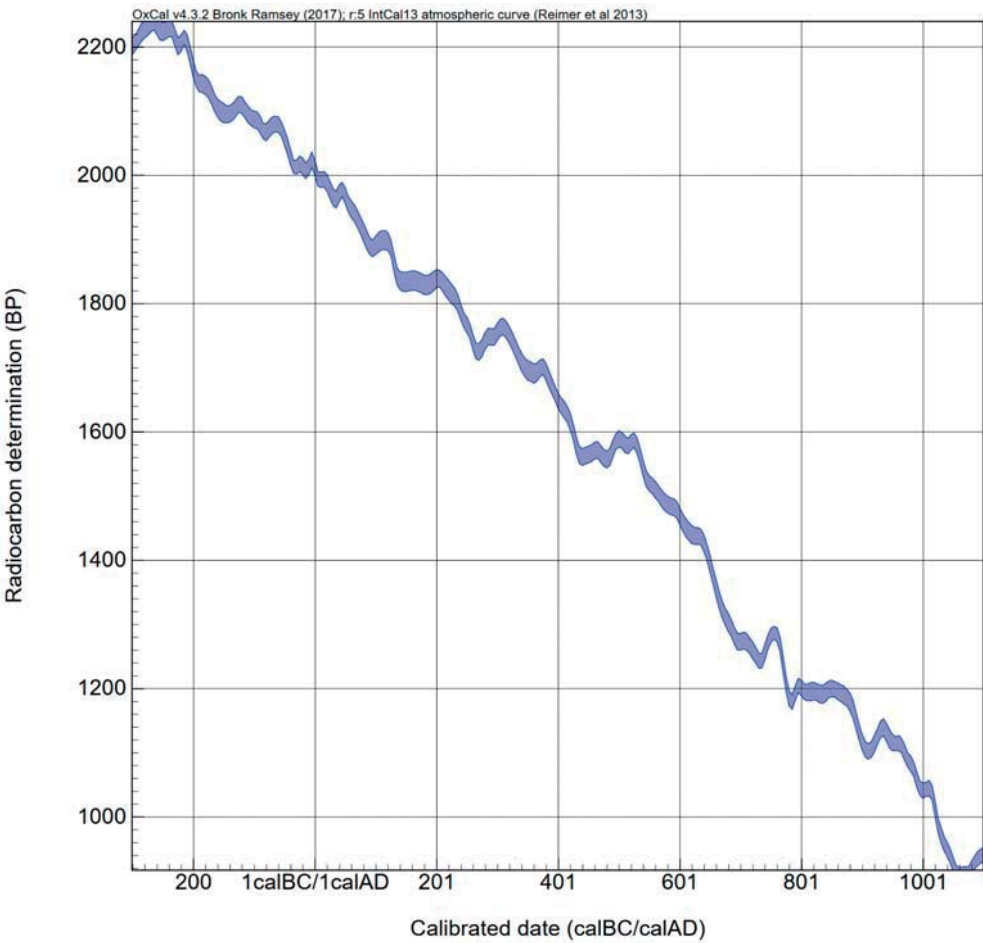


Figure 3: The IntCal13 atmospheric calibration curve.

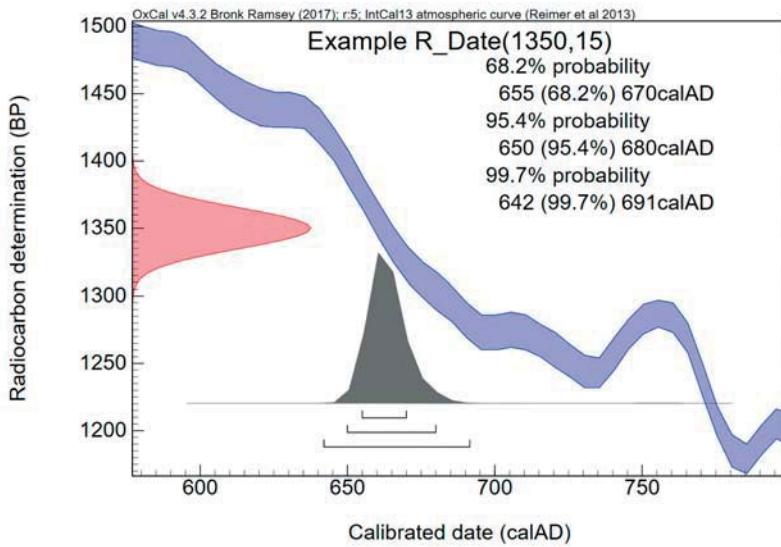


Figure 4: Calibrated radiocarbon results based on the hypothetical measurement result 1350 ± 15 BP, generated by the OxCal v.4.3.2 calibration tool using IntCal13 atmospheric curve. The red bell curve shows the ^{14}C measurement result in BP; the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date range in gray. 1σ , 2σ , and 3σ ranges are given.

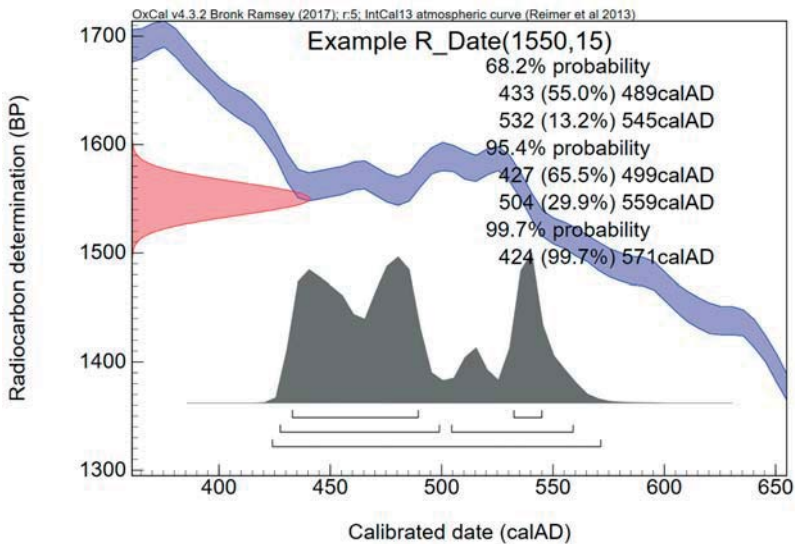


Figure 5: Calibrated radiocarbon results based on the hypothetical measurement result 1550 ± 15 BP, generated by the OxCal v.4.3.2 calibration tool using IntCal13 atmospheric curve. The red bell curve shows the ^{14}C measurement result in BP; the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date range in gray. 1σ , 2σ , and 3σ ranges are given.

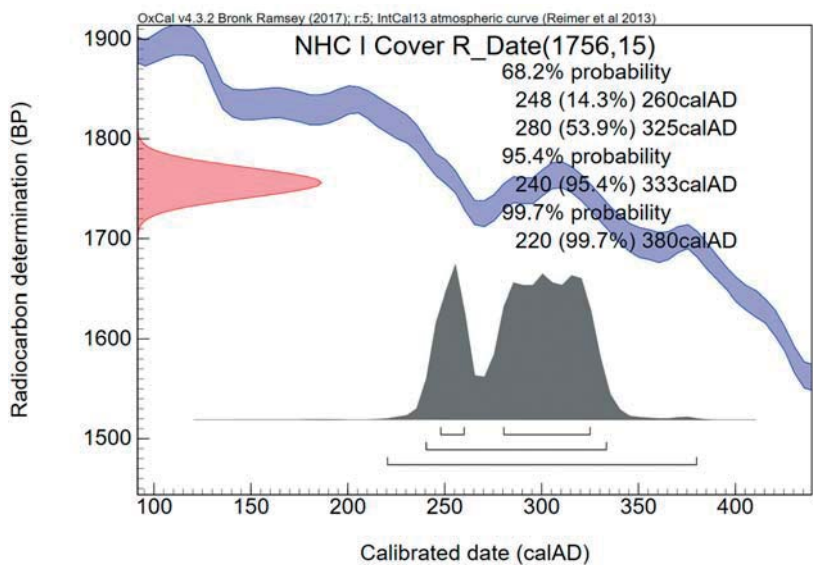


Figure 6: Calibrated radiocarbon results of the leather sample from the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I, based on the combined measurement results of all three test runs, 1756±15 BP (see Table 1), generated by the OxCal v.4.3.2 calibration tool using IntCal13 atmospheric curve. The red bell curve shows the ¹⁴C measurement result in BP; the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date range in gray. 1σ, 2σ, and 3σ ranges are given.

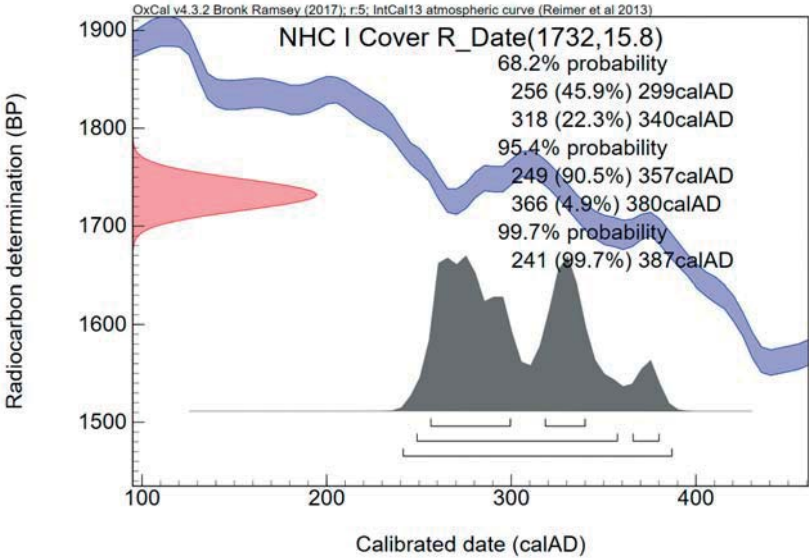


Figure 7: Calibrated radiocarbon results of the leather sample from the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I, based on the combined measurement results of all three test runs (1756 ± 15 BP, see Table 1), with an offset of 24 ± 5 BP applied, generated by the OxCal v.4.3.2 calibration tool using IntCal13 atmospheric curve. The red bell curve shows the ^{14}C measurement result in BP with offset applied (1732 ± 15.8); the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date range in gray. 1σ , 2σ , and 3σ ranges are given.

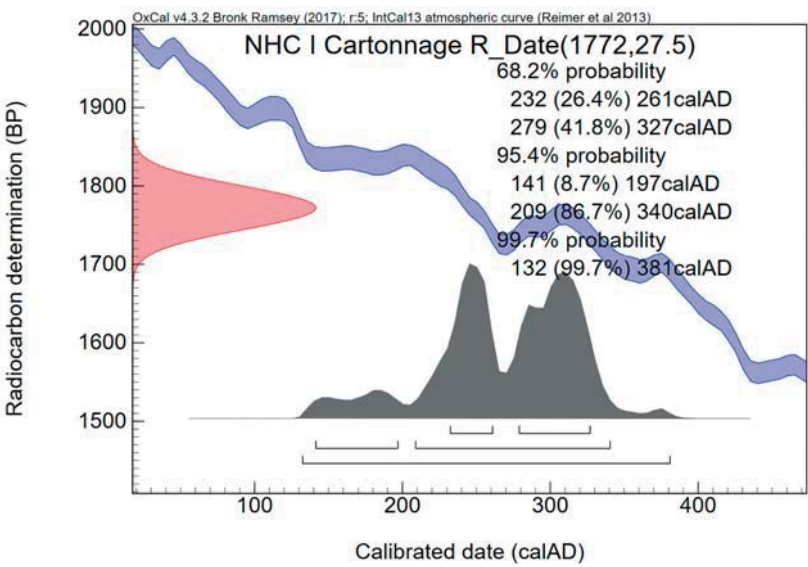


Figure 8: Calibrated radiocarbon results of the papyrus sample from the cartonnage of the cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I, based on the measurement result of one test run (1796±27 BP, see Table 1), with an offset of 24±5 BP applied, generated by the OxCal v.4.3.2 calibration tool using IntCal13 atmospheric curve. The red bell curve shows the ¹⁴C measurement result in BP with offset applied (1772±27.5); the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date range in gray. 1σ, 2σ, and 3σ ranges are given.

IRENÄUS, TERTULLIAN UND DAS *PHILIPPUSEVANGELIUM* (NHC II,3) ÜBER DIE AUFERSTEHUNG DES FLEISCHES

FRAGEN ZUR THEOLOGIEGESCHICHTLICHEN VERORTUNG VON TEXTEN ANHAND KONTROVERS DISKUTierter THEMEN IM FRÜHEN CHRISTENTUM

I. EINFÜHRUNG

Die theologiegeschichtliche Einordnung antiker christlicher Texte, von denen nur ein einziges Manuskript erhalten ist, die sich keiner bekannten Schulrichtung eindeutig zuweisen lassen, die über einen gewissen Zeitraum gewachsen zu sein scheinen und während des Tradierungsprozesses in weitere Sprachen übersetzt wurden, stellt ein Problem dar. Dies gilt wohl insbesondere für einige Texte aus Nag Hammadi. Viele dieser Zeugnisse beziehen sich auf theologische Kontroverspunkte, die auch in anderen antiken christlichen Texten thematisiert werden und insofern eine theologiegeschichtliche Kontextualisierung ermöglichen. Allerdings zeigt sich bei näherer Untersuchung, dass solche Texte in ganz verschiedene zeitgeschichtliche und literarische Bezugsrahmen passen. Mit manchen Denkgehalten und Problemstellungen hat sich das frühe Christentum über lange Zeiträume befasst und unter wechselnden Bedingungen Literatur dazu hervorgebracht. Zu solchen Themen gehören u.a. die Diskussion um Jesu Verhältnis zur Göttlichkeit und seine Menschheit, insbesondere um den Körper Jesu¹, aber auch um die fleischliche Auferstehung. Mein Beitrag soll anhand einer Passage aus dem *Philippusevangelium* in die Frage münden, ob und unter welchen Bedingungen inhaltliche Aspekte angesichts der Langlebigkeit und Beharrlichkeit mancher Debatten des frühen Christentums für die Datierung von Schriften auszuwerten sind.

Bei dem *Philippusevangelium* handelt es sich um einen Text, der schon seit langem im Zentrum von Datierungsdebatten steht und für das Erstellen allgemeiner Kriterien und Parameter zur Datierung apokrypher Texte

1. Die Debatte über den Körper Jesu und sein Verhältnis zur Göttlichkeit setzte im 2. Jahrhundert ein und wurde noch im 6. Jahrhundert geführt, vgl. dazu C. MARKSCHIES, *Gottes Körper: Jüdische, pagane und christliche Gottesvorstellungen in der Antike*, München, Beck, 2016, S. 400-401.

herangezogen wurde². Strittig ist dabei u.a., inwiefern einzelne Passagen für sich zu interpretieren sind bzw. von anderen Stellen her erhellt werden können, inwiefern ihr Fundkontext in eine Gesamtinterpretation einzu-beziehen ist und vor allem, in welches literarische Umfeld die Schrift zu stellen ist.

Die dritte Schrift aus NHC II wurde bisher oft als valentinianisch oder zumindest als Text mit valentinianischen Elementen interpretiert³. Schon die Bezeichnung „valentinianisch“ selbst ist allerdings insofern problem-behaftet, als sie als Selbstbezeichnung einer bestimmten Schulrichtung nicht bezeugt ist und auch verschiedene gnosiskritische antike Autoren Unterschiedliches darunter verstehen. Hinzu kommt, dass dem *EvPhil* nicht nur eine eindeutige Bezugnahme auf ein bestimmtes Lehrsystem bzw. auf einen gnostischen Mythos fehlt, sondern es auch keine Gattungsparallele besitzt, auch wenn es zuweilen als „Spruchevange-lium“ neben das *Thomasevangelium* gestellt wird⁴. In der Schrift werden

2. Vgl. H. LUNDHAUG, *Begotten, Not Made, to Arise in This Flesh: The Post-Nicene Soteriology of the Gospel of Philip*, in E. IRICINSCHI – L. JENOTT – N. DENZEY LEWIS – P. TOWNSEND (eds.), *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels* (STAC, 82), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 235-271. S. auch C. MARKSCHIES, *Offene Fragen zur historischen und literaturgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Nag-Hammadi-Schriften*, in J. SCHRÖTER – K. SCHWARZ (Hgg.), *Die Nag-Hammadi-Schriften in der Literatur- und Theologiegeschichte des frühen Christentums* (STAC, 106), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017, 15-35.

3. Vgl. u.a. A. WUCHERPFENNIG, *Valentinianismus*, in *RGG*⁴ 8 (2005) 873-875; R.MCL. WILSON, *The Gospel of Philip, Translated from the Coptic Text, with an Introduction and Commentary*, New York, Harper & Row, 1963, S. 15: „it can be located with confidence as a work deriving from the Valentinian school“; W.W. ISENBERG, *Introduction. Tractate 3: The Gospel according to Philip*, in B. LAYTON (Hg.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7 together with XIII,2**, *Brit. Lib. Or.* 4926(1), and *P.Oxy.* 1, 654, 655. I: *Gospel according to Thomas, Gospel according to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, and Indexes* (NHS, 20), Leiden – New York, Brill, 1989, 129-217; E. THOMASSEN, *How Valentinian Is the Gospel of Philip?*, in J.D. TURNER – A.M. MCGUIRE (Hgg.), *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 SBL Commemoration* (NHMS, 44), Leiden – New York – Köln, Brill, 1997, 251-279; Id., *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the „Valentinians“* (NHMS, 60), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2006; H.-M. SCHENKE, *Das Evangelium nach Philippus: Ein Evangelium der Valentinianer aus dem Funde von Nag Hamadi* [sic], in *TLZ* 84 (1959) 1-26; Id., *Das Philippus-Evangelium (Nag-Hammadi-Codex II,3): Neu herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt* (TU, 143), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1997; *ibid.*, S. 189: „Es ist ein gnostischer, und zwar ein valentinianischer Text: von einem Valentinianer für Valentinianer aus valentinianischem Textgut kompiliert, als Evangelium benutzt zunächst von valentinianischen Gemeinden. Gleichwohl ist er nur in dem Maße und Grade valentinianisch, wie es bei einem Text solcher Sorte, also bei einer Exzerptsammlung oder Epitome, möglich ist“; Id., *Relevanz der Kirchenväter für die Nag-Hammadi-Texte*, in J. IRMSCHER – K. TREU (Hgg.), *Das Korpus der griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller: Historie, Gegenwart, Zukunft* (TU, 120), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1977, 209-218, S. 210.

4. Vgl. die Einordnung des *EvPhil* in C. MARKSCHIES – J. SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I/1: Evangelien und Verwandtes*, Tübingen,

verschiedene Erörterungen u.a. zu christologischen, ritualpraktischen und die Schrift (insbesondere Genesis) auslegenden Themen ineinander geblendet, dabei fehlen jedoch textinterne Schlüsselpassagen zu ihrer Deutung. Dem üblichen Leseindruck nach folgen Einzelsprüche, Aphorismen, kurze narrative Einheiten, Bilder und Erörterungen unterschiedlichsten Inhalts aufeinander⁵, so dass sich gerade hier die Frage nach einem gemeinsamen Bezugspunkt und einem übergreifenden theologischen Profil stellt⁶. Der Text entzieht sich jedoch einer eindeutigen und alle Passagen gleichermaßen erfassenden Verortung.

Der gegenwärtige Leser und die Leserin sind daher, um die z. T. mehrdeutigen und voraussetzungsreichen Einzelsprüche zu interpretieren, in besonderem Maß auf andere Texte angewiesen, die gleiche Themen aufgreifen und ähnlich verarbeiten. Die Entscheidung darüber, welche Texte zur Deutung einzelner Stellen des *EvPhil* herangezogen werden, wirkt sich dann aber auch auf die Annahme eines bestimmten Entstehungsumfelds dieser jeweiligen Passagen aus. Die inhaltliche Erschließung des *EvPhil* und dessen Einordnung in ein bestimmtes Milieu und in einen ungefähren Entstehungszeitraum bedingen einander, so dass die Arbeit an diesem Text notwendigerweise zirkulär ist. Bestimmte Passagen sind etwa für eine valentinianische Deutung offen, *müssen* aber nicht valentinianisch gedeutet werden⁷.

Mohr Siebeck, 2012, unter „B. IV. Spruchevangelien“, zu denen auch das *EvThom* gerechnet wird (S. 527-557: H.-M. SCHENKE, *B. IV.2. Das Philippusevangelium [NHC II,3]*).

5. Zur Diskussion möglicher Gründe für die fehlende Kohärenz des Textes vgl. THOMASSEN, *How Valentinian* (Anm. 3), S. 252-253.

6. Eine plausible Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen Einzelsprüchen und einer übergreifenden Gesamtperspektive des Textes hat m. E. E. PAGELS im Anschluss an H.-M. Schenke gegeben: „the Gospel of Philip no doubt was compiled from various sources“, dennoch könne von einem übergreifenden „author’s viewpoint“ gesprochen werden (*Ritual in the Gospel of Philip*, in TURNER – MCGUIRE [Hgg.], *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years* [Anm. 3], 280-291, S. 281). Vgl. zum Problem auch M.L. TURNER, *On the Coherence of the Gospel according to Philip*, *ibid.*, 223-250.

7. Genannt wurden in der Forschung u.a. die mögliche Deutung Josephs als Demiurg in *EvPhil* 91 (73,8-15); das sog. eucharistische Gebet (*EvPhil* 26b [58,10-14]); für valentinianischen Hintergrund spricht auch die Bezeichnung Jesu als „Vater des Alls“ (*EvPhil* 82a [71,3-10]), vgl. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,2,6, wonach der Soter das All sei. Die Welt entstand außerdem nach *EvPhil* 99 (75,2-10) durch ein „Versehen“. Nach H. STRUTWOLF, *Gnosis als System: Zur Rezeption der valentinianischen Gnosis bei Origenes*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, S. 75, sei im *EvPhil* sogar der Sophiamythos vorausgesetzt, so spiele *EvPhil* 83 (71,18-21), auf den am Anfang geschehenen Fall an, der durch die Jungfrauengeburt wieder rückgängig zu machen sei.

Die Rede vom Reinigen des Wassers durch Jesu Taufe (*EvPhil* 89 [72,30-73,1]) begegnet interessanterweise auch im Brief des Ignatius an die Epheser 18,2.

Einen alternativen Kontextualisierungsvorschlag des Textes bzw. eines Textausschnitts hat kürzlich Hugo Lundhaug eingebracht⁸. In verschiedenen Publikationen hat er – neben anderem – die Nähe der Spruchgruppe *EvPhil* 23 (56,26–57,19) zu den nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen in Ägypten um die Auferstehung des Fleisches herausgearbeitet⁹. Mit der auffälligen Rede vom „Auferstehen *in diesem* Fleisch“ rezipiere der Text etablierte Bekenntnissprache des 4. Jahrhunderts¹⁰.

Der Vorschlag eröffnet auf jeden Fall eine neue Perspektive auf die *Rezeption* und ggf. auch *Fortschreibung* des *EvPhil* in Oberägypten des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts. Es ist gut vorstellbar, dass die Schrift in diesem zeitlichen und räumlichen Umfeld, unter den Patriarchen Theophilus und Kyrill von Alexandrien intensiv gelesen wurde, in diese theologiegeschichtliche Situation hineinsprach und für den Austausch von Argumenten verwendet wurde. Dennoch werden in *EvPhil* 23 auch Aspekte erkennbar, die an die Kontroverse um fleischliche Auferstehung im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert anknüpfen. Auferstehung des Fleisches war bereits bei frühchristlichen Apologeten und gnosiskritischen Autoren wie Irenäus und Tertullian und ihren Gegnern ein lebhaft diskutiertes Thema. Im Folgenden soll versuchsweise geprüft werden, ob und wie sich der Textabschnitt in diesen Diskurs einordnet. Vermieden werden soll dabei gleichwohl eine ältere Tendenz der Forschung, die Nag-Hammadi-Texte als *direktes* Gegenüber der frühen Ketzerreferate und als deren fehlendes Puzzlestück zu behandeln: Noch Hans-Martin Schenke hatte 1977 in seinem Aufsatz über die „Relevanz der Kirchenväter für die Nag Hammadi-

8. Er stellt das *EvPhil* in den Rahmen origenistischer Auseinandersetzungen und Streitigkeiten um das richtige Verständnis des Bekenntnisses zur Auferstehung des Fleisches. Er legt den Schwerpunkt auf die in *EvPhil* 23c gesetzte Pointe, dass man „in diesem Fleisch“, nämlich im Kontext der Spruchgruppe dem Fleisch Jesu, auferstehen muss. Diese Phrase könnte die Debatten in Ägypten des 4./5. Jahrhunderts um die Auferstehung im irdischen Fleisch widerspiegeln. Das orthodoxe Bekenntnis zur Auferstehung „in diesem Fleisch“ konnte von den Adressaten des *EvPhil* in ihrem Sinne interpretiert werden, nämlich nicht mit Bezug auf das menschliche, irdische, sondern mit Bezug auf Jesu andersartiges Fleisch. Nicht im eigenen, sondern im Fleisch Jesu wird man auferstehen (s. dazu unten). Unter dieser Verstehensvoraussetzung konnten Träger des *EvPhil* das orthodoxe Bekenntnis zur Auferstehung „in diesem Fleisch“ mitsprechen. Eine solche Position lehnt Epiphanius in *Ancoratus* 87 entschieden ab.

9. Vgl. H. LUNDHAUG, „Tell Me What Shall Arise”: *Conflicting Notions of the Resurrection Body in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Egypt*, in F.S. TAPPENDEN – C. DANIEL-HUGHES (Hgg.), *Coming Back to Life: The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortality, Death and Life in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Montreal, McGill University Library, 2017, 215–236; *Ib.*, *Images of Rebirth: Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the Gospel of Philip and the Exegesis on the Soul* (NHMS, 73), Leiden, Brill, 2010; *Ib.*, *Begotten, Not Made* (Anm. 2).

10. Vgl. LUNDHAUG, *Begotten, Not Made* (Anm. 2), S. 258.

Texte“ für die Bedeutung der Kirchenväter als „Schlüssel“ zur Identifikation gnostischer Texte argumentiert, wenn auch mit der Einschränkung, dass die Kirchenväter das Wesentliche der Gnosis erfassen mussten, um sie zu widerlegen, während die Nag-Hammadi-Texte in ihrer Zusammenstellung zufällig seien und als Repräsentanten eher provinzieller Strömungen gelten müssten¹¹. Diese ältere Sichtweise ist zu recht kritisiert worden. Sie vernachlässigt unter anderem die polemischen Tendenzen und Absichten der antihäretischen Schriften und legt die in Nag Hammadi entdeckten Schriften zu schnell auf bestimmte gnostische Richtungen fest.

Um die Diskussionsentwicklung anhand der Texte umsichtig nachzuzeichnen, muss man sich vielmehr zunächst bewusst machen, dass es eine theologiegeschichtliche Einordnung der relevanten Nag-Hammadi-Texte mit verschiedenen Ebenen innerhalb der Texte zu tun hat: Zu unterscheiden ist die Ebene konkreter sprachlicher Äußerungen, verwendeter Schlüsselbegriffe und -wendungen auf der *Textoberfläche* von der Ebene ihrer jeweiligen Hermeneutik, die sich aus dem Zusammenhang der gesamten Schrift und einzelner hermeneutischer Schlüsselstellen ergibt. So können zwar bestimmte traditionelle und verbreitete Begriffe (im vorliegenden Fall: „Auferstehung im Fleisch“, „Auferstehung des Fleisches“) in den Texten begegnen, aber unter einer hermeneutischen Entwicklung semantisch verändert worden sein. Drittens besitzen die literarischen Verarbeitungen im Text begegnender Themen noch eine pragmatische Funktion für soziale und kirchenpolitische Prozesse im Hintergrund, etwa eine erkennbare fortschreitende Bekenntnisbildung, die zur Integration oder Ausgrenzung von Gruppen führte. Ein solcher außertextlicher Kontext, der nicht mitüberliefert ist, muss gleichwohl für die Deutung des Textes mitbedacht werden. Die Entstehung der Spruchgruppe 23 (und in Teilen auch der Schrift?) lässt sich unter Berücksichtigung dieser verschiedenen Aspekte aus meiner Sicht nicht eindeutig verorten. Ihr zentrales Thema, die Auferstehung im Fleisch, lässt sich keiner bestimmten Entwicklungsphase der Auferstehungsvorstellungen zuordnen, vielmehr ist es in verschiedenen theologiegeschichtlichen Kontexten verstehbar und stimmig.

11. Vgl. SCHENKE, *Relevanz* (Anm. 3), S. 210. Die Übereinstimmung zwischen den Originalzeugnissen der Gnosis und den Referaten und Beschreibungen der Kirchenväter zeige das Beispiel des Zweiten Logos des großen Seth (NHC VII,2), das mit Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,24,4 und der dort beschriebenen Christologie des Basilides übereinstimme.

II. DIE SPRUCHGRUPPE *EvPhil* 23 (56,26–57,19) ÜBER DIE AUFERSTEHUNG „IM FLEISCH“

1. *Der Diskurs um die Auferstehung*

Bei der Auferstehung handelt es sich um eine Hoffnung und einen Vorstellungsgehalt, der im frühen Christentum „at the storm centre“ (Willem C. van Unnik) stand¹². Ihr kontroverses Potential beginnt sich bereits in einigen Texten des späteren Neuen Testaments abzuzeichnen, wie Stellen wie 2 Tim 2,17-18 zeigen, wo vor dem „gottlosen“, aber erfolgreichen „Geschwätz“ solcher Leute gewarnt wird, die meinen, die Auferstehung sei schon geschehen. Die bildhafte Rede vom Säen und Wachsen etwa, die Paulus in 1 Kor 15 verwendet, war prinzipiell offen genug, um in ihrer Fortwirkung ganz unterschiedliche Assoziationen freizusetzen. Sie konnte sich daher mit unterschiedlichen Auferstehungsvorstellungen verbinden und unter je veränderten Fragestellungen anders und neu verstanden werden¹³. Die verschiedenen und zum Teil geradezu gegensätzlichen Rezeptionen der Bildsprache bei Paulus, aber auch mancher christologisch dichter Aussagen des Johannesevangeliums wie etwa die Brotrede in Joh 6,26-58 in Texten ab dem 2. Jahrhundert sind Beispiele dafür, wie facettenreich sich die Auslegung der Schrift entwickeln konnte.

Die Frage nach der Art der Totenauferstehung, etwa nach ihrer Leiblichkeit und der Nähe der zukünftigen Herrlichkeitsexistenz zur ersten Schöpfung, hat sich im frühen Christentum parallel zu jüdischen Vorstellungen (weiter)entwickelt (vgl. das weisheitliche und apokalyptische Schrifttum, 2 *Makk*, *äthHen*, *PsSal*, 12 *Patr*, 4 *Esra*, *syrBar*, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*). Dabei brachte die Inkulturation israelitisch-jüdischer Anthropologie und Auferstehungsvorstellungen in das griechisch-römische Denken ein breites Spektrum an Vorstellungsvarianten hervor.

Zweitens wirkte sich auf die entstehenden Auferstehungsvorstellungen ein Wirklichkeitsverständnis aus, das seit dem Kommen Christi die Gegenwart *eschatologisch* bestimmt sieht und zwischen einem geistigen

12. Vgl. W.C. VAN UNNIK, *The Newly Discovered Gnostic 'Epistle to Rheginos' on the Resurrection II*, in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 15 (1964) 153-167, S. 154, mit Blick auf das Auferstehungsthema im *Rheginusbrief* (NHC I,4).

13. Die paulinische Bildsprache konnte von verschiedener Seite zitiert werden, ohne dabei nennenswert abgewandelt zu werden. Um ihre Rezeptions- und Interpretationsgeschichte nachzuzeichnen, muss daher auch auf verstecktere Signale zu Umgang und zur Deutung überlieferter Traditionen in den Texten geachtet werden.

und einem physischen Tod unterscheidet. Die Glaubenden partizipieren schon partiell an der neuen, mit Christus eingetretenen Wirklichkeit, der Tod als Folge der Sünde ist schon gegenwärtig überwunden, auch schon unter den Bedingungen der irdischen Existenz im Körper¹⁴.

Für Vorstellungen von der leiblichen Auferstehung im entstehenden Christentum wurde jedoch vor allem zentral, dass mit den Überlieferungen von Jesu Kreuzestod und seinen leiblichen Erscheinungen als Auferstandener eine neue Ausgangsbasis gegeben war, die Leiblichkeit der Auferstehung zu denken. Schon Lk 24 und Joh 20 thematisieren im Rahmen ihrer Erscheinungserzählungen kurz einige Eigenschaften des Leibes des Auferstandenen: Er kann plötzlich, trotz verschlossener Türen erscheinen und wird zunächst nicht erkannt. Solche Aspekte zielen darauf, einerseits im Auferstehungsleib Jesu die Dimension seiner menschlichen, leidensfähigen, an die Materie gebundenen Existenz sichtbar zu machen und damit die Identität des Gestorbenen mit dem Auferweckten zu untermauern. Andererseits sollen sie auf seine Entrückung, himmlische Herrlichkeit und Unabhängigkeit von irdischen Bedingungen hinweisen sowie dem konventionellen Topos numinoser Epiphanien entsprechen, zu dem z.B. das Erschrecken der Erscheinungszeugen und die Selbsterschließung des Erscheinenden gehört. Die Leiblichkeit des Auferstandenen bildet in den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien gleichwohl noch kein Thema für sich. Die Evangelien zeigen noch kein abstraktes Interesse an ihr, auch stellen sie keinen Zusammenhang zur leiblichen Auferstehung aller Glaubenden her.

Das änderte sich allerdings mit dem Nachdenken über das eschatologische Schicksal der menschlichen Substanz schlechthin und über die Leiblichkeit der Auferstehung. Hierfür wurden die Erscheinungsüberlieferungen vom auferstandenen Christus zentral: Der auferstandene Menschgewordene hatte ja bereits die vergängliche Fleischlichkeit überwunden. Seine Auferstehungsexistenz musste als exemplarisch angesehen werden, an seiner Leiblichkeit musste sich alles entscheiden. So formuliert Tertullian in *De res.* 2,1:

Christus nämlich war es vorbehalten [...] die Auferstehung der Toten nicht bloß *durch* sich, sondern auch *an* sich zu bestätigen¹⁵.

14. Gegen ein zu weites, falsches Verständnis einer geistigen Auferstehung argumentiert etwa Tertullian in *De res.* 23.

15. Tertullian, *De res.* 2,1 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 922): *Mortuorum certe resurrectionem, non modo per semetipsum, verum etiam in semetipso probare.* Die deutschen Zitate aus Tertullians Werken folgen (mit einigen wenigen Anpassungen) für *De carn.* der Übersetzung von V. LUKAS (FC 84, 157-267); für *De res.* der Übersetzung von K.A.H. KELLNER (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 24, 417-507).

In Christus konnte der Archetyp der Auferstehung gesehen werden, der nicht nur der Auferstehung aller Glaubenden den Weg geebnet, sondern an sich selbst durchlebt hat. So wie er würden auch die Glaubenden auferstehen. Aus diesem Grund wurde die Frage, ob der, der da auferstanden war, in *irdischem Fleisch* oder in einer *himmlischen Substanz*, in einem pneumatischen Fleisch erschienen ist, wesentlich für die Bestimmung des Menschen und für Vorstellungen von seiner Erlösung. Um Antworten auf solche Fragen zu gewinnen, wandte man sich verstärkt den Überlieferungen von Jesu Erscheinungen zu Ostern zu, wie sie etwa in Lk 24 und Joh 20–21 erzählt werden. Die Texte wurden dabei nicht nur nach Hinweisen auf die Leiblichkeit des Auferstandenen untersucht, ausgelegt und interpretiert, sondern auch neu erzählt, etwa um Lücken zu füllen oder neue Akzente einzubringen¹⁶. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Jesu Herrlichkeitsleib und der Auferstehungswirklichkeit, an der alle Glaubenden teilhaben würden, war das Fundament einer neuen, „christlichen“ Auferstehungshoffnung.

Hintergrund dieses Zusammenhangs ist die (geradezu stofflich-materielle) Relation zwischen den Glaubenden und dem menschengewordenen Christus, wie sie erstmals im Johannesevangelium angedeutet wird. Die Vorstellung von der Fleischwerdung des *Logos* (Joh 1,14) bildet den Anfang des Nachsinnens über die Verbindung des Fleisches Jesu mit dem menschlichen Fleisch und menschlicher Leiblichkeit im frühen Christentum¹⁷. Folglich musste eine *Leugnung* der Erlösungsfähigkeit des menschlichen Leibes und der allgemeinen fleischlichen Auferstehung entsprechende christologische Konsequenzen haben. Das führt wiederum Tertullian gleich zu Beginn seines Werkes *De carne Christi* 1,1-2 vor Augen:

1 Diejenigen nun, die diesen Glauben in der Weise in Unruhe zu versetzen trachten, dass sie behaupten, dass sich diese Hoffnung [auf Auferstehung] nicht auch auf das Fleisch beziehe, zerreißen zu Recht auch das Fleisch Christi durch ihre Nachfragen – so als gäbe es dieses überhaupt nicht oder als wäre es in jedem Fall von einer anderen als von menschlicher Art –, damit nicht, falls es erwiesenermaßen von menschlicher Art gewesen sein sollte, gegen die Meinung von jenen von vornherein feststeht, dass dieses, welches in Christus auferstanden ist, unter allen Umständen aufersteht [...] 2 Der Untersuchungsgegenstand ist das Fleisch (Christi): Über dessen Wahrhaftigkeit und Beschaffenheit wird nun erörtert, also ob es

16. Vgl. etwa EpAp 11 [22].

17. Vgl. hierzu u.a. C. UHRIG, „Und das Wort ist Fleisch geworden“: Zur Rezeption von Joh 1,14a und zur Theologie der Fleischwerdung in der griechischen vornizänischen Patristik (Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, 63), Münster, Aschendorff, 2004.

33 [ζι σνοϩ να]ῤ̄ κληρονομει ν̄τμ̄ν̄τε	33 [und Blut] werden nicht das Reich
34 [ρο μ̄πνο]γτε νιμ̄ τε ταῑ ετνακλη	34 [Gottes] erben. Was ist es, das nicht
57,1 ρονομει αν̄ ταῑ ετ̄ζιωων νιμ̄ δε τε̄	1 erben wird? Dieses (Fleisch), das an uns ist. Was aber ist
2 ταῑ ζωωσ̄ ετνακληρονομει τᾱ ῑς	2 dieses, das erben wird? Dasjenige Jesu
3 τε μ̄ν̄ πεϩ σνοϩ δια τουτο πεχαϩ χε	3 ist es, und sein Blut. Deshalb sagt er:
4 πεταογωμ̄ αν̄ ν̄τασαρ̄ζ̄ αγω ν̄ϩσω̄ μ̄	4 „Der, der nicht essen wird mein Fleisch und nicht trinkt
5 πασνοϩ μ̄ν̄ταϩ ων̄ζ ρρᾱῑ ν̄ζητ̄ϩ αω̄	5 mein Blut, in ihm gibt es kein Leben“.
6 τε τεϩ̄ σαρ̄ζ̄ πε πλογοσ̄ αγω πεϩ σνοϩ	6 Was ist das? Sein Fleisch ist der <i>Logos</i> ²⁰ und sein Blut
7 πε π̄η̄ᾱ ετογααβ̄ πενταρ̄χι ναεῑ ογ̄(ν)	7 ist der Heilige Geist. Der, welcher diese empfangen hat,
8 τεϩ̄ τροφη̄ αγω̄ ογ̄ν̄ταϩ̄ σω̄ ρῑ β̄σω̄	8 hat Nahrung und hat Trank und Klei- dung.
9 ανοκ̄ ϣ̄β̄ν̄ αρῑκε̄ αν̄κοοϩ̄ ετ̄χω̄ μ̄μοσ̄	9 Ich tadele die anderen, die sagen:
10 χε̄ σνατ̄ωογ̄ν̄ αν̄ εῑτε̄ ν̄τοογ̄ μ̄πεσ̄	10 „Sie (die <i>Sarx</i>) wird nicht aufer- stehen“ ²¹ . Also die beiden/die zwei
11 ναγ̄ σεϣοοπ̄ ρ̄ν̄ ογ̄ωτᾱ κ̄χω̄ μ̄μοσ̄	11 sind in einem Irrtum. Du sagst dies:

20. Vgl. dagegen Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3. Auch er bringt *Logos* und Leib/Fleisch Jesu in einen eucharistischen Zusammenhang: Ihm zufolge kommt das Wort/der *Logos* Gottes herab auf das Brot, das *dadurch* zum Leib (Fleisch) Christi wird, aber das Fleisch *ist* nicht der *Logos*. Zwischengeschaltet wird der Vorgang der Anrufung und Herabkunft des Wortes auf das Brot. Damit betont Irenäus, anders als *EvPhil* 23, die Wirksamkeit des Wortes Gottes (des Schöpfers). Dieser Aspekt fehlt ganz im *EvPhil*, und im Unterschied zu Irenäus werden auch andere Wirkweisen Gottes wie die Vorgänge in der Natur nicht argumentativ herangezogen. Irenäus rechnet demgegenüber nicht mit einer von vornherein feststehenden Qualität des *Logos*-Fleisches Christi, sondern bindet alle Transformationsvorgänge an eine Wirkweise Gottes zurück.

21. Nach LUNDHAUG, *Tell Me What Shall Arise* (Anm. 9), S. 228, vertritt der Text hier eine anti-Origenistische Position, die nahe bei Epiphanius (vgl. *Panarion* 64) liegt und mit der Auferstehung eines spirituellen Leibes bzw. spirituellen Fleisches rechnet. Die Position ist (jedenfalls bei Epiphanius) gegen die Auferstehung der Seele gerichtet. Nach Epiphanius lag es an der spirituellen Natur des Fleisches Jesu nach seiner Auferstehung, dass er durch verschlossene Türen gehen konnte (vgl. *Panarion* 64,2-9).

12 $\chi\epsilon$ $\tau\varsigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\chi}$ $\nu\alpha\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\ \alpha\eta$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$	12 „Das Fleisch wird nicht auferstehen“. Aber sage es zu mir:
13 $\epsilon\iota$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\psi$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\nu\alpha\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha$ $\psi\iota\nu\alpha$ $\epsilon\nu\alpha\tau\alpha$	13 Was wird auferstehen, damit wir dich ehren?
14 $\epsilon\iota\omicron\kappa$ $\kappa\chi\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\pi\eta\alpha$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\varsigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\chi}$	14 Du sagst: „der Geist im Fleisch.
15 $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\varsigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\chi}$ $\omicron\gamma\lambda\omicron$	15 Und dieses andere Licht im Fleisch“ ²² .
16 $\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\gamma\eta$ $\tau\varsigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\chi}$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\uparrow$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\kappa\eta\alpha$	16 Ein/Der <i>Logos</i> ist dieser andere im Fleisch.
17 $\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\kappa\chi\epsilon$ $\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\varsigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\chi}$	17 Was du (auch) sagst, du sagst nicht etwas außerhalb des Fleisches.
18 $\gamma\alpha\pi\bar{\varsigma}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\chi}$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\beta$	18 Es ist nötig, aufzuerstehen in diesem Fleisch,
19 $\eta\iota\mu$ $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau\bar{\varsigma}$ $\gamma\eta\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$	19 weil jede Sache in ihm ist.

In Spruch 23 spiegelt der Text die Diskussion zwischen den Extremen der Auferstehung eines inneren, pneumatischen Elements (57,13-17) und der Auferstehung im irdischen Fleisch (56,26-29) wider. Weitgehender Konsens unter den Auslegern des Textes ist, dass der Verfasser selbst dabei eine mittlere Position einnimmt. Die Auferstehung allein eines pneumatischen Elementes im Menschen lehnt er ebenso ab wie die Auferstehung des irdischen Leibes. Seine Lösung, dass man „im Fleisch Jesu auferstehen“ muss, ist in dieser Form m.E. einzigartig. Er entwickelt seine originelle Überzeugung, dass der Glaubende nicht im eigenen, sondern „im Fleisch Jesu“ aufersteht, aber aus einer Reihe weiterer Vorstellungen, die durchaus Parallelen in anderen Texten besitzen. Um sie soll es im Folgenden gehen, weil sie Licht auf die theologiegeschichtliche Verortung des Textes werfen können. Es handelt sich dabei um die Auffassung, dass

- (a) sich Jesu Fleisch vom irdischen Fleisch der Menschen grundlegend unterscheidet, was in *EvPhil* 23b mit dem Zitat von Joh 6,53-54 begründet wird und in ähnlicher Weise auch in *EvPhil* 72c (68,31-37)²³ begegnet.

22. Es ist unklar, wie weit das Zitat reicht.

23. *EvPhil* 72c (68,31-37): „Der [Herr] ist von den Toten [auferstanden. Er kam nicht, wie er w]ar, sondern [sein Leib] wa[r ganz] vollkommen [geworden. Er besteht aus] Fleisch. Aber dieses [Fleisch] ist wahres [F]leisch. [Unser Fleisch ab]er ist kein wahres Fleisch, son[dern ein] abbildliches [Fleisch] des wahren“.

In der Forschung wurde zwar diskutiert, ob „Fleisch und Blut“ in *EvPhil* 23c lediglich metaphorische Ausdrücke seien, die auf traditionelle Eucharistieterminologie zurückgreifen, aber damit allein die geistigen Potenzen „*Logos* und Heiliger Geist“ meinen²⁴. Hinter dem „Auferstehen in diesem Fleisch“ könnte also die Aneignung einer besonderen Erkenntnis stehen. Aus verschiedenen Gründen, vor allem wegen der hohen Bedeutung der Rituale im gesamten *EvPhil*, insonderheit der Eucharistie (vgl. *EvPhil* 53 [63,21-24]; 68 [67,27-30])²⁵, ist dies aber unwahrscheinlich. Vermutlich setzt die Spruchgruppe eine tatsächliche, stoffliche Wirkung der Eucharistieelemente und eine Vorstellung von Jesu Fleisch und Blut voraus.

- (b) Zweitens begegnet in *EvPhil* 23 die Auffassung, dass die Auferstehung der Glaubenden zwar im Fleisch, aber in einem *anderen* als dem irdischen Fleisch erfolgen wird. Die Vorstellung wird mit der Zitatenkombination aus 1 Kor 15,50 und Joh 6,53-54 belegt. Beide Überzeugungen basieren auf der weitgeteilten Annahme, dass irdische Materie keinen Anteil an der unvergänglichen Herrlichkeitsexistenz haben kann. Nur eine *besondere* Substanz, ein „pneumatisches“ Fleisch, das dem Sein im Pleroma entspricht, ist der Unvergänglichkeit fähig.
- (c) Beide Grundannahmen werden in *EvPhil* 23 sodann im Gedanken zusammengeführt, dass man, um aufzuerstehen, an *Jesu Leib* bzw. an seinem Fleisch partizipieren muss. Diese Zueignung des Fleisches Jesu wird in 57,8 im Sinne einer „Speisung, Trank- und Kleidungs-gabe“ verdichtet. Entwickelt ist dieser Gedanke im Text wiederum entlang der Paraphrase aus Joh 6,53-54.
- (d) Die Spruchgruppe arbeitet schließlich viertens das mit „Bekleidung“ zusammenhängende Motivfeld noch weiter aus. So wird es schon zu Beginn der Spruchgruppe mit dem Stichwort des „Nacktseins“ aufgerufen. Bekleidungsmetaphorik (entkleiden, nackt sein, anziehen)

24. Vgl. H.E. LONA, *Über die Auferstehung des Fleisches: Studien zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie*, Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 1993, S. 248-249. Auch bei Clemens von Alexandrien kann die Eucharistie teilweise zur Metapher für den Empfang Jesu in Glauben und Erkenntnis werden, vgl. G. KRETSCHMAR, *Abendmahl III/1*, in *TRE* 1 (1977) 59-89, S. 69. Dagegen aber H. SCHMID, *Die Eucharistie ist Jesus: Anfänge einer Theorie des Sakraments im koptischen Philippusevangelium (NHC II 3)* (VigChrSup, 88), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2007, S. 325-332.338-362.

25. Vgl. *EvPhil* 68 (67,27-30): Der Herr [bereitete] alles in verborgener Weise: Taufe, Salbung, Eucharistie, Erlösung und Brautgemach.

EvPhil 53 (63,21-24): Die Eucharistie ist Jesus. Denn <sie> heißt auf Syrisch „Pharisatha“, was „das Ausgebreitete“ bedeutet. Denn Jesus wurde zu einem, der gekreuzigt ist – der Welt.

begegnet außerdem in mehreren weiteren Passagen der Schrift, die sich mit dem Übergang von einem alten zu einem neuen Zustand bzw. dem „Eingehen in das Himmelreich“, das „Reich des Königs“ und den „Ort der Ruhe“ befassen²⁶.

Wie sind diese hier genannten vier Aspekte in das Spektrum frühchristlicher Auferstehungsvorstellungen einzuordnen? Im Folgenden sollen Texte zu Wort kommen, die aus meiner Sicht ähnliche Überzeugungen reflektieren, mal zustimmend, meist ablehnend. Sie zeigen, dass das Profil der Spruchgruppe in einen theologiegeschichtlichen Kontext des ausgehenden 2. und der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts passt, also in eine Zeit, in der bereits um die fleischliche Auferstehung gestritten wurde, und damit früher einzuordnen ist als in die Phase der Auseinandersetzungen im Ägypten des 4. Jahrhunderts. Die Texte, die ich versuchsweise als Kontext der Spruchgruppe 23 heranziehe, stehen ihrerseits schon in einem Überlieferungskontinuum und reagieren auf verschiedene vorausliegende Entwicklungen. Sofern hier möglich, soll die Breite der Diskussion berücksichtigt und auch auf Auslegungen der einschlägigen neutestamentlichen Texte eingegangen werden, um die Spruchgruppe 23 nicht eindimensional herzuleiten. Meine Darstellung folgt der Reihenfolge der eben aufgeführten Aspekte.

a) *Jesu Fleisch ist anders*

Vor den Gefahren, die in der Auffassung liegen, Jesus habe ein andersartiges, vielleicht pneumatisches und jedenfalls vom irdischen Fleisch verschiedenes Fleisch angenommen, warnt der Kleinasiate und gallische Bischof Irenäus am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts in seinem Werk „Überführung und Widerlegung der zu Unrecht so genannten Erkenntnis“

26. *EvPhil* 24 (57,19-22): In dieser Welt sind die, die die Kleider anziehen, besser als die Kleider. Im Himmelreich sind die Kleider besser als die, die sie angezogen haben.

EvPhil 27b (58,15-17): Niemand wird beim König eintreten, wenn er nackt ist.

EvPhil 77 (70,5-9) Wer das vollkommene Licht angezogen hat, den können die Mächte nicht sehen und sind (also) nicht in der Lage, ihn zurückzuhalten. Man wird sich dies Licht aber anziehen in dem Mysterium der Vereinigung.

EvPhil 101 (75,21-25): Das lebendige Wasser ist ein Leib. Es ist nötig, dass wir den lebendigen Menschen anziehen. Zu dem Zweck entkleidet sich, wer zum Wasser herabsteigt, dass er jenen anziehe.

EvPhil 106 (76,22-31): Der vollkommene Mensch kann nicht nur nicht festgehalten, sondern auch nicht gesehen werden. Denn wenn er gesehen wird, wird er festgehalten werden. Niemand kann sich diese Gnade anders erwerben, als [dass] er das vollkommene Licht anzieht [und] selbst zu vollkommenem Licht wird. Wer [es an]gezogen hat, wird [in (den Ort der) Ruhe ein-]gehen.

(*Adversus haereses*). Eine solche Überzeugung gefährdet ihm zufolge das Heilswerk Christi, das die Schöpfung mit Gott versöhnt:

Adv. haer. 5,14,3: Wenn also einer in der Weise das Fleisch des Herrn von unserem Fleisch unterscheiden will, daß jenes nicht gesündigt hat „noch eine List in seinem Mund gefunden wurde“ (1 Petr 2,22), wir aber Sünder sind, so hat er recht. Wenn er dem Herrn aber eine andere Substanz des Fleisches andichtet, dann wird für ihn das Wort von der Versöhnung nicht mehr gelten. Es wird nämlich versöhnt, was früher in Feindschaft lag. Wenn der Herr aber Fleisch aus einer anderen Substanz bezogen hat, dann ist das schon nicht mit Gott versöhnt worden, was durch Übertretung zum Feind geworden war. Nun hat der Herr aber aufgrund der Gemeinschaft mit ihm den Menschen mit Gott Vater versöhnt, indem er uns durch den Leib seines Fleisches mit sich versöhnte (vgl. Kol 1,22) und durch sein Blut uns erlöste [...] Und in jedem Brief bezeugt der Apostel offen, daß wir durch das Fleisch unseres Herrn und durch sein Blut gerettet sind²⁷.

Irenäus rechnet also mit einer grundlegenden Feindschaft zwischen Gott und Mensch, die sich bereits im Fleisch des Menschen selbst, also beinahe in dessen Fleischesmaterie als solcher manifestiert. *Jesu* Fleisch war zwar sündlos, entsprach aber ansonsten ganz und gar dem gottfeindlichen menschlichen Fleisch. Nur deshalb konnte Jesu Fleischesannahme dieses Fleisch mit Gott versöhnen – das Heilswerk Jesu hat für Irenäus demnach eine entschieden materielle, stoffliche Komponente²⁸.

Ferner argumentiert Irenäus mit einem Einwand, der ähnlich auch in Ignatius' *Brief an die Smyrnäer* (7,1) begegnet²⁹: Wer annimmt, dass Jesu Fleisch einer andersartigen Substanz angehört, stellt auch den Sinn der Eucharistie in Frage.

Adv. haer. 5,2,2: Sollte es [das Fleisch] tatsächlich vom Heil ausgeschlossen bleiben, dann freilich hat der Herr uns nicht mit seinem Blut erlöst

27. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5,14,3 (FC 8/5; Brox, S. 118-120): *Si quis igitur secundum hoc alteram dicit Domini carnem a nostra carne, quoniam illa quidem non peccavit „neque inventus est dolus in“ anima „eius“, nos autem peccatores, recte dicit. Si autem alteram substantiam carnis Domino affingit, iam non constabit illi reconciliationis sermo. Reconciliatur enim illud quod fuit aliquando in inimicitia. Si autem ex altera substantia carnem attulit Dominus, iam non illud reconciliatum est Deo quod per transgressionem factum fuerat inimicum. Nunc autem per eam quae est ad se communicationem, reconciliavit Dominus hominem Deo Patri, reconcilians nos sibi per corpus carnis suae et sanguine suo redimens nos [...] Et in omni autem epistola manifeste testificatur Apostolus quoniam per carnem Domini nostri et sanguinem eius nos salvati sumus.*

28. Man kann sagen, dass Irenäus unter dem Druck der abgelehnten Position dem Fleisch *per se*, als Substanz, eine negative, gottfeindliche Qualität zuschreibt. An anderen Stellen seines Werkes versucht er diese Haltung zu vermeiden und das Fleisch als ein Schöpfungswerk Gottes zu retten.

29. Ignatius setzt sich dort mit Gegnern auseinander, die (ihm zufolge) nicht bekennen, dass die Eucharistie das Fleisch Jesu Christi sei, das für unsere Sünden gestorben und vom Vater auferweckt worden ist.

(vgl. Kol 1,14), und der Kelch der Eucharistie ist dann auch nicht Gemeinschaft mit seinem Blut, und auch das Brot, das wir brechen, ist dann nicht Gemeinschaft mit seinem Leib (vgl. 1 Kor 10,16). Es handelt sich nämlich nur dann um Blut, wenn es von Adern stammt und von Fleisch und allem übrigen, was zur menschlichen Substanz gehört. Zu dieser Substanz ist Gottes Wort wahrhaftig geworden und hat uns durch sein Blut erlöst. Sein Apostel sagt dasselbe mit den Worten: „In ihm haben wir die Erlösung durch sein Blut, Nachlaß der Sünde“. Und da wir seine Glieder sind und uns durch die Schöpfung ernähren, er aber die Schöpfung seinerseits an uns verschenkt...³⁰.

Ausführlicher noch setzt sich Tertullian in seiner ca. 211 entstandenen Schrift *Über die Auferstehung der Toten* (*De resurrectione mortuorum*) mit der Beschaffenheit des Fleisches Jesu und den Argumenten bei Markion, Basilides, Valentin und Apelles auseinander, denen zufolge Christus entweder kein Fleisch besessen habe oder aus einer anderen Substanz gewesen sei:

De res. 2: Schließlich missgönnen die Häretiker keiner anderen körperlichen Substanz ihr Heil (*nulli alii salutem corporali substantiae invident*), als der, welche der anderen Gottheit [dem Demiurgen] angehört. Daher waren sie auch bei Christus gezwungen, damit er nur nicht dem Welterschöpfer angehöre, ihm eine andere (Beschaffenheit) zu geben, und haben so zuerst hinsichtlich seiner menschlichen Natur selbst geirrt, indem sie entweder mit Marcion und Basilides vorgaben, dieselbe habe gar keine Realität, oder, wie die Häresie des Valentinus und Apelles will, sie sei von einer ganz besonderen Qualität.

Daraus folgt, dass sie von der Rettung derjenigen Substanz (*salutem eius substantiae*), woran sie Christus keinen Anteil geben, nichts wissen wollen, überzeugt davon, dass es für deren Auferstehung ein äußerst günstiges Vorurteil erwecken würde, wenn in Christus das Fleisch bereits auferstanden wäre (*si iam in Christo resurrexit caro*) [...]

Dadurch überführt, dass Gott der Schöpfer des Fleisches, und Christus der Erlöser des Fleisches sei, werden sie (die Häretiker) nunmehr auch der Auferstehung des Fleisches überwiesen werden (*iam et de resurrectione carnis revincentur*)³¹.

30. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5,2,2 (FC 8/5; BROX, S. 32-34): *Si autem non salvetur haec, videlicet nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiae communicatio sanguinis eius est, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius est. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus et a reliqua quae est secundum hominem substantia, qua vere factum Verbum Dei sanguine suo redemit nos. Quemadmodum et Apostolus eius ait: „In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum“. Et quoniam membra eius sumus et per creaturam nutrimur, creaturam autem ipse nobis praestat...*

31. Tertullian, *De res.* 2,2-6 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 922): *Nulli denique alii salutem corporali substantiae invident quam alterius divinitatis haeretici. [3] Ideoque et Christum aliter disponere coacti, ne creatoris habeatur, in ipsa prius carne eius erraverunt, aut nullius veritatis contendentes eam secundum Marcionem et Basiliden, aut propriae qualitatis secundum heredes Valentini et Apellen. [4] Atque ita sequitur ut salutem*

Der wiedergegebene Text zeigt noch einmal klar, dass die Diskussion über die fleischliche Auferstehung aus gegensätzlichen Auffassungen über die Erlösungsfähigkeit der irdischen Materie und fleischlichen Substanz entsprang und dann auch Konsequenzen für die Christologie trug.

Gegen Apelles als einem Repräsentanten der Auffassung, Christus habe ein anderes Fleisch besessen, richtet sich Tertullian in *De carne Christi* 6,3 (ca. 206):

De carn. 6,3: Sie gestehen ein, dass Christus wahrhaftig einen Körper besessen hat. Woraus soll aber dessen Materie bestanden haben, wenn nicht aus demjenigen spezifischen Stoff, in welchem man ihn sehen konnte? Woraus soll also der Körper bestanden haben, wenn er nicht Fleisch gewesen ist? Woher soll aber das Fleisch gestammt haben, wenn es nicht geboren wurde? Denn dasjenige hätte geboren werden müssen, was dasjenige sein würde, was geboren wird. Sie behaupten: „Er borgte sein Fleisch von den Gestirnen und den Substanzen des oberen Kosmos aus“ ...³².

Die Ausführungen bei Irenäus und Tertullian lassen ein gegenüber dem 1. Jahrhundert gewachsenes Bewusstsein für die Bedeutung des Körpers des auferstandenen Jesus im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert erkennen³³.

b) *Die Auferstehung erfolgt in einem anderen Fleisch*

Der Verfasser der Spruchgruppe über die Auferstehung im *EvPhil* ist überzeugt, dass der Glaubende in der Auferstehung nicht „nackt“ sein wird. Es wird also eine Form von Leiblichkeit geben. Der Glaubende wird ein neues Kleid anziehen, ein anderes Fleisch tragen, mit dem der zukünftige Aufstieg in den „Ort der Ruhe“ bewältigt werden kann und das der Herrlichkeitsexistenz (dem „Eintritt beim König“, vgl. *EvPhil* 27b [58,15-17]) angemessen ist.

Die Frage, in welchem Fleisch die Glaubenden einst auferstehen, ist im frühen Christentum besonders intensiv und lange diskutiert worden.

eius substantiae excludant cuius Christum consortem negant, certi illam summo praeiudicio resurrectionis instructam si iam in Christo surrexerit caro [...] [6]: Obducti dehinc de deo carnis auctore et de Christo carnis redemptore, iam et de resurrectione carnis revincentur.

32. Tertullian, *De carn.* 6,3 (SC 216/217; MAHÉ, S. 234): *Confitentur vere corpus habuisse Christum. Unde materia si non ex ea qualitate in qua videbatur? Unde corpus si non caro corpus? Unde caro si non nata? Quia nasci haberet, ea futura quae nascitur. „De sideribus, inquit, et de substantiis superioris mundi mutuatus est carnem“.*

33. Dort wird der Auferstehungsleib Jesu unterschiedlich charakterisiert und als ein mit den Kreuzesmalen versehener und zugleich besondere Fähigkeiten besitzender Körper beschrieben. Dieser Leib war dezidiert keine wunderbare, unberührbare Lichterscheinung, sondern mit dem menschlichen Körper des Gekreuzigten identisch, der essen und trinken kann, berührbar ist und die Wundmale des Gekreuzigten aufweist. Andererseits besaß er, als Jesus seinen Jüngern erschien, auch Merkmale besonderer Art: So wurde er zunächst von den Jüngern auf dem Weg nach Emmaus nicht erkannt, und nach Joh 20,19 konnte er trotz geschlossener Türen unter den Jüngern erscheinen.

Erste Weichen für die Diskussion sind bereits in 1 Kor 15,35-54 gestellt. In der Auseinandersetzung mit der korinthischen Gemeinde thematisiert Paulus die Spannung zwischen der Vergänglichkeit des natürlichen σῶμα und der Kontinuität der Person bei ihrer Auferweckung. Nach biblischem Denken ist sie von ihrem Leib nicht zu trennen. Wie kann der Auferweckte also noch leiblich derselbe sein und dann auch im Gericht als derselbe angesprochen werden, der er zu Lebzeiten war, wenn der Körper in der Erde verwest, der Leib also eine seine Existenz letztlich vernichtende Umwandlung durchläuft? Paulus findet zu der Missverständnisse nicht ausschließenden und aus späterer Perspektive nur vorläufigen Lösung einer Transformation des σῶμα ψυχικόν zum σῶμα πνευματικόν, einem „Verschlingen“ des Sterblichen durch das Unsterbliche. Mit dieser Beschreibung der Auferstehung sind zwei mögliche Grundmodelle angelegt, wie leibliche Auferstehung verstanden werden kann: Einerseits die Vorstellung von der *Umwandlung* des Körpers, der seine Identität aber noch bewahrt, und andererseits die Vorstellung von der Vernichtung des irdischen Leibes und Auferstehung eines inneren Kerns in einem *anderen*, neuen Leib (vgl. 2 Kor 5,1-10).

Um am Glauben an die Erlösung der geschaffenen Welt durch den einen Schöpfergott festzuhalten, war es Irenäus und Tertullian darum zu tun, 1 Kor 15 im Sinne einer Umwandlung des Leibes bei gleichzeitiger Kontinuität zu verstehen. Sie wollten den Prozess der Umwandlung so genau wie möglich und in Einklang mit biblischer Überlieferung beschreiben. Tertullian hat sich in *De resurrectione* mit dem Bild des Säens befasst und es, obwohl es für sich genommen durchaus interpretatorisch offener ist, entschieden im Sinne einer Transformation ein und desselben Körpers gedeutet:

De res. 52,1-3: Untersuchen wir nun, mit was für einem Leibe die Abgestorbenen nach des Apostels Lehre wiederkommen werden. Es ist gut, dass er (Paulus) sich sofort daran gemacht hat, es zu zeigen, gleich als ob jemand nach diesen Dingen gefragt hätte. „Du Tor“, sagt er, „was Du säest, wird nicht belebt, es sei denn gestorben“. Mithin geht schon aus der Analogie des Säens hervor, dass kein anderes Fleisch wieder lebendig wird als das, welches gestorben ist (*non aliam vivificari carnem quam ipsam quae erit mortua*), und darnach wird auch das folgende sein richtiges Licht erhalten. Denn nichts darf in einem dem Grundcharakter des Beispiels zuwiderlaufenden Sinne verstanden werden, und man darf nicht, weil folgt: „Was Du säest, nicht den Körper, der werden soll, säest Du“, glauben, es werde ein anderer Körper auferstehen (*aliud resurrecturum corpus*) als der, welcher durch das Sterben gesät worden ist³⁴.

34. Tertullian, *De res.* 52,1-3 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 995): [1] *Videamus iam nunc quo corpore venturos mortuos disputet. Et bene, quod erupit statim ostendere, quasi quis eiusmodi quaerat. Stulte, inquit, tu quod seminas non vivificatur nisi mortuum fuerit.*

Es ist auffällig, dass Tertullian an dieser Stelle eine mögliche Interpretation von 1 Kor 15 vor Augen hat, die auf die Auferstehung eines *anderen* Körpers oder sogar eines anderen *Fleisches* hinausläuft. Ganz auf dieser Linie hält er an späterer Stelle, in *De res.* 55,1 fest, er habe

mit dem Nachweis, dass das Fleisch (*carnem*) auferstehen wird, auch bewiesen [...], dass kein anderes auferstehen werde (*non aliam resurrectionem*), als eben das, um welches es sich handelt... (*De res.* 55,1)³⁵.

Irenäus bezieht sich auf die überlieferten Auferweckungshandlungen des irdischen Jesus, um zu zeigen, dass der auferweckte Leib derselbe ist wie der gestorbene, dass es also leibliche Kontinuität gibt:

Adv. haer. 5,13,1: Diese Leute, die das Gegenteil davon behaupten, das heißt gegen ihr eigenes Heil sprechen, sollen uns bitte sagen, in welchen Körpern die tote Tochter des Hohenpriesters (vgl. Mt 9,18-19.23-25 par. Mk, Lk), der Sohn der Witwe (vgl. Lk 7,12), der tot zum Stadttor hinausgetragen wurde (vgl. Lk 7,11-17), und Lazarus, der schon vier Tage im Grab lag (vgl. Joh 11,39) auferstanden sind. Natürlich doch in denselben, in denen sie auch gestorben waren. Wären es nämlich nicht so gewesen, dann wären auch nicht dieselben, die doch gestorben waren, auferstanden³⁶.

Auch im Anhang eines unbekannten Verfassers an Tertullians Schrift *De praescriptionem haereticorum*, *Adv. omnes haereses* 4,5, wird von Valentin überliefert, er habe nicht an die Auferstehung *dieses* Fleisches geglaubt, sondern an die eines anderen Fleisches (*resurrectionem huius carnis negat, sed alterius*)³⁷. Und schließlich scheint in dem in NHC I

[2] *Hoc ergo iam de exemplo seminis constet, non aliam vivificari carnem quam ipsam, quae erit mortua, et ita sequentia relucebunt.* [3] *Nihil enim adversus regulam exempli licebit intellegi, ne, quia sequitur, et quod seminas non corpus quod futurum est seminas, idcirco aliud resurrecturum corpus quam quod moriendo seminatur existimes.*

35. Tertullian, *De res.* 55,1 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 1001): *Quaquam igitur, resurrectionem carnem probantes, hoc ipso non aliam resurrectionem probemus quam de qua agitur...*

36. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5,13,1 (FC 8/5; BROX, S. 104-106): *Dicant enim nobis hi qui contraria dicunt, hoc est qui contradicunt suae salutis, summi sacerdotis mortua filia, et viduae filius qui circa portam mortuus efferebatur, et Lazarus qui in monumento quartam habebat diem, in quibus resurrexerint corporibus? In iisdem ipsis scilicet in quibus et mortui fuerant: si enim non in iisdem ipsis, videlicet nec iidem ipsi qui mortui errant resurrexerunt.*

37. Es handelt sich bei Ps.-Tertullian um den Anhang eines unbekannten Autors an Tertullians *De praescriptionem haereticorum*. Dem negativen Teil dieser Aussage korrespondiert die von Hippolyt in der *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 10,13,4 ebenfalls Valentin zugeschriebene Ansicht: „Τὴν δὲ σάρκα μὴ σφύζεσθαι θέλει...“ (vgl. dazu C. MARKSCHIES, *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis, mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins* (WUNT, 65), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1992, S. 276-290). In *Adv. omnes haereses* 4,5 geht es wohl um das Fleisch Christi bei der Auferstehung.

überlieferten *Rheginusbrief*, dessen Datierung und theologiegeschichtliche Einordnung leider unsicher sind, die Gabe eines *anderen*, das irdische Fleisch ersetzenden Fleisches bei der Auferstehung vertreten zu werden (*Traktat über die Auferstehung*, NHC I,4). Der Text rechnet mit einer leibfreien Präexistenz der Glaubenden vor ihrem Eintreten in die Welt. Beim Eintreten in diese Welt, ihrer „Inkarnation“, empfangen sie eine fleischliche Hülle, die sie bei ihrem Tod wieder ablegen. Dieser Vorgang weist dem *Rheg.* zufolge auf die Auferstehung als einer „Neugeburt“ voraus, bei der die Glaubenden ein pneumatisches Fleisch erhalten werden³⁸.

Die zitierten Texte zeigen insgesamt das Bemühen, die Auferstehung *dieses* Fleisches und keines *anderen* zu begründen. Sie lassen es unwahrscheinlich erscheinen, dass es sich bei der bekämpften Auffassung, ein anderes Fleisch oder ein anderer Leib werde auferstehen, um ein lediglich fiktives Argument handelte, das den Gegnern untergeschoben wurde. Intensität und Schärfe der Auseinandersetzung sprechen nicht dafür, dass hier ein bloßer Pappkamerad bekämpft wurde. Wahrscheinlicher ist vielmehr, dass es in der Zeit des Wirkens von Irenäus und Tertullian tatsächlich Stimmen gegeben hat, die wegen der augenfälligen Vergänglichkeit des Leibes einen *anderen* als den irdischen Leib – oder ein anderes Fleisch – auferstehen lassen wollten.

c) *Partizipation am Fleisch Jesu: Offen für die Umwandlung des Fleisches, aber auch für die Gabe eines neuen Fleisches*

Das Beispiel des *Rheginusbriefes* bietet eine Erklärung für die fleischliche Auferstehung. Der Verfasser des Auferstehungstraktats setzt auf eine Analogie zwischen der ersten Inkarnation beim Eintreten in diese Welt und einer zweiten, zukünftigen Inkarnation bei der Auferstehung. Eine andere Deutung bietet die Spruchgruppe im *EvPhil*, die die Eucharistie als den Moment versteht, in dem der Glaubende sein neues „Herrlichkeitsgewand“ in Gestalt des Fleisches Jesu empfängt.

Aber nicht nur Vertreter der Auferstehung in einem neuen Fleisch waren genötigt zu erklären, auf welche Weise eine solche Auferstehung von statten gehen kann. Dem Anspruch der Plausibilisierung mussten auch Befürworter der Auferweckung *dieses* irdischen, an sich vergänglichen Fleisches entsprechen, um sich mit ihren Auferstehungsdeutungen

38. Vgl. *Rheg.* (NHC I,4 47): Folglich zweifle nicht betreffs der Auferstehung, mein Sohn Rheginus! Denn: Wenn du nicht im Fleisch existiert hast (und) Fleisch angenommen hast, als du in diese Welt kamst, weswegen sollst du das Fleisch nicht (wieder)bekommen, wenn du zu dem Äon aufsteigst? (Übersetzung H.-M. SCHENKE, NHD).

durchzusetzen. Sie mussten nachvollziehbar machen, wie das menschliche Fleisch aufgewertet und unsterblich gemacht werden könne. Zwei Grundmodelle wurden dabei vertreten: ein schöpferischer Akt Gottes an den toten Leibern analog zur ersten Schöpfung, bei der die Materie zu neuem Leben kommt, und eine schon im irdischen Leben beginnende Vorbereitung des sterblichen Fleisches auf seine Herrlichkeitsexistenz, sein sukzessives Wachsen zur Unsterblichkeit durch die Eucharistie. Während Tertullian in *De carne Christi* und *De resurrectione* vor allem der ersteren Lösung zuneigt und sowohl aus Vorgängen der geschaffenen und von Gott geordneten Natur als auch aus biblischer Überlieferung Beispiele für die Umwandlungsfähigkeit des Fleisches anbringt³⁹, findet man bei Ignatius, Justin und Irenäus daneben auch Lösungen, nach denen der Mensch in seiner Leiblichkeit in den eucharistischen Mahlsakramenten Anteil habe am lebensspendenden Fleisch Jesu gewinnt und so für die Unvergänglichkeit und das ewige Leben aufnahmefähig wird. Mit der Auffassung, das in der Eucharistie verzehrte Fleisch bzw. der Leib Jesu habe auf das Fleisch der Eucharistieempfänger eine ganz unmittelbare Wirkung, liegen diese Texte nahe an der Auferstehungsdeutung von *EvPhil* 23.

Justin beschreibt in seiner Apologie an den römischen Kaiser Antoninus Pius (*1 Apol.* 66) die Eucharistie als eine ungewöhnliche Speise, als Fleisch und Blut des inkarnierten Jesus, mit der „unser Fleisch und Blut“ gemäß einer Umwandlung (κατὰ μεταβολήν) ernährt werden. Er stellt dabei erstmals einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Inkarnation Jesu, der eucharistischen Verwandlung von Brot und Wein und der Verwandlung des Fleisches und Blutes der Eucharistieempfänger her. In späteren Deutungen, etwa bei Gregor von Nyssa⁴⁰ wird dieser Zusammenhang immer expliziter ausgearbeitet. Die Eucharistie ist gewissermaßen derjenige Vorgang, bei dem das Heilgeschehen der Inkarnation für den einzelnen Glaubenden auch leiblich zur Wirkung kommt.

Auch Irenäus führt die Befähigung des geschaffenen Fleisches, als – für sich genommen vergängliche – Materie doch Unsterblichkeit anzunehmen, auf die Eucharistie und die Ernährung unseres Fleisches durch Jesu Leib zurück.

39. Weitaus ausführlicher als Irenäus und Ignatius befasst sich Tertullian in seiner Schrift *De resurrectione* mit der „Umwandlung“ des Fleisches bei der Auferstehung, allerdings ohne die Vorstellung, dass die Umwandlung durch Partizipation an Jesu Leib erfolge. Er unterscheidet prinzipiell zwischen Umwandlung und Vernichtung und widmet beiden Vorgängen ausgedehnte und allgemeine Erörterungen.

40. Vgl. Gregor von Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica Magna* 37,2-3.9-12.

Adv. haer. 5,2,3: Wenn nun sowohl der Mischbecher als auch das zubereitete Brot das Wort Gottes aufnehmen und zur Eucharistie, zum Blut und Leib Christi werden und wenn daraus die Substanz unseres Fleisches gestärkt wird und besteht, wie können sie dann bestreiten, daß das Fleisch aufnahmefähig ist für Gottes Geschenk, das das ewige Leben ist? Dabei wird es (*sc.* das Fleisch) doch vom Blut und Leib des Herrn ernährt und ist eines seiner Glieder⁴¹.

Um die stattfindende Umwandlung des Fleisches zu erklären, bringt Irenäus einen ernährungsphysiologischen Ansatz vor und fundiert seine Ausführungen demnach mit zeitgenössischen Kenntnissen über den menschlichen Organismus: Wie Nahrung von den menschlichen Organen absorbiert werden kann und diese ihr Anwachsen und ihre Energie aus ihr beziehen, so geht die besondere Qualität des Fleisches Jesu auf das Fleisch der Essenden über.

Auffällig an den zitierten Texten ist, dass sie Unvergänglichkeit als eine Fähigkeit auffassen, die die Eucharistie vermittelt. Genauer: In der Eucharistie wird ein Wirkungszusammenhang gesehen, der zwischen dem Fleisch Jesu und dem Fleisch der Glaubenden besteht. Dies ist nach meiner Auffassung die markanteste Parallele, die zwischen diesen Texten und der Spruchgruppe in *EvPhil* 23 besteht.

d) Die Auferstehung im Fleisch als Neubekleidung

Die Bekleidungsmetaphorik in *EvPhil* 23 („nackt sein“, „Kleidung“) verbindet die Spruchgruppe mit weiteren Passagen der Schrift, so mit Spruch 24 (57,19-22) sowie 77 (70,5-9); 101 (75,21-25) und 106 (76,22-31)⁴². Diese Texte verwenden (konventionelle) Gewandmetaphern⁴³, um eine neue Existenz bzw. den Übergang von der irdischen in die himmlische Seinsweise zu beschreiben. *EvPhil* 101 zeigt, dass sich die Bilder eines Gewandwechsels, die einen Kontrast zwischen dem alten und dem neuen Menschen erzeugen, leicht mit Übergangsritualen

41. *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3 (FC 8/5; Brox, S. 34): *Quando ergo et mixtus calix et factus panis percipit verbum Dei et fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augeatur et consistit carnis nostrae substantia, quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei quae est vita aeterna, quae sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur et membrum ejus <est>?*

42. Zitiert oben, Anm. 26.

43. Gewandmetaphorik verwendet bereits Paulus, um das neue Sein in Christus, aber auch die endzeitliche Auferstehung von den Toten zu beschreiben, vgl. Gal 3,28; 1 Kor 15,49.53-54; 2 Kor 5,1-4; Röm 13,14; vgl. Kol 3,9-10; Eph 4,22-24. Vgl. dazu P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Observations on a Pauline Expression*, in *NTS* 19 (1973) 181-187; N.A. DAHL, *Kleidungsmetaphern: Der alte und der neue Mensch*, in ID. – D. HELLHOLM (Hgg.), *Studies in Ephesians* (WUNT, 131), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2000, 389-411.

wie der Taufe verbinden ließen, in der dieser Statuswechsel symbolisch vollzogen wird⁴⁴:

Das lebendige Wasser ist ein Leib. Es ist nötig, daß wir den lebendigen Menschen anziehen (ܥܬܪܦܢܬ ܕܠܝܒܐܢ). Zu dem Zweck entkleidet sich (ܡܥܪܩܩܩܕ ܕܠܝܒܐܢ), wer zum Wasser herabsteigt, dass er jenen anziehe.

Mit ihrer Rede vom Bekleiden mit dem „lebendigen Menschen“ scheint die zitierte Taufdeutung große Nähe zur Eucharistieinterpretation in *EvPhil* 23 zu besitzen. Auch dem Eucharistieempfänger wird ja nach *EvPhil* 23b (57,8) das Fleisch Jesu als ein „Kleid“ gegeben. In Taufe und Eucharistie zieht der Glaubende demnach den lebendigen Menschen an bzw. empfängt das neue „Kleid“, das Fleisch Jesu.

Die Deutung von Taufe und Eucharistie als Transformationsgeschehen ist im *EvPhil* auf die anthropologischen Grundannahmen des Textes abgestimmt. Nach dem Ablegen des Fleisches ist ein Wesenskern, „die Seele“ freigelegt (vgl. *EvPhil* 22 [56,20-26]), die ihr neues Gewand in den Sakramenten erhält. Die eben zitierte Taufdeutung zeigt schon, dass in diesem Gewand mehr gesehen werden muss als eine bloße neue Hülle. Es handelt sich vielmehr um ein Herrlichkeits- oder Lichtgewand⁴⁵, das dazu dient, dieser Welt zu entkommen und in den künftigen „Ort der Ruhe“ einzugehen. Der Glaubende wird dabei *selbst* zu dem Licht, mit dem er sich bekleidet hat, wie aus *EvPhil* 106 (76,28-29) („...[und] er selbst zu vollkommenem Licht wird“) hervorgeht.

Das Bekleiden des Glaubenden mit dem Lichtkleid ist also mehr als nur eine äußere Umkleidung⁴⁶. Es geht vielmehr um eine *Anverwandlung* des Menschen in das Gewand und die Übertragung seiner Eigenschaften auf den Träger⁴⁷.

44. In späteren syrischen Texten (Jakob von Serug; Ephräim der Syrer) ist daraus eine umfangreiche Bekleidungsbildlichkeit entwickelt worden.

45. Vgl. *EvPhil* 77 (70,5-9) und 106 (76,22-31).

46. Vergleichbar ist hier die Vereinigung des Königssohns mit seiner kostbaren Robe am Schluss des Perlenliedes der Thomasakten.

47. Fleisch und Blut Jesu werden als „*Logos* und Heiliger Geist“ prädiiziert. Inwiefern Jesu „Fleisch“ daher nur ein metaphorischer Ausdruck ist, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Angesichts der Bedeutung, die die Sakramente im *EvPhil* haben, ist es möglich, dass tatsächlich an die Übermittlung einer feinstofflichen oder pneumatischen Substanz gedacht ist. Die Rede vom Anziehen des Lichtgewands und Auferstehen „im Fleisch Jesu“ implizieren zunächst keinen inneren Wandel, weder ethisch noch durch Erkenntnis, sondern eine von außen kommende Erneuerung. Die neue Bekleidung mit dem Fleisch Jesu wird nach *EvPhil* 23 das irdische Fleisch ersetzen, das beim Tod abzulegen ist. Es tritt an dessen Stelle, und ist zugleich etwas ganz anderes als das aus stofflicher Substanz bestehende irdische Fleisch des Menschen.

Auch hier ist also letztlich eine Verwandlung angestrebt, deren Subjekt allerdings (anders als bei Irenäus) nicht das *irdische Fleisch*, sondern der innere *Wesenskern* oder die Seele ist⁴⁸. Mit der Transformation, die das Bild des „Anziehens“ aufruft, ist an die Ausstattung des Täuflings für seinen Übergang in den anderen Äon gedacht. Daher sollen vermutlich auch solche Qualitäten vom „lebendigen Menschen“ auf den Täufling übergehen, die ihn für die Mächte unsichtbar werden lassen, ihn den Mächten entziehen und unangreifbar machen⁴⁹.

Indem Umwandlung und Ausstattung für den Übergang in den Sakramenten verortet werden, vollzieht sich beides schon jetzt, ist die Auferstehung schon präsentisch gedacht. Deshalb spricht das *EvPhil* auch mehrfach von der Auferstehung als einem Gut, das noch vor dem physischen Tod erworben werden muss (vgl. *EvPhil* 63c und 90a)⁵⁰.

Die Schrift ist gerade in ihrer Tauftheologie sehr nah an dem, was Tertullian in *De res.* 19,5 über die Leugner der Auferstehung schreibt. Sie behaupten Tertullian zufolge:

De res. 19,5: Von dem Zeitpunkt an also, wo man den Herrn in der Taufe angezogen habe, habe man durch den Glauben die Auferstehung mit ihm erlangt...⁵¹.

48. Die Taufinterpretation in *EvPhil* erinnert mit ihrer Rede vom „lebendigen Menschen“, der angezogen werden soll, an das „Anziehen“ Christi bzw. des „neuen Menschen“ in Röm 13,14; Kol 3,9-10 und Eph 4,22-24. Bei Paulus und in der Paulustradition versinnbildlicht das „Anziehen Christi“ an den genannten Stellen die Christusbefolgung der Glaubenden durch einen tugendhaften Lebenswandel, der mit dem Ablegen der Laster einhergeht. Dieser Zusammenhang fehlt aber in *EvPhil* 101 (75,21-25).

49. Am nächsten steht dieser Vorstellung bestenfalls noch das „In-Christus-Getauftsein“ in Gal 3,27, das ebenfalls einen grundlegenden Existenzwechsel, eine neue Zugehörigkeit und Identifizierung der Glaubenden mit Christus durch die Taufe umschreibt, vgl. Gal 3,27: ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε.

50. *EvPhil* 63c (66,16-20): Solange wir uns in dieser Welt befinden, geziemt es sich für uns, uns die Auferstehung zu erwerben, damit wir, wenn wir uns vom Fleisch entkleiden, in (dem Ort) der Ruhe erfunden werden und nicht in der Mitte umherschweifen.

EvPhil 90a (73,1-5): Diejenigen, die behaupten, daß sie zuerst sterben und (dann erst) auferstehen werden, irren sich. Wenn sie nicht zuerst die Auferstehung erlangen, solange sie noch leben, werden sie, wenn sie sterben, nichts empfangen.

51. Tertullian, *De res.* 19,5 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 944): [5] *Exinde ergo, resurrectionem fide consecutos, cum domino esse, quem in baptismo induerint.*

Vgl. den Kontext in Tertullian, *De res.* 19: „Sie klammern sich nämlich an eine sehr gewöhnliche Form der prophetischen Ausdrucksweise, die häufig – aber doch nicht immer – allegorisch und figürlich ist, und schwächen die Bedeutung der Auferstehung, die ganz deutlich angekündigt ist, zu einer bloss bildlichen ab, indem sie behaupten, dass auch das Sterben nur geistig zu verstehen sei. Es sei nämlich nicht das Sterben in Wirklichkeit, welches wir stets vor Augen haben, die Trennung der Seele vom Leibe hier gemeint, sondern die Unkenntnis Gottes, wodurch der Mensch, Gott abgestorben, im Irrtum darnieder liegt geradeso wie im Grabe. Und darum sei es auch für eine Auferstehung zu halten, wenn jemand den Zugang zur Wahrheit gefunden habe, dadurch für Gott wieder beseelt

Wenngleich das *EvPhil* von „Auferstehung“ sicher nicht nur metaphorisch redet, lassen sich einige bemerkenswerte Gemeinsamkeiten zu der in *De res.* 19,5 von Tertullian abgelehnten Position erkennen. Diese Position spricht wie das *EvPhil* vom Anziehen Jesu in der Taufe, und sie kennt die Vorstellung vom präsentischen „Erlangen“ der Auferstehung durch die Taufe, die Tertullians Vorstellung eines Gerichts am Ende des Lebens, das nach seiner Auffassung notwendig die Auferstehung der Toten *im Fleisch* voraussetzt, natürlich widerspricht.

III. HERMENEUTISCHE HINTERGRÜNDE

Vor dem Hintergrund der bis hierher skizzierten Diskussionslage im Christentum des 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhunderts erhält *EvPhil* 23 folgendes Profil: Der Text vertritt die Vorstellung einer Herrlichkeitsexistenz der Glaubenden ohne ihren irdischen Leib. Das irdische Fleisch verfällt unwiederbringlich der Vergänglichkeit und ist deshalb nicht fähig, in den Herrlichkeitssort einzugehen. Der Verfasser lehnt also die Vorstellung einer Umwandlung des irdischen Fleisches hin zum ewigen Leben, für die Justin, Irenäus und vor allem Tertullian so eindringlich argumentieren, ab⁵².

Dennoch spricht das *EvPhil* in 57,18 davon, dass es nötig sei „in diesem Fleisch aufzuerstehen“. Auf diese Weise übernimmt der Text die Diktion der sich entwickelnden Orthodoxie, um sie zugleich in einer Weise umzuinterpretieren, die eigenen gruppenspezifischen Überzeugungen gerecht wird. Es könnte sich also in 57,18 auf entstehende Bekenntnissprache berufen (Glaube an die Auferstehung *dieses* Fleisches). Durch den vorausgehenden Kontext, in dem von „diesem Fleisch“ hier aber die Rede ist, ist nun das Fleisch Jesu gemeint⁵³.

Für eine theologiegeschichtliche Verortung des Textes könnten demnach konkrete Hinweise auf sich herausbildende Terminologien und

und wieder belebt, nach Beseitigung des Todes der Unwissenheit, gleichsam aus dem Grabe des alten Menschen hervorgehe. Denn der Herr habe die Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer auch mit übertünchten Gräbern verglichen. Von dem Zeitpunkt an also, wo man den Herrn in der Taufe angezogen habe, habe man durch den Glauben die Auferstehung mit ihm erlangt“.

52. Im Hintergrund des *EvPhil* steht eine dualistische Anthropologie, bei der die *Sarx*/der Leib der Seele oder einem inneren Wesenskern des Menschen gegenübersteht. Einen Leib-Seele-Dualismus, nach dem die Seele in einem wertlosen Leib „verborgen“ wurde, bezeugt z.B. *EvPhil* 22 (56,20-26). Die „Seele“ sichert die Kontinuität zwischen der irdischen Existenz und dem Auferstehungsleben. Sie muss sich vom Fleisch entkleiden und ein neues Fleisch in den Sakramenten erhalten.

53. Vgl. dazu LUNDHAUG, *Begotten, Not Made* (Anm. 2), S. 258.

Wendungen der Bekenntnisbildung wichtig werden: Welche Schlüsselbegriffe und -phrasen werden gebraucht, und wie wird mit ihnen umgegangen?

In der Zeit des Irenäus und Tertullian wurden christliche Glaubensinhalte zunächst frei und je individuell, aber auch schon ungefähr in der Weise des späteren „Apostolikums“ zusammengefasst⁵⁴. In *Adv. haer.* 1,10,1 zählt Irenäus dazu den Glauben an den einen Gott, den einen Jesus Christus, der zu unserem Heil Fleisch geworden ist, und den Heiligen Geist, die Passion und Auferweckung Jesu, seine Wiederkunft, „um alles zusammenzufassen und alles Fleisch der gesamten Menschheit aufzuerwecken“. Dies zu glauben und zu verkündigen heißt auch zu verstehen, auf welche Weise „dieses sterbliche Fleisch anziehen wird die Unsterblichkeit, das Vergängliche die Unvergänglichkeit“ (1,10,3), wie Irenäus im Anschluss erläutert und womit er dann auch sein Programm für das 5. Buch seines Werkes vorwegnimmt.

Eine Auseinandersetzung um die richtige Deutung der Glaubensinhalte entlang der noch frei formulierten *regula fidei* bezeugt neben ihm auch Tertullian, etwa in seiner Zusammenfassung des Glaubens der Kirche, zu der auch die Auferstehung des Fleisches gehört, in *De praescr.* 36⁵⁵. Eine nominelle Aufnahme solcher Glaubensinhalte bei gleichzeitiger Umdeutung muss es gegeben haben, zumindest werfen Irenäus und Tertullian ihren Gegnern die bewusste Verkehrung und Umdeutung bestimmter etablierter Begriffe vor. Irenäus bezeugt dies zunächst mit Bezug auf die Schriftauslegung:

Irenäus, *Adv. haer.* 1, Vorrede

Durch Scheingründe, die sie geschickt zusammenstellen, verführen sie die Halbgebildeten und nehmen sie gefangen, indem sie des Herrn Worte fälschen und schlechte Deuter seiner guten Reden werden [...] Nun soll es nicht meine Schuld sein, wenn manche zur Beute werden wie Schafe von Wölfen, weil sie die in ihrem äußeren Kleid aus Schaffell nicht erkennen, vor denen wir uns nach der Weisung des Herrn in Acht nehmen müssen. Der Herr hat uns befohlen, uns vor ihnen in acht zu nehmen, weil sie ähnlich wie wir reden, aber ganz anders denken⁵⁶.

54. Vgl. C. ANDRESEN – A.M. RITTER, *Die Anfänge christlicher Lehrentwicklung*, in C. ANDRESEN – A.M. RITTER – E. MÜHLENBERG – M.A. SCHMIDT – K. WESSEL (Hgg.), *Die christlichen Lehrentwicklungen bis zum Ende des Spätmittelalters*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, 1-97, S. 84.

55. Tertullian, *De praescr.* 36 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 217): *Unum deum Dominum novit, creatorum universitatis, et Christum Iesum ex virgine Maria filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem*; „Sie [die Kirche] kennt nur den einen Gott und Herrn, den Schöpfer des Weltalls, und Christus Jesus, den aus der Jungfrau Maria geborenen Sohn des Gottes, der der Schöpfer ist, und die Auferstehung des Fleisches“.

56. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1, Vorrede (FC 8/1; BROX, S. 125).

Noch konkreter klagt Tertullian eine häretische Umdeutung der „Auferstehung in diesem Fleisch“ durch solche „Irrlehrer“ an, die Auferstehung lediglich als einen metaphorischen Ausdruck für Erkenntnisgewinn im irdischen Leben verwenden:

Tertullian, *De res.* 19,6: Durch diesen Kunstgriff pflegen sie auch bei Unterredungen häufig die unsrigen zu fangen, als wenn sie ihrerseits ebenfalls die Auferstehung zugäben. Um nicht gleich vor den Kopf zu stoßen, wenn sie sofort die Auferstehung leugnen, sagen sie: Wehe dem, welcher nicht in diesem Fleische aufersteht (*qui non in hac carne resurrexerit*).

Im Stillen aber denken sie sich dabei ihrer Wissenschaft entsprechend: Wehe dem, welcher nicht, solange er in diesem Fleisch lebt (*dum in carne est*), die häretischen Geheimlehren erkannt hat! Denn das ist ihre Auferstehung⁵⁷.

Auch wenn sich Tertullian hier gegen eine andere Vorstellung von Auferstehung richtet, als sie *EvPhil* 23 vertritt, zeigt er, dass einzelne Wendungen und Begriffe bekenntnisnaher Sprache (wie die Auferstehung des Fleisches) schon so weit gefestigt waren, dass sich ein Bewusstsein für deren Umdeutungen entwickeln konnte. In anderer Hinsicht wird dies durch das *EvPhil* bestätigt, einem Text, der „Auferstehung“ in den Sakramenten verortet, die wie „Nahrung“, „Trank“ und „Kleidung“ schon gegenwärtig erworben werden kann. Auferstehung bezeichnet hier das verborgene Heilsgut der Sakramente, wobei die Kleidung insbesondere den Auferstehungsleib meint.

Die so präsentisch angeeignete Auferstehung wird noch einmal vom Eingehen in den Ort der Ruhe unterschieden. An anderer Stelle macht das *EvPhil* explizit, dass ein vordergründiges (d.h. futurisches) Verständnis des Begriffs „Auferstehung“ zusammen mit anderen Begriffen, den „Namen“ in der Welt, wie Gott, Vater, Sohn und Hl. Geist, Kirche und Leben, relativiert werden muss. Die Begriffe müssen zwar verwendet werden, vermitteln zugleich aber nicht *unmittelbar* das Wahre und Feststehende, vgl. *EvPhil* 11a (53,23-35)⁵⁸. Eine Auseinandersetzung um

57. Tertullian, *De res.* 19,6 (CCSL 2; BORLEFFS, S. 944-945): *Hoc denique ingenio etiam in colloquiis saepe nostros decipere consuerunt, quasi et ipsi resurrectionem carnis admittant. 'Vae', inquit, 'qui non in hac carne resurrexerit': ne statim illos percutiat, si resurrectionem statim abnuerint. Tacite autem, secundum conscientiam suam, hoc sentiunt: 'Vae, qui non, dum in carne est, cognoverit arcana haeretica': hoc est enim apud illos resurrectio.*

58. *EvPhil* 11a (53,23-35): Die Namen, die den Weltmenschen mitgeteilt werden, verursachen eine große Irreführung. Denn sie wenden ihren Sinn weg von dem Feststehenden (und) hin zu dem Nichtfeststehenden. So erfährt, wer (den Namen) „Gott“ hört, nicht das Feststehende, sondern er erfährt das Nichtfeststehende. Ebenso verhält es sich auch mit (den Namen) „Vater“, „Sohn“, „Heiliger Geist“, „Leben“, „Licht“, „Auferstehung“, „Kirche“ [und] allen anderen (Namen). Man erfährt nicht das Feststehende,

die angemessene Interpretation bestimmter zentraler Begriffe frühchristlicher Glaubensüberzeugungen deutet sich – von einer anderen Seite herkommend – also auch hier an.

IV. SCHLUSSÜBERLEGUNGEN

Noch knapp 200 Jahre nach Irenäus und Tertullian beklagt Epiphanius von Salamis (310-403), Metropolit von Zypern, der einige Zeit seiner Jugend bei ägyptischen Mönchen verbracht hatte, die aus seiner Sicht irrige Auffassung, ein *anderes* Fleisch werde auferweckt:

Ancoratus 87

Was aber diejenigen betrifft, welche dem Scheine nach Christen sind, aber dem Origenes anhängen, und zwar eine Auferstehung der Toten, unseres Fleisches sowohl als auch jenes heiligen Leibes, den der Herr von Maria genommen hat, lehren, zugleich aber meinen, daß nicht dieses Fleisch auferweckt, sondern ein anderes an dessen Stelle uns von Gott gegeben werde, so können wir nicht umhin zu sagen, ihre Meinung sei gottloser als die der übrigen, und sinnloser als die der Hellenen...⁵⁹.

Die Auseinandersetzung darum, ob das irdische oder ein pneumatisches Fleisch auferweckt werde, erhielt im Zusammenhang mit den Streitigkeiten um die Lehren des Origenes und seiner Anhänger weiteren Aufwind und wurde auch immer expliziter geführt. Es ist gut vorstellbar, dass man sich vor diesem Hintergrund der Auferstehungspassage in *EvPhil* 23 noch einmal zuwandte und sie hier intensiv rezipiert wurde.

Hier muss jedoch nicht der Entstehungskontext der Schrift liegen. Es sollte vielmehr gezeigt werden, dass einige theologische Kontroverspunkte wie etwa diejenige um die Kontinuität des Leibes bzw. Fleisches

sondern man erfaßt das [Nicht]feststehende. [Jedoch] hinweisen können sie auf das Feststehende.

EvPhil 11b (53,35–54,5): Die Namen, [die sie] hören, gehören zu d(ies)er Welt. [Möge niemand sich täuschen! Würden sie] zu dem (anderen) Äon gehören, so würden sie in d(ies)er Welt niemals genannt werden, noch wären sie unter die Dinge d(ies)er Welt geraten. Sie haben ein Ende in dem (anderen) Äon.

EvPhil 12c (54,13-18): Aber die Wahrheit ließ Namen in der Welt entstehen um unsretwillen, die wir sie nicht erkennen können ohne Namen. Eine einzige ist die Wahrheit. Und doch ist sie vielgestaltig – und zwar unseretwegen, um (uns) diesen einen, so weit wie möglich, erkennen zu lassen durch vieles.

59. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 87 (GCS NF 10/1; HOLL, S. 107-108): περὶ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων Χριστιανῶν εἶναι, Ὡριγένει δὲ πειθομένων καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογούντων σαρκὸς τε τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀπὸ Μαρίας ἀνειλημμένου, ταύτην δὲ τὴν σάρκα λεγόντων μὴ ἐγείρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἀντὶ ταύτης ἐκ θεοῦ διδοῖσθαι, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων εἵπομεν ἀσεβεστέραν ἔχειν ὑπόληψιν καὶ εὐηθεστέραν τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσι.

in der Auferstehung bereits lange zuvor diskutiert wurden. Seinen Ausgang im 1. Korintherbrief nehmend, verzweigt sich die Frage nach der fleischlichen Auferstehung schon im 2. Jahrhundert weiter zu der Frage, *welches* Fleisch denn auferstehe. Irenäus und Tertullian nehmen mit ihrer Argumentation dafür, dass kein anderes als das irdische Fleisch der Menschen auferstehe, Epiphanius vorweg.

Die Spruchgruppe *EvPhil* 23 schließt daher auch andere Kontextualisierungen, etwa zu Schriften des ausgehenden 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhunderts, nicht aus. Insbesondere die Eucharistiedeutung bei Irenäus in *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3 besitzt eine große Nähe zur sakramentalen Auferstehungsdeutung des *EvPhil*: Beide Texte belassen es nicht dabei, die fleischliche Auferstehung der Glaubenden aus der Analogie zu Jesu Auferstehung zu begründen⁶⁰. Sie stellen vielmehr die *Verbindung* der Glaubenden mit dem Erlöser und seinem Fleisch in den Vordergrund, also die materielle, sakramentale Vermittlung der Auferstehung⁶¹. Beide Texte begründen auf diese Weise die fleischliche Auferstehung mit der Wirkung des Fleisches Jesu. Der Körper Jesu erhält eine eigene soteriologische Bedeutung.

Auffällig ist ferner, dass Joh 6,51-58* und 1 Kor 15,35-55* als Texte, die in *EvPhil* 23 das Argument stützen, auch in Irenäus' eucharistischer Passage in *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3 anklingen. Zwar werden diese neutestamentlichen Texte anders als in *EvPhil* 23 nicht unmittelbar zitiert. Aspekte von Joh 6,51-58* und 1 Kor 15,35-55* kommen aber in dem eucharistischen Abschnitt vor. In Buch 4 (38,1) erinnert Irenäus mit seinen Ausführungen zum „vollkommenen Brot des Vaters“ und „Brot der Unsterblichkeit“ zunächst an die Christologie der joh Brotrede (vgl. Joh 6,51: ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν). In *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3 verbindet er sodann wie Joh 6,51-58 die Gabe des ewigen Lebens an die Glaubenden mit dem Essen des Leibes Jesu. Das lässt an das Leben spendende Kauen des Fleisches Jesu in Joh 6,51.53-54.57-58 denken. Im Vordergrund von *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3 stehen jedoch nicht Essen und Trinken als sinnbildliche Vorgänge für die *glaubende Annahme* Jesu, sondern für Irenäus handelt es sich bei der Eucharistie um ein Geschehen mit geradezu biologisch nachweisbarer Wirkung. Er deutet die Wirkweise der Eucharistie im Rahmen ernährungsphysiologischer Kategorien, also in einem naturwissenschaftlichen Paradigma, das es ihm ermöglicht, das Physische und Körperliche des Vorgangs zu betonen.

60. Vgl. anders etwa *EpAp* 11 [22]; 19 [30]; 21 [31].

61. Vgl. auch Ign., *Smyr.* 3,1-2.

Dies könnte mit seiner Abwehr von Rezeptionen von Joh 6 zusammenhängen, die wie *EvPhil* 23 mit der Vorstellung einer andersartigen, pneumatischen Fleischessubstanz Jesu arbeiten. Mögliche Potenziale einer Auslegung von Joh 6,51-58 in dieser Richtung möchte Irenäus entschärfen und führt zum dem Zweck die Belebung und den Übergang von sterblicher zu unvergänglicher Körperlichkeit nicht auf eine selbst-wirksame Substanz des Leibes Jesu, sondern letztendlich auf Gottes Schöpfertätigkeit zurück⁶².

Gegen eine pneumatische Fleischessubstanz in der Auferstehung richtet sich auch der schöpfungstheologische Grundton seiner Eucharistiedeutung. Hier kann Irenäus auf die in 1 Kor 15,35-55 geschilderten Verwandlungen, die zwischen dem Säen und Fruchtbringen des Weizens stattfinden, und auf die paulinische Analogie zwischen der künftigen Totenauferstehung und der Schöpfungsordnung zurückgreifen (1 Kor 15,37-38.42-44)⁶³. In seiner eucharistischen Passage begegnet eine Anspielung auf 1 Kor 15,53⁶⁴, und vor allem ist das gesamte Argument des letzten Teils von *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3 vom paulinischen Bild des Säens und Fruchtbringens beeinflusst.

Analogien im Werk des Bischofs von Lyon zur Auferstehungsvorstellung von *EvPhil* 23 liegen demnach weniger in denjenigen Passagen vor,

62. Der Wiedergewinn der Gottebenbildlichkeit, die von Christus bereits vollkommen verkörpert wird, ist damit verbunden.

63. Vgl. *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3: Die Art und Weise, in der das Holz des Weinstocks, nachdem es in die Erde gelegt ist, zu seiner Zeit Frucht bringt, und der Same des Weizens in die Erde fällt, und nachdem er aufgelöst wurde, „vervielfacht“ auferweckt wird durch den Geist Gottes, der alles zusammenhält, dann auch durch die Weisheit in den Gebrauch der Menschen kommen und, nachdem sie das Wort Gottes aufgenommen haben, zur Eucharistie werden, die Leib und Blut Christi ist, so werden auch unsere Leiber, die von ihr genährt und in die Erde gelegt und in ihr aufgelöst worden sind, auferstehen zu ihrer Zeit, wenn das Wort Gottes ihnen die Auferweckung schenkt zur Ehre Gottes des Vaters, der das Sterbliche mit Unsterblichkeit umgibt und dem Vergänglichen Unvergänglichkeit umsonst schenkt. Denn die Kraft Gottes vollendet sich in der Schwachheit, damit wir uns nicht aufblähen, als hätten wir das Leben aus uns selbst, und erheben gegen Gott, indem wir einen undankbaren Sinn angenommen haben. Durch Versuch aber lernend, dass wir aus der Erhabenheit jenes und nicht aus unserer Natur die Dauer zum Ewigen haben. Wir dürfen niemals die rechte „Meinung“/ Ehre über Gott, wie er ist, verfehlen, und nicht unsere Natur verkennen, sondern sollten wissen, was Gott kann und was der Mensch Gutes empfängt. So sollten wir nie die rechte Ansicht über die Dinge, so wie sie sind, das heißt über Gott und die Menschen, verlieren.

64. Vgl. *Adv. haer.* 5,2,3: [...] *qui huic mortali immortalitatem circumdat et corruptibili incorruptelam gratuito donat*. Vgl. 1 Kor 15,53: Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασία. Vgl. auch *Adv. haer.* 5,13,3, wo neben 1 Kor 15,53-54 auch Phil 3,20-21 und 2 Kor 5,4 zitiert werden.

in denen Irenäus „gnostische“ Positionen referiert und widerlegen will, sondern vor allem in seinem eigenen Entwurf zur Rettung des Fleisches⁶⁵.

Die Werke der Theologen Irenäus und Tertullian bilden demnach einen plausiblen geistigen Kontext des *EvPhil*. Mit dem Kontextualisierungsvorschlag der Spruchgruppe in *EvPhil* 23 soll nicht gesagt werden, dass der Text ganz in das polemische Umfeld der frühen Häresiologen und Apologeten gehört. Dennoch werfen die genannten Vergleichstexte aus meiner Sicht hilfreiches Licht auf das Auferstehungsverständnis im *EvPhil*. Zusammen mit der möglichen Rezeption des *EvPhil* im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert in Ägypten lassen sie ein präziseres Bild dieser schillernen Schrift entstehen.

Alt-Reinickendorf 21
DE-13407 Berlin
Deutschland
christine.jacobi@gmx.net

Christine JACOBI

65. Vgl. außerdem *Adv. haer.* 3,21,10 mit *EvPhil* 83a (71,16-21) zu Adams Entstehung aus Erde und Jesu Geburt aus der Jungfrau.

DAS THOMASEVANGELIUM IN DER THEOLOGIEGESCHICHTE DES ANTIKEN CHRISTENTUMS

Seit der Entdeckung einiger griechischer Fragmente des *Thomasevangeliums* gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde die Betrachtung des theologischen Profils dieser Schrift vorwiegend von zwei Fragenkomplexen dominiert: zum einen durch die Suche nach bisher unbekannten Worten Jesu, den sogenannten *Agrapha*¹, zum anderen durch die Frage, ob diese „Sprüche“ als „häretisch“ bzw. „gnostisch“ anzusehen sind². Bis in die 1940er Jahre hinein war der antike Titel dieser sogenannten „Sprüche Jesu“ jedoch unbekannt³. Daher war die Frage der Identifikation der Fragmente mit einer der Schriften, die in der antiken christlichen Literatur genannt werden, zunächst ebenfalls Gegenstand der Diskussionsdiskussion. Die Entdeckung und Publikation der nahezu vollständigen koptischen Version des *Thomasevangeliums* in Nag Hammadi Codex II, der die Subscriptio „Das Evangelium nach Thomas“ enthält (51,27f.), erlaubte dann eine Zuordnung der griechischen Fragmente zum *Thomas-evangelium*⁴. Zugleich gerieten die genannten Fragenkomplexe der

1. Zu den verschiedenen Verwendungsweisen des *Agrapha*-Begriffs vgl. S.J. PATTERSON, *Agrapha*, in *EBR* 1 (2009) 589-591; auf den forschungsgeschichtlichen Kontext der frühen Diskussion über das *Thomasevangelium* vor dem Hintergrund der Suche nach „*Agrapha*“ weist besonders J. FREY, *Die Lilien und das Gewand: EvThom 36 und 37 als Paradigma für das Verhältnis des Thomasevangeliums zur synoptischen Überlieferung*, in *Id.* – E.E. POPKES – J. SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Das Thomasevangelium: Entstehung – Rezeption – Theologie* (BZNW, 157), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2008, 122-180, S. 125.180, hin.

2. Eindrücklich ist in dieser Hinsicht bereits die konzise Diskussion der religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung von P.Oxy. I 1 bei B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ: Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus*, London, Henry Frowde, 1897, S. 20.

3. Grenfell und Hunt nannten P.Oxy. I 1 zunächst ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ. Bei der Publikation von P.Oxy. IV 654 überschrieben sie diesen Papyrus mit „New Sayings of Jesus“ und ordneten ihn P.Oxy. I 1 zu. P.Oxy. IV 655 wurde separat als „Fragment of a Lost Gospel“ beschrieben.

4. Paul-Hubert Poirier hebt diese Entdeckung von Henri-Charles Puech im Jahr 1952 – noch vor der Publikation des Codex – als „the first major turning point for the research on the Gos. Thom.“ hervor (P.-H. POIRIER, *From 1897 to 2015: Some Aspects of the Research on the Gospel according to Thomas*, in J. SCHRÖTER – K. SCHWARZ [Hgg.], *Die Nag-Hammadi-Schriften in der Literatur- und Theologiegeschichte des frühen Christentums* [STAC, 106], Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017, 219-232, S. 225). Die Übersetzung des *Thomasevangeliums* in diesem Beitrag beruht auf der Übersetzung des Berliner Arbeitskreises für koptisch-gnostische Schriften (H.-G. BETHGE, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas: Übersetzung*, in C. MARKSCHIES – J. SCHRÖTER [Hgg.], *Antike christliche*

Forschung noch stärker in Spannung zueinander. Auf der einen Seite bestand weiterhin das Interesse an unbekannten Jesusworten, die meist losgelöst von ihren überlieferten literarischen Kontexten betrachtet wurden. Begünstigt wurde diese Methode durch das eigentümliche literarische Profil des *Thomasevangeliums*, das selbst den Eindruck von Mündlichkeit erzeugt⁵ und mit seinen relativ kurzen Redeabschnitten dem formgeschichtlichen Postulat der Ursprünglichkeit kleiner Einheiten entsprach. Andererseits führten die Notizen über das *Thomasevangelium* in der patristischen Literatur sowie der Fundkontext der koptischen Version zwischen anderen „gnostischen“ Schriften dazu, dass das *Thomas-evangelium* als Ganzes vorwiegend im Horizont der „Gnosis“ verstanden wurde.

Erst im Zuge der kritischen Diskussion über das Konzept „Gnosis“ seit Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts⁶ trat das eigenständige theologische Profil des *Thomasevangeliums* zunehmend in das Blickfeld der breiteren Forschung⁷. Zugleich ist das hohe Interesse an außerkanonischen Jesusworten weiterhin ungebrochen. Aus diesem Anlass wird häufig die literarische Form des *Thomasevangeliums* mit den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien verglichen und in der Folge dem *Thomasevangelium* jegliche Narrativität abgesprochen, sodass es als eher unzusammenhängende, gewachsene Spruchsammlung wahrgenommen wird⁸. Aufgrund der

Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I/1: Evangelien und Verwandtes, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 507-522).

5. Vgl. M. GOODACRE, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Making of an Apocryphal Text*, London, SPCK, 2012, S. 144.

6. Besonders einflussreich wurden in dieser Hinsicht die Beiträge von M.A. WILLIAMS, *Rethinking „Gnosticism“: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1996; sowie K.L. KING, *What Is Gnosticism?*, Cambridge, MA – London, Belknap, 2003.

7. Zu nennen sind dabei vor allem die seit dieser Zeit erschienenen Kommentare, u.a. von Richard Valantasis, Uwe-Karsten Plisch, Petr Pokorný, Charles W. Hedrick und Simon Gathercole, aber auch mehrere Tagungsbände, wie R. URO (Hg.), *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World), Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1998; J.M. ÁSGEIRSSON – A.D. DECONICK – R. URO (Hgg.), *Thomasine Traditions in Antiquity: The Social and Cultural World of the Gospel of Thomas* (NHMS, 59), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2006; FREY – POPKES – SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Das Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 1); zahlreiche Beiträge von S.J. PATTERSON, *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Origins: Essays on the Fifth Gospel* (NHMS, 84), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2013; sowie zuletzt J. SCHRÖTER, *Thomas unter den Evangelisten: Zum Ort des Thomasevangeliums in der frühchristlichen Literatur*, in ID. – T. NICKLAS – J. VERHEYDEN (Hgg.), *Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Experiments in Reception* (BZNW, 235), Berlin – Boston, MA, 2019, 193-216.

8. So die Darstellung des allgemeinen Forschungskonsenses bei S.J. PATTERSON, *The Gospel of Thomas and the Historical Jesus*, in A.F. GREGORY et al. (Hgg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Apocrypha* (Oxford Handbooks), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, 233-249, S. 239; ähnlich bereits F.T. FALLON – R. CAMERON,

relativ kleinräumigen literarischen Struktur dieser Schrift, die kaum längere argumentative oder narrative Zusammenhänge aufweist, ist es zwar in der Tat schwieriger zu erkennen, wenn von späterer Hand textliche Veränderungen vorgenommen wurden. Dennoch lassen sich die griechischen Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos und die koptische Version des Nag Hammadi Codex als Zeugen *einer* Schrift verstehen, die im Wesentlichen mit den griechischen Fragmenten fassbar wird⁹. Vor allem zeigt aber eine Analyse dieser Schrift, dass trotz punktueller inhaltlicher Spannungen ein weitgehend kohärentes theologisches Profil erkennbar wird. Das *Thomasevangelium* ist offensichtlich durch einen bewusst fragmentarischen Charakter geprägt, der die Leserinnen und Leser dazu anregt, selbst nach der „Deutung dieser Worte“ zu suchen, wie es der Prolog formuliert.

Vor diesem Hintergrund beabsichtigen die folgenden Ausführungen, in skizzenhafter Form einen Beitrag zur Bestimmung des historischen und theologischen Standpunkts des *Thomasevangeliums* zu leisten. Dabei sollen zum einen die erhaltenen Textzeugen sowie die Erwähnungen des *Thomasevangeliums* in der antiken Literatur daraufhin befragt werden, welche Anhaltspunkte über die Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten in der Antike darin zu erkennen sind. Zum anderen wird die theologische Verortung des *Thomasevangeliums* in den Blick genommen, indem nach dem erkennbaren Standpunkt dieser Schrift gegenüber drei allgemeinen Bezugspunkten gefragt wird: erstens das *antike Judentum* am Beispiel der Darstellung „der Juden“, der Wahrnehmung der Schriften Israels sowie jüdischer ritueller Praxis; zweitens das *frühe Christentum* mit Blick auf das Matthäus- und das Johannesevangelium; sowie drittens schließlich die *kaiserzeitliche Philosophie*, wobei besonders nach möglichen Konvergenzen im Gottesbild und in der jeweiligen Zielbestimmung des Menschen gefragt wird. Die Absicht des folgenden Beitrags, auf diese drei Bezugspunkte einzugehen, erfordert zugleich, dass dies

The Gospel of Thomas: A Forschungsbericht and Analysis, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.25.6 (1988) 4195–4251, S. 4205; sowie H. KOESTER, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development*, London, SCM, 1990, S. 80. Zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Gattungszuweisung des *Thomasevangeliums* als „Spruchsammlung“ siehe K. SCHWARZ, *Gospel of Thomas*, in J. SCHRÖTER – C. JACOBI (Hgg.), *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries*. Bd. 2: *From Thomas to Tertullian*, London, T&T Clark, 2020, 265–279, S. 267f.

9. S.J. GATHERCOLE, *The Gospel of Thomas: Introduction and Commentary* (Texts and Editions for New Testament Study, 11), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2014, S. 23. Zugleich befindet sich die Auslegung – insbesondere in den Textabschnitten der koptischen Version, zu denen keine griechische Parallele erhalten ist, – in einem gewissen Graubereich, da nicht methodisch kontrolliert werden kann, ob, wann bzw. durch wen mögliche Modifikationen im Laufe der Textüberlieferung vorgenommen wurden.

jeweils nur in sehr ausgewählter Weise geschehen kann. Ebenso kann die Tatsache, dass die für diese Skizze gewählten Bezugsgrößen selbst in sich vielfältig sind, nur angedeutet und nicht im Einzelnen entfaltet werden.

I. ENTSTEHUNGSZEIT UND VERWENDUNGSKONTEXTE DES *THOMASEVANGELIUMS*

Im Vergleich mit vielen anderen apokryph gewordenen Schriften gibt es für die Frage, wer das *Thomasevangelium* in der Antike verwendet hat, verhältnismäßig viele Indizien. Dabei ist bemerkenswert, dass die relevanten Anhaltspunkte auf ein relativ breites Spektrum verschiedener Leserinnen und Leser hinweisen. Die folgende Betrachtung zur Verwendung des *Thomasevangeliums* in der Antike nähert sich dieser Frage von zwei Seiten an, indem zum einen die bekannten Textzeugen daraufhin betrachtet werden, was sich über deren Verwendung sagen lässt; zum anderen sollen die Hinweise bei antiken christlichen Autoren in den Blick genommen werden.

1. *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*

Die Forschungsdiskussion über die Verwendungskontexte der Textzeugen des *Thomasevangeliums* hat sich in den letzten Jahren deutlich verstärkt, wobei insbesondere die Beiträge von Larry Hurtado, AnneMarie Luijendijk, Christopher Tuckett und Hugo Lundhaug zu nennen sind. Die folgende Darstellung nimmt die Ergebnisse dieser Diskussion auf und geht vor allem auf einige strittige Aspekte ein.

Das Fragment einer Papyrusrolle P.Oxy. IV 654 enthält auf der Vorderseite – parallel zur Faserrichtung (*recto*) – ein Verzeichnis von Ländern. In Zweitverwendung dieses Papyrus wurde etwa Mitte bis Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts eine griechische Version des *Thomasevangeliums* – ganz oder in Teilen – auf die Rückseite geschrieben (*verso*)¹⁰. Die erhaltene

10. Zur näheren Beschreibung siehe H.W. ATTRIDGE, *The Gospel according to Thomas: Appendix: The Greek Fragments*, in B. LAYTON (Hg.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7 together with XIII, 2**, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1), and P.Oxy. 1, 654, 655. I: *Gospel according to Thomas, Gospel according to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, and Indexes* (NHS, 20), Leiden – New York, Brill, 1989, 95-128, S. 97f., sowie L.W. HURTADO, *The Greek Fragments of the Gospel of Thomas as Artefacts: Papyrological Observations on Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654 and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655*, in FREY – POPKES – SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 1), 19-32, S. 25f. Attridge folgt in Bezug auf die Datierung Grenfell und Hunt („middle of the third century“

Kolumne ist auf der rechten Seite abgebrochen und auch ihr unterer Teil bricht weg. Der erkennbare Text enthält eine griechische Version des Beginns des *Thomasevangeliums* einschließlich seines Prologs. Als einziges *Nomen sacrum* ist die Form $\tau\eta\varsigma$ für $\tau\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ erhalten. Ein besonderes Merkmal dieses Papyrus sind die zahlreichen Lesehilfen, die zuletzt besonders im Fokus der Forschungsdiskussion standen: Neben Tremata auf initialem Iota und Ypsilon finden sich Coronides in Form eines liegenden Pfeils (etwa >—)¹¹. Sie erscheinen meist vor der Redeeinleitung $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\eta(\sigma\omicron\upsilon)\varsigma$, nur in Zeile 27 geht der Redeeinleitung ein Vacat voraus und die Coronis steht erst nach der Redeeinleitung¹². Zu nennen sind weiterhin die Paragraphoi (etwa —), die jeweils unterhalb der Zeile stehen und links leicht über die Kolumne hinausragen¹³. Mit Hilfe der Coronides und Paragraphoi sollen offenbar Abschnitte sowie insbesondere Sprecherwechsel markiert werden¹⁴. Dies wird daran erkennbar, dass auch der Beginn der Jüngerfrage mit einer Paragraphos zwischen Zeile 31 und 32 hervorgehoben wird und vor Jesu Antwort in Zeile 36 eine Coronis steht¹⁵.

Da die Zweitverwendung der Papyrusrolle ökonomische Gründe haben könnte und die Handschrift wenig professionell erscheint, nehmen Hurtado und Luijendijk an, dass diese Abschrift für den privaten Gebrauch bestimmt war. Luijendijk vermutet darüber hinaus, dass die Lesehilfen

[im Original kursiv]); A. LUIJENDIJK, *Reading the Gospel of Thomas in the Third Century: Three Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Origen's Homilies*, in C. CLIVAZ – J. ZUMSTEIN (Hgg.), *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context / Lire les papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte* (BETL, 242), Leuven, Peeters, 2011, 241-267, S. 245, schätzt auf Grundlage der Paläographie: „In the second half of the third century“.

11. Z. 5, 9, 36.

12. Ob dies ein Versehen ist oder sich daran zeigt, dass der Schreiber eigentlich keiner konsistenten Regel folgt, muss angesichts der geringen Anzahl der erhaltenen Coronides offen bleiben. Als Versehen des Schreibers wertet es u.a. J. SCHRÖTER, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas (Thomasevangelium [NHC II,2 p. 32,10–51,28]) Oxyrhynchus-Papyri I 1, IV 654 und IV 655 (P.Oxy. I 1, VI 654 und IV 655)*, in MARKSCHIES – SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Apokryphen* (Anm. 4), 481-506, S. 488, Anm. 22. Die andere Position nehmen die Herausgeber der *Editio princeps* sowie Attridge ein; vgl. B.P. GRENFELL – A.S. HUNT, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part IV. Edited with Translations and Notes*, London, Horace Hart, 1904, S. 2; ATTRIDGE, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 98.

13. HURTADO, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 26, vermutet ohne nähere Begründung, dass die Paragraphoi von einer anderen Person als dem Schreiber nachgetragen worden sein könnten.

14. Vgl. zur Verwendung der Paragraphos in antiken literarischen Manuskripten W.A. JOHNSON, *The Function of the Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts*, in ZPE 100 (1994) 65-68. Johnson hebt dabei hervor, dass sich Paragraphoi vor allem als Hilfsmittel für lautes Vorlesen erklären lassen.

15. Ob in Korrespondenz dazu eine Coronis in Zeile 31 und am Beginn von Zeile 36 eine Paragraphos stand, lässt sich wegen der Beschädigung des Papyrus leider nicht mehr feststellen.

aus der Vorlage des Abschreibers stammten. Entsprechend sei die Vorlage zur öffentlichen Verlesung bestimmt gewesen, möglicherweise im Kontext des christlichen Unterrichts oder in einer Gemeinde. Zuletzt hat Tuckett auch die Vermutung geäußert, dass P.Oxy. IV 654 selbst zur Verlesung in einer Gemeinde bestimmt war, „produced from a possibly ‚cash strapped church‘“¹⁶. Man mag ergänzen, dass ähnliches aber auch für einen christlichen Lehrer gelten könnte.

Ein weiteres Fragment des *Thomasevangeliums*, vermutlich aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts, ist P.Oxy. I 1¹⁷, jedoch war das Fragment nicht Teil einer Schriftrolle, sondern eines Codex¹⁸. Lesehilfen wie in P.Oxy. IV 654 finden sich darin nicht, jedoch wurden auf der Verso-Seite mehrfach Füllzeichen am Zeilenende eingefügt, um die Kolumne bündig erscheinen zu lassen. Bemerkenswert ist zudem eine relativ hohe Anzahl von *Nomina sacra*¹⁹. Hinsichtlich der Verwendung des Codex-Fragments geht Hurtado auch hier von einer privaten Lektüre aus und verweist auf die ökonomische Herstellungsweise des Codex sowie das Fehlen von Lesehilfen²⁰. Luijendijk hebt demgegenüber die vergleichbare Gestaltung bei Papyri mit kanonisch gewordenen Texten hervor und hält auch bei diesem Fragment des *Thomasevangeliums* eine gottesdienstliche Verwendung für möglich²¹.

P.Oxy. IV 655 ist in insgesamt sechs Fragmenten unterschiedlicher Größe erhalten²². Die Fragmente gehörten zu einer Rolle, die vermutlich

16. C.M. TUCKETT, *What's in a Name? How „Apocryphal“ Are the „Apocryphal Gospels“?*, in T. NICKLAS – C.R. MOSS – C.M. TUCKETT – J. VERHEYDEN (Hgg.), *The Other Side: Apocryphal Perspectives on Ancient Christian „Orthodoxies“* (NTOA, 117), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017, 149-164, S. 155.

17. Grenfell und Hunt datierten P.Oxy I 1 in der *Editio princeps* zunächst unter Vorbehalt auf „not much later than the year 200“ (GRENFELL – HUNT, *ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗCOΥ* [Anm. 2], S. 6). Nach Auffindung des P.Oxy. IV 654 gaben sie wegen des gleichen Fundorts für beide Papyri an: „not later than about the middle of the third century“ (GRENFELL – HUNT, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* [Anm. 12], S. 10). Attridge datiert im Anschluss an die *Editio princeps* auf „shortly after A.D. 200“ (ATTRIDGE, *Greek Fragments* [Anm. 10], S. 97). LUIJENDIJK, *Reading the Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 10), S. 246, schließt sich dagegen der späteren Einschätzung von Grenfell und Hunt an.

18. Die Auswertung der Paginierung 1α (sc. 11) ist mit erheblichen Unsicherheiten verbunden. Möglicherweise wurde sie von späterer Hand nachgetragen (HURTADO, *Greek Fragments* [Anm. 10], S. 24). Unter der Annahme, dass die Paginierung das Blatt zählte – nicht etwa die Lage –, sowie mit Blick auf eine Schätzung, welche Länge eine griechische Version des in NHC II,2 enthaltenen Textes haben müsste, könnte vor dem *Thomas-evangelium* noch eine weitere Schrift gestanden haben.

19. Unter anderem ιϛ (Ιησοῦς), θυ (θεοῦ), πρᾶ (πατέρα), ἀνων (ἀνθρώπων).

20. HURTADO, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 24.

21. LUIJENDIJK, *Reading the Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 10), S. 256.

22. Zwei weitere kleine Fragmente, die noch in der *Editio princeps* enthalten sind (GRENFELL – HUNT, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* [Anm. 12], S. 22), gingen wohl im Zusammen-

in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts entstand²³. Darauf sind im Wesentlichen die Reste von zwei schmalen Kolumnen erkennbar. Der teilweise sehr bruchstückhaft erhaltene Text lässt weder Lesehilfen noch Nomina sacra erkennen, wobei aber zu berücksichtigen ist, dass auch keine Wörter erhalten sind, bei denen Nomina sacra zu erwarten wären²⁴. Im Vergleich mit den zuvor genannten Papyrusfragmenten erscheint der Schreiber von P.Oxy. IV 655 versierter und auch die Tatsache, dass eine neue Papyrusrolle verwendet wurde, lässt eine Auftragsarbeit für eine eher wohlhabende Privatperson vermuten²⁵. Ob dieser Papyrus jedoch unmittelbar als Textzeuge des *Thomasevangeliums* gelten sollte, ist eine in den letzten Jahrzehnten wenig diskutierte Frage, auf die besonders Jens Schröter aufmerksam gemacht hat²⁶. Der erhaltene griechische Text bietet im Wesentlichen eine deutlich längere griechische Parallele zu NHC II,2 39,24–40,13²⁷. Der Vergleich zwischen P.Oxy. IV 655 und dem koptischen *Thomasevangelium* zeigt vor allem zwei Besonderheiten: Zum einen enthält das griechische Papyrusfragment an keiner Stelle die charakteristische Redeeinleitung λέγει Ἰησοῦς, die das redende Subjekt ausdrücklich nennt. An der einzigen erhaltenen Stelle, bei der

hang mit einer erneuten Rahmung verloren (LUIJENDIJK, *Reading the Gospel of Thomas* [Anm. 10], S. 247).

23. GRENELL – HUNT, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* (Anm. 12), S. 23; ATTRIDGE, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 98.

24. Vermutlich ist τϰ oder τϰϰ bei der Rekonstruktion in Col. II 2.12 vorauszusetzen (HURTADO, *Greek Fragments* [Anm. 10], S. 28).

25. HURTADO, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 30; LUIJENDIJK, *Reading the Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 10), S. 249. TUCKETT, *What's in a Name?* (Anm. 16), S. 156 erwägt darüber hinaus eine Verwendung im liturgischen Kontext.

26. SCHRÖTER, *Evangelium nach Thomas* (Anm. 12), S. 489–492; ID., *Thomas unter den Evangelisten* (Anm. 7), S. 213. Bemerkenswert ist demgegenüber etwa die Verhältnisbestimmung von griechischer und koptischer Überlieferung des *Thomasevangeliums* bei Wilfried Eisele, der zwar das Bild einer hohen Disparität zeichnet, zugleich aber den andersartigen Charakter des P.Oxy. IV 655 gegenüber P.Oxy. IV 654 und I 1 nicht besonders herausstellt (W. EISELE, *Welcher Thomas? Studien zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Thomasevangeliums* [WUNT, 259], Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010, S. 241–250).

27. In methodischer Hinsicht ist dabei anzumerken, dass der Textvergleich auf der Basis des erkennbaren Textes erfolgen muss, während Rekonstruktionen unter Zuhilfenahme des koptischen Textes nur ein geringeres Gewicht haben können. Dies wird etwa in der weithin übernommenen Rekonstruktion von Joseph Fitzmyer augenfällig, die vor dem erhaltenen Text des Papyrus eine vollständige Zeile ergänzt: [λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς μὴ μεριμνᾷ]. J.A. FITZMYER, *The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas*, in *Theological Studies* 20 (1959) 505–560, S. 544; ebenso ATTRIDGE, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 121; D. LÜHRMANN, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (Marburger Theologische Studien, 59), Marburg, Elwert, 2000, S. 125 (in der Übersetzung aber ausnahmsweise mit eckigen Klammern markiert); EISELE, *Welcher Thomas?* (Anm. 26), S. 262.

die koptische Parallele $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon \overline{\tau\epsilon}$ liest, enthält der Oxyrhynchos-Papyrus lediglich die Form $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ohne Nennung des Subjekts Ἰησοῦς ²⁸. Im Vergleich mit den anderen beiden Papyri P.Oxy. IV 654 und I 1 ist diese Veränderung singulär. Zum anderen enthält P.Oxy. IV 655 rund 14 Zeilen, die im koptischen Text keine Parallele haben²⁹. Aus diesen Gründen sollte nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass es sich bei P.Oxy. IV 655 möglicherweise um das Fragment eines eigenständigen, unbekannten Evangeliums handelt. Dieses Evangelium könnte in Auszügen im *Thomas-evangelium* aufgenommen und durch die betonte Nennung Jesu an die charakteristische Redeform dieser Schrift angepasst worden sein. Die streckenweise engen Parallelen zwischen P.Oxy. IV 655 und der koptisch überlieferten Version des *Thomasevangeliums* legen zwar nahe, dass eine literarische Beziehung zwischen dem griechischen Evangelienfragment und dem *Thomasevangelium* besteht. Jedoch ist die Frage, ob P.Oxy. IV 655 als unmittelbarer Textzeuge des *Thomasevangeliums* gelten kann oder ob es sich um ein Fragment eines anderen Evangeliums handelt, das im *Thomasevangelium* möglicherweise rezipiert wurde, zurückhaltend zu beurteilen.

Als wichtigster Textzeuge des *Thomasevangeliums* ist schließlich die nahezu vollständig erhaltene koptische Version in Nag Hammadi Codex II zu nennen. Das *Thomasevangelium* steht darin als zweite von insgesamt sieben Schriften. Wer diesen Codex anfertigte, für wen er bestimmt war und inwiefern er im Zusammenhang mit den anderen Codices des Nag-Hammadi-Fundes betrachtet werden sollte, ist weiterhin Gegenstand der Forschungsdiskussion. So hat etwa Louis Painchaud kürzlich hervorgehoben, dass die Codices II und XIII vom gleichen Schreiber angefertigt wurden oder die Schreiber zumindest in enger Verbindung standen. Wegen der Dublette der titellosen Schrift „Vom Ursprung der Welt“ (NHC II,5; XIII,2) seien die beiden Codices jedoch offensichtlich für unterschiedliche Empfänger bestimmt gewesen³⁰.

28. P.Oxy. IV 655 col. I,21 gegenüber NHC II,2 39,29 (*EvThom* 37,2). Bemerkenswert ist auch das im Vergleich mit NHC II überschießende Personalpronomen $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$ (col. I,17f. gegenüber NHC II,2 39,27 [*EvThom* 37,1]), das dem griechischen Text eine stärkere Kohäsion und geringere Formelhaftigkeit verleiht.

29. P.Oxy. IV 655 col. I,3-17 gegenüber NHC II,2 39,27 (*EvThom* 36; 37,1). Die Auslassung des Abschnitts P.Oxy. I 1,27-30 in NHC II,2 39,7 (*EvThom* 30), der in der koptischen Version an späterer Stelle erscheint (NHC II,2 46,26-28 [*EvThom* 77,2f.]), ist zwar grundsätzlich vergleichbar. Jedoch ist dabei zum einen der Umfang geringer, zum anderen ist die generelle Zugehörigkeit von P.Oxy. I 1 zum *Thomasevangelium* wegen des charakteristischen $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota \text{Ἰ}(\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon)\varsigma$ deutlich wahrscheinlicher.

30. L. PAINCHAUD, *The Production and Destination of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in H. LUNDHAUG – L. JENOTT (Hgg.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (STAC, 110), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2018, 387-426, S. 416. Vgl. darüber hinaus seine

Demgegenüber verorten Hugo Lundhaug und Lance Jenott die Nag Hammadi Codices insgesamt im Kontext eines Klosters oder eines Klosterverbands. Die Ähnlichkeiten mit den Manuskripten aus dem nahe gelegenen Dishna machten es zudem wahrscheinlich, dass die Nag Hammadi Codices zusammen mit kanonisch gewordenen Texten in pachomianischen Klöstern gelesen wurden³¹. Was das Alter des Codex betrifft, bewegt sich die neuere Forschung zwischen einer Frühdatierung in die erste Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts, die umfassend von Bentley Layton begründet wurde³², und der Position einer offenen, tendenziell späten Datierung „spanning from the fourth century well into the fifth, and possibly even beyond“, wie sie von Lundhaug und Jenott vertreten wird³³.

2. Notizen über das Thomasevangelium in der antiken christlichen Literatur

Mit Blick auf die Frage, wer das *Thomasevangelium* rezipiert hat, gibt die antike christliche Literatur zahlreiche divergierende Hinweise. Die älteste bekannte Erwähnung eines „nach Thomas“ genannten Evangelium(s) findet sich in der *Refutatio omnium haeresium*³⁴, die vermutlich in den 220er Jahren in Rom verfasst wurde³⁵. Im Rahmen einer

Hinweise zum Verhältnis der Abschriften des *AJ* in NHC II und VI (*ibid.*, S. 403). Bereits einige Jahre zuvor äußerte sich Stephen Emmel skeptisch: „For even if it could be proved that the Nag Hammadi Codices were enclosed in a ceramic jar and buried by Egyptian monks as their own possession, or that the scribes and/or bookbinders of the Nag Hammadi Codices were Egyptian monks, this would be a very interesting fact in the history of early Christian monasticism, but it would by no means prove that early Christian monks were the typical owners of such literature, nor the typical transmitters or translators of it“ (S. EMMEL, *The Coptic Gnostic Texts as Witnesses to the Production and Transmission of Gnostic (and Other) Traditions*, in FREY – POPKES – SCHRÖTER [Hgg.], *Thomasevangelium* [Anm. 1], 33-49, S. 46; Hervorhebung im Original).

31. H. LUNDHAUG – L. JENOTT, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (STAC, 97), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015, S. 231f.

32. B. LAYTON, *Introduction*, in Id. (Hg.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7* (Anm. 10), 1-18, S. 4; dem folgt u.a. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 10.

33. LUNDHAUG – JENOTT, *Monastic Origins* (Anm. 31), S. 11.

34. ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφόμενῳ εὐαγγελίῳ (Ps.-Hippolyt, *Haer.* 5,7,20).

35. Die Verfasserschaft Hippolyts wird u.a. diskutiert und abgelehnt bei K. BRACHT, *Hippolyts Schrift In Danielem: Kommunikative Strategien eines frühchristlichen Kommentars* (STAC, 85), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2014, S. 29-31. Augusto Cosentino hält im jüngsten Diskussionsbeitrag dazu die Frage der Verfasserschaft für nicht eindeutig lösbar. Unter anderem aufgrund der häufigen Zuschreibung der *Refutatio* an Origenes in den erhaltenen Manuskripten erwägt er jedoch, dass diese Schrift von jemandem verfasst wurde, der als Anhänger des Origenes in Alexandria gelebt haben könnte, bevor er nach Rom kam, möglicherweise Hippolyt oder der ansonsten kaum bekannte Presbyter Gaius (A. COSENTINO, *The Authorship of the Refutatio omnium haeresium*, in ZAC 22 [2018] 218-237).

ausführlichen Beschreibung der „Naassener“, die sich später auch als „Erkennende“ (γνωστικοί) bezeichnet hätten³⁶, berichtet die *Refutatio* über deren Lehre einer „seligen verborgenen und zugleich offenbaren Natur, die sie das Himmelreich, das im Menschen zu suchen ist, nennen“³⁷. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt die *Refutatio* auf das *Thomasevangelium* zu sprechen:

Darüber (sc. das Himmelreich) überliefern sie ausdrücklich in dem Evangelium, das „nach Thomas“ betitelt ist, indem sie wie folgt sagen: „Wer mich sucht, wird mich in Kindern vom siebten Jahr an finden. Denn dort, verborgen im vierzehnten Äon, offenbare ich mich“³⁸.

Dieses Zitat weist sowohl Anklänge als auch zahlreiche Differenzen zu *EvThom* 4,1 auf³⁹. Dennoch ist deutlich, dass hier wahrscheinlich das *Thomasevangelium* paraphrasiert wird. In den betreffenden Passagen ist es auf Griechisch in fragmentarischer Form (P.Oxy. IV 654) sowie vollständig auf Koptisch (NHC II,2) erhalten. Dass das *Thomasevangelium* bei den Naassenern selbst entstanden sein könnte, muss jedoch als unwahrscheinlich gelten. So bemerkte bereits Ernst Haenchen: „Die ganze Mythologie der Naassener geht ja dem ThEv gerade ab“⁴⁰. Bemerkenswert ist zudem, dass die Lektüre des *Thomasevangeliums* unter den Naassenern nur in der *Refutatio* erwähnt wird⁴¹.

36. Ps.-Hippolyt, *Haer.* 5,6,4.

37. Ps.-Hippolyt, *Haer.* 5,7,20. Die Aussage über das „Himmelreich“ (ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητούμενην) wird in der *Refutatio* nicht ausdrücklich auf das *Thomasevangelium* zurückgeführt, jedoch hat sie eine Parallele in *EvThom* 3,3 (NHC II,2 32,25f.): „Vielmehr: Das Königreich ist innerhalb von euch und außerhalb von euch“. P.Oxy. IV 654,15f. lässt trotz des fragmentarischen Zustands einen variierten, inhaltlich ähnlichen Text vermuten: „und das Königreich [...] ist innerhalb von euch [...]“ (καὶ ἡ βασιλεία [...] ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐσ]τι [...]). Die strittige Rekonstruktion des P.Oxy. IV 654 sowie das Verhältnis zur *Refutatio* diskutiert u.a. EISELE, *Welcher Thomas?* (Anm. 26), S. 110-118. Eisele kommt zu dem Schluss, „dass die ganze Einleitung des Zitats in erster Linie von *EvThom* 3 und nicht von Lk 17,21 inspiriert ist“ (*ibid.*, S. 117).

38. Ps.-Hippolyt, *Haer.* 5,7,20.

39. Neben der Differenz, dass *EvThom* 4,1 „ein kleines Kind von sieben Tagen“ erwähnt (so wahrscheinlich auch P.Oxy. IV 654,23f.: [... ἡμε]ρῶν), ist in den bekannten Versionen des *Thomasevangeliums* auch nicht von einer Offenbarung Jesu „im vierzehnten Äon“ die Rede.

40. E. HAENCHEN, *Literatur zum Thomasevangelium (Fortsetzung)*, in *Theologische Rundschau* 27 (1961) 306-338, S. 318.

41. Die Naassener werden in der späteren Literatur des antiken Christentums kaum mehr erwähnt. Wahrscheinlich sind sie auch nicht mit den andernorts erwähnten „Ophiten“ zu identifizieren. Vgl. zu dieser Diskussion T. RASIMUS, *Ophite Gnosticism, Sethianism and the Nag Hammadi Library*, in *VigChr* 59 (2005) 235-263, S. 244f.

Ein weiterer Hinweis auf ein „Evangelium nach Thomas“ findet sich in Origenes' *Lukas-Homilien*, die um 233/34 n.Chr. verfasst wurden und im griechischen Original nur in Exzerpten überliefert sind⁴². Im Zusammenhang mit der Auslegung des Lukas-Prologs erwähnt Origenes „das Evangelium nach Thomas“ gemeinsam mit dem „nach Matthias und vielen anderen“ Evangelien, die jedoch nicht zu den vier Evangelien gehörten, die von der „Kirche Gottes“ bevorzugt würden⁴³. Nähere Hinweise zum Inhalt oder zu Gruppen, bei denen das *Thomasevangelium* gelesen wurde, gibt Origenes zudem nicht.

Erst Jahrzehnte später, an der Wende vom 3. zum 4. Jahrhundert, gibt auch Euseb einen Hinweis auf das *Thomasevangelium*. Euseb nennt es zusammen mit dem *Petrus-* und dem *Matthiae*evangelium, die „von den Häretikern vorgebracht werden“ und als „insgesamt unsinnig und gottlos“ zu verwerfen seien⁴⁴. Eine weitere Erwähnung findet sich Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts in den *Catecheses* des Cyrill von Jerusalem⁴⁵. Anders als die vier Evangelien des Neuen Testaments seien die nicht-kanonischen Evangelien als „pseudepigraph und schädlich“ zu erachten⁴⁶. Als ein Beispiel für derartige Schriften führt Cyrill das *Thomasevangelium* an:

Die Manichäer haben auch ein Evangelium nach Thomas geschrieben. Gerade dieses, das sich mit dem Wohlgeruch des Namens des Evangeliums umgeben hat, stürzt die Seelen der einfacheren (Menschen) ins Verderben⁴⁷.

An späterer Stelle kommt Cyrill noch einmal auf das *Thomasevangelium* zurück. Er verbietet ausdrücklich die Lektüre dieser Schrift, weil der Verfasser des *Thomasevangeliums* nicht der Apostel Thomas, sondern ein Schüler des Mani gewesen sei⁴⁸. Dass die Manichäer das *Thomas-evangelium* lasen oder sogar verfasst hätten, wird später, vor allem ab dem 6. Jahrhundert, mehrfach angemerkt⁴⁹.

42. Zur Überlieferung und Datierung der Lukas-Homilien vgl. A. FÜRST, *Origenes: Griechen und Christ in römischer Zeit* (Standorte in Antike und Christentum, 9), Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 2017, S. 25.

43. Origenes, *Hom. Luc.* 1.

44. Euseb, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,25,6-7. Zu Datierung und Anliegen dieser Passage Eusebs vgl. C. MARKSCHIES, *Hauptleitung*, in ID. – SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Apokryphen* (Anm. 4), 1-180, S. 154.

45. J.W. DRIJVERS, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (VigChrSup, 72), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2004, S. 57, schlägt als Datierung das Jahr 351 vor. Vgl. auch MARKSCHIES, *Hauptleitung* (Anm. 44), S. 156.

46. Cyrill, *Catech.* 4,36.

47. Cyrill, *Catech.* 4,36.

48. Cyrill, *Catech.* 6,31.

49. Eine kurze Zusammenstellung findet sich bei ATTRIDGE, *Greek Fragments* (Anm. 10), S. 106-109. Die umfangreichste Dokumentation der Erwähnungen bietet

Als ein erstes Resümee mit Blick auf die Entstehungszeit des *Thomasevangeliums* lässt sich also festhalten, dass die externe Bezeugung für diese Schrift in den 220er Jahren mit der *Refutatio* beginnt. In der nachfolgenden antiken christlichen Literatur wird sie häufig und in unterschiedlichen Kontexten erwähnt. Die Oxyrhynchos-Papyri IV 654 und I 1, die wahrscheinlich Kopien unterschiedlicher Vorlagen sind, können zugleich als Belege dafür gelten, dass das griechische *Thomasevangelium* um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts in Oberägypten gelesen wurde. Was die Frage betrifft, von wem das *Thomasevangelium* in der Antike rezipiert wurde, finden sich verschiedene Anmerkungen bei christlichen Schriftstellern, die eine Verwendung des *Thomasevangeliums* durch die Naassener – so die *Refutatio* – oder die „Häretiker“ allgemein berichten, wie Euseb dies darstellt. Ab Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts gibt erstmals Cyrill von Jerusalem die später häufig vertretene Ansicht wieder, dass dieses Evangelium von Manichäern verfasst wurde. Die griechischen Fragmente des *Thomasevangeliums*, vor allem das Codexfragment P.Oxy. I 1, zeigen jedoch eine enge Verwandtschaft zu ungefähr gleichalten christlichen Handschriften der kanonisch werdenden Texte. Zugleich lassen sich insbesondere die Lesehilfen in P.Oxy. IV 654 als Indiz dafür geltend machen, dass das *Thomasevangelium* auch in Versammlungen verlesen wurde, sei es in einem liturgischen oder in einem schulischen Kontext. Schließlich zeigt die koptische Version in Nag Hammadi Codex II, dass das *Thomasevangelium* im 4. oder 5. Jahrhundert in Ägypten, möglicherweise durch pachomianische Mönche, gelesen wurde. In diesem Codex steht das *Thomasevangelium* im Kontext weiterer apokryph gewordener Schriften mit sehr unterschiedlichem theologischem Profil wie dem *Johannesapokryphon* und dem *Philippusevangelium*. Damit zeigt sich, dass das *Thomasevangelium* wahrscheinlich über mehrere Jahrhunderte hinweg und in sehr verschieden geprägten Teilen des antiken Christentums rezipiert wurde. Mit Blick auf die theologiegeschichtliche Kontextualisierung wird jedoch im Folgenden der Schwerpunkt auf das 2. und das beginnende 3. Jahrhundert gelegt, da die Abfassung des *Thomasevangeliums* in dieser Zeit als wahrscheinlich gelten kann.

II. DIE THEOLOGISCHE VERORTUNG DES *THOMASEVANGELIUMS* IN BEZUG AUF DAS ANTIKE JUDENTUM, DAS FRÜHE CHRISTENTUM UND DIE KAISERZEITLICHE PHILOSOPHIE

Wie eingangs erläutert, soll im zweiten Teil dieses Beitrags eine skizzenhafte Annäherung an die theologische Verortung des *Thomas-evangeliums* erfolgen, indem mögliche Bezugspunkte dieser Schrift zum antiken Judentum, dem frühen Christentum und der kaiserzeitlichen Philosophie erörtert werden.

1. *Judentum*

Die Frage, welche Position das *Thomasevangelium* zum Judentum einnimmt, lässt sich augenscheinlich recht einfach beantworten, da in dieser Schrift eine Reihe von Aussagen zu den Juden, zu jüdischen Autoritäten und vor allem zur jüdischen Frömmigkeitspraxis begegnen. Bei näherem Hinsehen erweist sich diese Frage jedoch als schwieriger: zum einen lässt sich kaum erheben, welche Form des vielfältigen antiken Judentums im Blick sein könnte; zum anderen ist in diesem Zusammenhang zu erwägen, ob das *Thomasevangelium* möglicherweise weniger das Judentum im Blick hat als vielmehr bestimmte Auffassungen des zeitgenössischen Christentums, denen eine zu große Nähe zum Judentum vorgeworfen werden könnte⁵⁰. Im Anschluss an die Darstellung bedeutender Aussagen des *Thomasevangeliums*, an denen sich das Verhältnis zum Judentum möglicherweise erkennen lässt, ist daher auf diese grundlegenden Aspekte zurückzukommen.

Die einzige Stelle, an der das *Thomasevangelium* explizit „die Juden“ erwähnt, liegt in einer Antwort Jesu an die Jüngergruppe vor:

(43,1) Es sprachen zu ihm seine Jünger: „Wer bist du, dass du uns diese (Worte) sagst?“ (2) „Begrift ihr (denn) nicht aus dem, was ich euch sage, wer ich bin? (3) Aber ihr seid wie die Juden geworden: Sie lieben den Baum, (doch) sie hassen seine Frucht. Oder sie lieben die Frucht, (doch) sie hassen den Baum“.

Die Gegenfrage, mit der die Antwort Jesu beginnt, stellt die Jüngergruppe als unwissend dar und impliziert zugleich, dass gerade durch Jesu Botschaft seine Identität erkennbar wäre. Der erweiterte Vergleich über das Verhalten der „Juden“ variiert das Motiv eines untrennbaren Zusammenhangs zwischen den Eigenschaften eines Baums und seinen

50. Zur Bedeutung etwa des Vorwurfs des angeblichen *ιουδαϊζειν* im Kontext des „Parting of the Ways“ vgl. M. MURRAY, *Judaizing*, in *EBR* 14 (2017) 932-934.

Früchten⁵¹. Gegenüber dem „Baum“ eine andere Haltung zu haben als gegenüber seiner „Frucht“, erscheint daher als widersprüchliches Verhalten. Diese Widersprüchlichkeit wird ohne nähere Erläuterung mit den „Juden“ in Verbindung gebracht und zeigt somit clichéhafte Züge.

Neben diesem Verweis auf „die Juden“ ist bemerkenswert, dass das *Thomasevangelium* an zwei Stellen die Rolle der religiösen Autoritäten des Judentums thematisiert. In *EvThom* 39 bemerkt Jesus, dass „die Pharisäer und die Schriftgelehrten“ die „Schlüssel der Erkenntnis“ empfangen und versteckt hätten. Sie seien selbst nicht „hineingegangen“ und würden auch andere Menschen daran hindern. In der frühchristlichen Literatur sind ähnliche Aussagen Jesu in Form eines Weheworts überliefert⁵². Das *Thomasevangelium* fährt dagegen mit der Aufforderung an die Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten fort⁵³, sie sollten „klug wie die Schlangen und lauter wie die Tauben“ sein. Ein Wehewort, das sich ausschließlich gegen die Pharisäer richtet, findet sich dagegen an späterer Stelle (*EvThom* 102). Dieses Wehewort wird mit einem kurzen Gleichnis begründet, das sich ähnlich auch in der paganen Literatur ab der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts findet⁵⁴:

... denn sie gleichen [einem] Hund, der auf dem Futtertrog der Rinder schläft. Denn weder frisst er noch [lässt] er die Rinder fressen.

Während Jesu Aussage über die Pharisäer in *EvThom* 39 positiv mit einer Aufforderung zur Klugheit abgeschlossen wird, endet in *EvThom* 102 das Wehewort nur mit der negativen Aussage des Gleichnisses, was der „Hund“ verhindert. Eine in der Forschung umstrittene Frage ist an dieser Stelle, gegen wen die Aussagen über die Pharisäer eigentlich gerichtet sind. Dabei ist zu berücksichtigen, dass die Pharisäer in der christlichen Literatur seit dem 2. Jahrhundert „immer allgemeiner als die Gegner Jesu“ erscheinen und zunehmend als „die Lehrer der Juden“ schlechthin gelten⁵⁵. Ob die Pharisäer im *Thomasevangelium* deshalb

51. *EvThom* 45 wendet dieses Bild auf die Ethik an. Mt 12,33 (par. Lk 6,44) formuliert den Grundsatz: „Denn an der Frucht wird der Baum erkannt“.

52. Neben Mt 23,13 par. Lk 11,52 auch Justin, *Dial.* 17,4.

53. Intratextuell kann sich das „ihr“ (Pl.) auch an die Jüngergruppe richten; so u.a. H. LÖHR, *Jesus und die Tora als ethische Norm nach dem Thomas-Evangelium*, in FREY – POPKES – SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 1), 363-379, S. 368.

54. Lukian, *Ind.* 30; *Tim.* 14; sowie in späteren Fabelsammlungen, die Äsop zugeschrieben werden. Im Unterschied zu *EvThom* 102 hindert der Hund bei Lukian jedoch nicht Rinder, sondern ein Pferd am Fressen. Zur näheren Analyse siehe K. SCHWARZ, *Gleichnisse und Parabeln Jesu im Thomasevangelium: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Form, Funktion und Bedeutung* (BZNW, 236), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2020, S. 234-239.

55. G. STEMBERGER, *Pharisäer*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 27 (2016) 553-573, Sp. 570.

nicht nur als Repräsentanten des Judentums angesprochen werden, sondern eine Übertragung auf vermeintlich gegnerische Formen des Christentums beabsichtigt ist⁵⁶, lässt sich angesichts der unspezifischen Darstellung in *EvThom* 39 und 102 kaum entscheiden.

Ein weiterer Aspekt, der für die Haltung des *Thomasevangeliums* gegenüber dem Judentum relevant ist, betrifft die Wahrnehmung der Schriften Israels. Grundlegend ist dabei die Beobachtung, dass an keiner Stelle im *Thomasevangelium* die kanonisch werdende israelitisch-jüdische Literatur explizit zitiert wird und auch keinerlei Erwähnung des Mose erfolgt, sei es in positiver oder in polemischer Absicht. Lediglich der Hinweis auf die Erschaffung und den Tod Adams⁵⁷ sowie der kryptische Hinweis auf die „fünf Bäume im Paradies“⁵⁸ sind Indizien, dass das *Thomasevangelium* bei den Lesenden zumindest die Kenntnis der Urgeschichte in der Genesis voraussetzt. Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass die Aussage über den verworfenen „Stein“, der der „Eckstein“ ist, nicht als Schriftzitat gekennzeichnet ist⁵⁹, sondern lediglich mit „Jesus spricht:“ eingeführt wird (*EvThom* 66)⁶⁰.

Eine grundlegende Reflexion über die Bedeutung der Schriften Israels lässt sich in dem kurzen Dialog *EvThom* 52 erkennen:

(52,1) Es sprachen zu ihm seine Jünger: „Vierundzwanzig Propheten haben in Israel gesprochen, und alle haben in dir⁶¹ gesprochen“. (2) Er sprach zu ihnen: „Ihr habt den Lebendigen von euch gestoßen, und ihr habt angefangen, von den Toten zu sprechen“.

56. So u.a. R. VALANTASIS, *The Gospel of Thomas* (New Testament Readings), London – New York, Routledge, 1997, S. 183 („to distrust all hierarchical leadership“); P. POKORNÝ, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Thomas: From Interpretations to the Interpreted* (Jewish and Christian Texts in Context and Related Studies, 5), New York – London, T&T Clark, 2009, S. 145 („criticism of the mainstream church“).

57. *EvThom* 85; vgl. 46,1 („Von Adam bis Johannes ...“).

58. *EvThom* 19,3. Nach einem Durchgang durch diverse Interpretationsvorschläge der Forschung kommt Gathercole zu dem Fazit: „the best conclusion [...] is to remain agnostic on this matter“ (GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* [Anm. 9], S. 292).

59. So Mk 12,10f. parr.; vgl. Ψ 117,22f.

60. Inwiefern *EvThom* 66 bei der Interpretation der Winzerparabel (*EvThom* 65) zu berücksichtigen ist, wird in SCHWARZ, *Gleichnisse und Parabeln* (Anm. 54), erörtert. Ebenso lässt auch der Schluss des Senfkornvergleichnisses (*EvThom* 20,4) kaum eine Anspielung auf die Schriften Israels erkennen.

61. So die wohl naheliegendere Übersetzung von ραὶ ἡμεῖς. U.-K. PLISCH, *Das Thomasevangelium: Originaltext mit Kommentar*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007, S. 142, gibt es mit „durch dich“ wieder. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 418, übersetzt es unter Verweis auf Augustin mit „about you“ und fasst den Satz als Frage auf.

Dieser Abschnitt steht in der Mitte einer kurzen Abfolge von drei Fragen, die mit gleichlautender Einleitung von den Jüngern gestellt und von Jesus beantwortet werden. Auf diese Art entsteht ansatzweise das Bild eines Lehrgesprächs. Der Hinweis auf „vierundzwanzig Propheten“ in der einleitenden Frage geht vermutlich auf eine Tradition zurück, die die Schriften Israels in vierundzwanzig Büchern zählt, wie sie zuerst in Teilen der Textüberlieferung von 4. *Esra* belegbar ist⁶². Die Würdigung der israelitisch-jüdischen Schriften in der Aussage der Jünger wird jedoch von Jesus in einen Gegensatz zwischen dem „Lebendigen“ (*sc.* Jesus)⁶³ und den „Toten“ übertragen. Möglicherweise nimmt das *Thomasevangelium* damit auf einen Diskurs über das Verhältnis zwischen Jesus und den Schriften Israels Bezug, der auch in Joh 5,39f. erscheint⁶⁴. Während das Johannesevangelium an dieser Stelle jedoch eine positive Funktion der „Schriften“ bewahrt, weil sie von Jesus „Zeugnis ablegen“, qualifiziert Jesus im *Thomasevangelium* die Aussage der Jüngergruppe ausschließlich negativ als Rede von „Toten“.

In mehreren Aussagen des *Thomasevangeliums* werden rituelle Handlungen des Judentums angesprochen, die aber auch in weiten Teilen des frühen Christentums gepflegt wurden. Hierzu zählen insbesondere die Themen Fasten, Gebet, Almosen sowie die Berücksichtigung von Speisegeböten. So erkundigen sich die Jünger in *EvThom* 6 bei Jesus, ob oder in welcher Weise sie die genannten Teile religiöser Praxis ausüben sollen⁶⁵. Jesu Antwort geht an dieser Stelle nicht näher auf die religiösen Handlungen ein, sondern stellt allgemeine ethische Forderungen auf, nicht zu lügen und nicht widersprüchlich zu handeln. Eine Wiederaufnahme dieses Themenbereichs findet später in *EvThom* 14 statt, wo sich Jesus erneut an die Jünger wendet. Fasten, Beten und Almosengeben

62. 4 *Esra* 14,44-46 in der syrischen und der georgischen Version. Vgl. LÖHR, *Jesus und die Tora* (Anm. 53), S. 367; relevante Belege in der rabbinischen Literatur diskutiert GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 417.

63. Vgl. das *Incipit* des *EvThom*. Daneben kann auch Gott „der Lebendige“ genannt werden (*EvThom* 37,3). Da Jesus in *EvThom* 52,2 auf eine Aussage der Jünger über sich reagiert, liegt der Bezug des „Lebendigen“ auf Jesus an dieser Stelle nahe.

64. Ähnlich auch P.Egerton Fr. 1^v Z. 7-10. Eine Diskussion um dieses Konzept ist u.a. bei Origenes (*Comm. Jo.* 2,34,199-201) belegt; vgl. PLISCH, *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 61), S. 143. Eine detaillierte vergleichende Analyse von *EvThom* 52 und Joh 5,24-47 unternimmt S. WITETSCHKE, *Thomas und Johannes – Johannes und Thomas: Das Verhältnis der Logien des Thomasevangeliums zum Johannesevangelium* (Herders Biblische Studien, 79), Freiburg i.Br., Herder, 2015, S. 366-376.

65. P.Oxy. IV 654,33-35 fragt dabei offenbar jeweils nach dem „Wie“ (πῶς) dieser Handlungen (der Satzteil bezüglich des Gebets in Z. 33f. ist nicht erhalten). In der koptischen Version fragen die Jünger dagegen zuerst „Willst du, dass wir fasten?“ (*EvThom* 6,1).

werden darin explizit als Erzeugung von „Sünde“, Anlass zur Verurteilung durch andere⁶⁶ und schädlich für den „Geist“ qualifiziert⁶⁷. An dieser Stelle wird somit „eine jüdisch geprägte, ausweislich Mt 6 auch christlich adaptierte Frömmigkeitspraxis“ abgelehnt⁶⁸. Erneut aufgenommen wird dieses Thema schließlich in einer Aufforderung der Jüngergruppe⁶⁹, Jesus möge mit ihnen beten und fasten (*EvThom* 104). Jesus fragt daraufhin, welche „Sünde“ er begangen habe oder worin er „besiegt“ wurde, und schließt mit der folgenden metaphorischen Aussage:

(104,3) Aber wenn der Bräutigam aus dem Brautgemach herauskommt, dann sollen sie fasten und beten.

Dieser Satz birgt diverse Interpretationsprobleme, sodass unklar ist, welche Personen unter welchen Umständen zu Fasten und Gebet aufgefordert werden. Das Herausgehen des „Bräutigams“ (ΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ) aus dem „Brautgemach“ (ΝΥΜΦΩΝ) bezieht sich wahrscheinlich nicht auf den Tod Jesu, da das „Brautgemach“, das üblicherweise einen heilvollen Ort meint, dann implizit die „Welt“ bezeichnen würde⁷⁰. In *EvThom* 75 wird das „Brautgemach“ (dort als ΠΑΝ ΝΥΦΕΛΕΤ) in ähnlicher Weise verwendet wie sonst das „Königreich“⁷¹. Zugleich gibt das *Thomasevangelium* selbst keine Hinweise, dass das „Brautgemach“ auf eine mystische bzw. sakramentartige Handlung verweist⁷². Ebenso ist fraglich, ob mit dem „Bräutigam“ Jesus gemeint ist⁷³ oder eine andere Person. Darüber

66. Die 3. Person Plural in *σενάρκατακρινε ἡμῶν* lässt sich sowohl als Aktiv („sie werden euch verurteilen“) als auch als dynamisches Passiv („ihr werdet verurteilt werden“) übersetzen. Die urteilende Instanz wird nicht genannt, jedoch ist die Vorstellung eines endzeitlichen Gerichts im *Thomasevangelium* kaum präsent (evtl. nur *EvThom* 57,4). Anders J. SCHRÖTER, *Jüdische Metaphern im Thomasevangelium*, in M. WITTE – S. BEHNKE (Hgg.), *The Metaphorical Use of Language in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook, 2014/2015), Berlin – München – Boston, MA, De Gruyter, 2015, 427-447, S. 437, der den Satz auf eine „eschatologische Verurteilung“ bezieht.

67. Ebenso wird auf die Speisevorschriften in der Weise eingegangen, dass die Jünger essen sollen, was man ihnen vorsetzt, denn nur „das, was aus eurem Mund herauskommt, das ist es, was euch beflecken wird“ (*EvThom* 14,5).

68. LÖHR, *Jesus und die Tora* (Anm. 53), S. 373.

69. Das Personalsuffix 3. Pers. Plural bezieht sich vermutlich auf die Jüngergruppe, da im *Thomasevangelium* keine andere redende Figurengruppe genannt wird.

70. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 574. Diese Interpretation mit Blick auf Mk 2,18-20 parr. vertritt u.a. PLISCH, *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 61), S. 243. Im Unterschied zu *EvThom* 104 spricht Jesus in Mk 2,19f. parr. jedoch von einer zukünftigen Zeit, in der „der Bräutigam von ihnen (sc. den Hochzeitsgästen) weggenommen wird“.

71. Vgl. *EvThom* 49.

72. So auch A. MARJANEN, *Women Disciples in the Gospel of Thomas*, in URO (Hg.), *Thomas at the Crossroads* (Anm. 7), 89-106, S. 172.

73. Dies ist u.a. in Mk 2,18-20 parr. sowie Mt 25,1-13 der Fall.

hinaus ist zu berücksichtigen, dass der Schluss des Satzes nicht in der 2. Person Plural an die Jünger gerichtet ist, sondern die 3. Person Plural verwendet, die im Kontext keine Referenz besitzt⁷⁴.

Von den zahlreichen Interpretationsvorschlägen zu *EvThom* 104⁷⁵ erscheinen die folgenden drei als naheliegender: a) Die Aufforderung zum Fasten und Beten könnte sich an Außenstehende richten, denen der Zugang zum „Brautgemach“ abgesprochen wird, sodass sie diese religiösen Handlungen beibehalten können⁷⁶. Eine Schwierigkeit ergibt sich in diesem Fall aber dahingehend, worauf sich das „Herauskommen“ des „Bräutigams“ beziehen sollte. b) Nach Gathercole könnte sich die Aufforderung zu Beten und Fasten in veränderter Weise auf die Zukunft im „Pleroma“ beziehen, wie dies in *EvPhil* 7 (NHC II,3 52,25-33) reflektiert wird. Diese Interpretation bewertet Gathercole jedoch selbst als möglicherweise „too convoluted to be credible“⁷⁷. c) Schließlich könnte sich die Aufforderung an Personen wenden, die quasi aus dem heilvollen Bereich wieder herausgetreten sind, sodass Beten und Fasten als eine Art Notfallmaßnahme zur Umkehr hilfreich wären⁷⁸. Für diejenigen, die sich bereits dem „Brautgemach“ zugehörig wissen, hätten diese Rituale dagegen als unnötig oder sogar schädlich zu gelten⁷⁹. Sofern man an dieser Stelle nicht von einer Textverderbnis im Verlauf des Überlieferungs- oder Übersetzungsprozesses auszugehen hat, lässt sich in dieser Aussage eine interpretative Offenheit konstatieren, die nicht zweifelsfrei lösbar ist. Eine Entscheidung zugunsten einer der genannten Interpretationen ist somit nicht zwingend notwendig.

Neben den genannten religiösen Vollzügen werden im *Thomasevangelium* mit dem Sabbat und der Beschneidung zwei weitere Aspekte jüdischer Identität thematisiert. Der Sabbat wird in einem parallel formulierten Doppelspruch genannt⁸⁰:

74. Die Übersetzung des Berliner Arbeitskreises weicht diesem Problem aus, indem sie die 3. Person Plural als unbestimmte Person („man“) wiedergibt: „dann soll man fasten und beten“.

75. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 574f., beschreibt sechs verschiedene Interpretationsansätze in der Forschung.

76. M.H. (P.) SELLEW, *Pious Practice and Social Formation in the Gospel of Thomas*, in *Forum* 10 (1994) 47-56, S. 54. Diese Interpretation hält auch GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 575-577, für möglich.

77. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 577.

78. Vgl. Jesu Aussage über die betrunkenen „Kinder der Menschen“: „Wenn sie (jedoch) ihren Wein(rausch) abschütteln, dann werden sie umdenken“ (*EvThom* 28,4).

79. Vgl. *EvThom* 14,1-3. Ähnlich MARJANEN, *Women Disciples* (Anm. 72), S. 172.

80. Die griechische Version in P.Oxy. I 1,4-11 ist an dieser Stelle weitgehend erhalten. Im Vergleich mit der koptischen Version hat die griechische vor allem an drei Stellen einen längeren Text: sie verwendet die übliche Redeeinleitung λέγει Ἰησοῦς (Z. 4f.),

(27,1) Wenn ihr nicht fastet mit Bezug auf die Welt, werdet ihr das Königreich nicht finden. (2) Wenn ihr nicht die Woche zum Sabbat macht, werdet ihr den Vater nicht sehen.

Die Parallelität der beiden Sätze wird durch die Verwendung der gleichen Satzstruktur mit einem negierten Konditionalis am Beginn deutlich; zugleich fällt die Bedeutungsähnlichkeit der jeweiligen Apodosis auf: „werdet ihr das Königreich nicht finden“ – „werdet ihr den Vater nicht sehen“. Die beiden Bedingungssätze haben jedoch ihre Besonderheiten: Der Beginn von Satz 1 verlangt ein „Fasten“ gegenüber der „Welt“, was als Aufforderung verstanden werden kann, sich von der „Welt“ fernzuhalten bzw. ihr zu „entsagen“⁸¹. Abgesehen von der Unbestimmtheit, wie diese Forderung konkret befolgt werden könnte, ist die Aussage dennoch relativ klar. In Satz 2 könnte dagegen eine bewusste Verrätselung mit Hilfe der Homonymie von τὸ σάββατον vorliegen: die Wendung σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον als Figura etymologica kann entweder „den Sabbat halten“ bedeuten oder etwa „die Woche zum Sabbat machen“⁸². In diesem Sinne würde das *Thomasevangelium* für eine Aufhebung des Unterschieds zwischen dem Sabbat und den übrigen Tagen votieren⁸³, wie es sich auch sonst ablehnend gegenüber der Segmentierung verschiedener Lebensbereiche ausspricht⁸⁴.

Eine wichtige Aussage für die Haltung des *Thomasevangeliums* gegenüber dem Judentum ist schließlich die folgende Erwähnung der Beschneidung:

das für das *Thomasevangelium* singuläre Syntagma τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ (Z. 7f.), sowie ein καί zwischen beiden Aussagen. Dass der koptische Übersetzer den Text in dieser Weise gekürzt hat (so zuletzt auch GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* [Anm. 9], S. 324), ist nicht als selbstverständlich anzusehen. Der koptische Text könnte an dieser Stelle auf der Vorlage eines ursprünglicheren Textes beruhen, während P.Oxy. I 1 den Text geglättet und an den Sprachgebrauch der kanonisch werdenden Evangelien angeglichen haben könnte.

81. *EvThom* 110. A. MARJANEN legt ein stärkeres Gewicht auf das Verb νηστεύεσθαι und erkennt darin „a definite ascetic dimension“ (*Thomas and Jewish Religious Practices*, in URO [Hg.], *Thomas at the Crossroads* [Anm. 7], 163-182, S. 173). Die Verbindung von νηστεύεσθαι mit einem Akkusativobjekt in der griechischen Version ist ungewöhnlich (vgl. die Erläuterungen bei SCHRÖTER, *Jüdische Metaphern* [Anm. 66], S. 440-442).

82. Die erste Bedeutungsvariante liegt zweifellos in Lev 23,32 und 2 Chr 36,21 vor. Die zweite Auffassung wurde vor allem von Peter NAGEL begründet (*Codex apocryphus gnosticus Novi Testamenti*. Band 1: *Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten aus den Schriften von Nag Hammadi und verwandten Kodizes* [WUNT, 326], Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2014, S. 123). GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 328, schließt die zweite Interpretationsmöglichkeit aus und kommt lediglich mit Blick auf den Aussagekontext zu dem Schluss, dass ein übertragenes Verständnis vorliegt wie u.a. bei Ptolemäus (Flor., *apud* Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33,5,11-13).

83. Ähnlich auch Justin, *Dial.* 12,3: „Das neue Gesetz will, dass ihr jederzeit Sabbat haltet“.

84. Vgl. *EvThom* 22,4; 89.

etwa Aussagen, die diese Handlungen zurückweisen und mit „Sünde“ verknüpfen⁸⁹. Häufig stehen allerdings nicht die ablehnenden Aussagen am Ende des jeweiligen Diskurses, sondern es wird ein übertragenes, wenn auch mitunter deutungsoffenes Verständnis angedeutet. Die religiösen Vollzüge erscheinen somit nicht in der Weise negativ, dass es nur bei einer kritischen oder polemischen Haltung bleibt, sondern sie werden als bildspendende Bereiche mehrfach positiv rezipiert. Die Haltung gegenüber den Schriften Israels erscheint dagegen grundsätzlich kritisch, da ihnen keine positive Funktion bei der Suche nach dem „Lebendigen“ zuerkannt wird. Festzuhalten ist schließlich, dass das *Thomasevangelium* ein vorwiegend clichéhaftes, negatives Bild der „Juden“ und vor allem der „Pharisäer“ zeichnet, die als widersprüchlich erscheinen und andere an der „Erkenntnis“ hindern. Zugleich treten an keiner Stelle explizit jüdische Autoritäten als aktive Gesprächspartner Jesu auf. Vielmehr werden die Aussagen zu Fragen religiöser Praxis meist von der Jüngergruppe angeregt. Dies lässt sich als Indiz werten, dass die entsprechende Argumentation vorrangig in Richtung der innerchristlichen Debatte gerichtet ist.

2. Christentum

Das Verhältnis des *Thomasevangeliums* zur frühchristlichen Literatur, das im Folgenden am Beispiel von zwei kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien beleuchtet werden soll, bestimmt die Forschungsdiskussion zu dieser Schrift zwar seit der Entdeckung der griechischen Fragmente. Dabei stand aber vor allem die Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Diskussion nach der Herkunft der einzelnen Aussagen des *Thomasevangeliums* im Vordergrund. Wie sich jedoch das theologische Konzept dieser Schrift zu anderen Zeugnissen frühchristlicher Theologie verhält, wurde vorwiegend mit einer redaktionsgeschichtlichen Suche nach bewusster Veränderung der Überlieferung und mit Verweis auf das „Gnosis“-Konzept beantwortet⁹⁰. Infolge der erwähnten kritischen Diskussion um den „Gnosis“-Begriff und einem gestiegenen Interesse am *Thomasevangelium* als einem eigenständigen theologischen Zeugnis treten auch diese Aspekte zunehmend in das Blickfeld der neueren Forschung.

89. Dabei ist bemerkenswert, dass der in dieser Schrift seltene Begriff „Sünde“ (νόθε) überhaupt nur im Kontext von Fasten und Beten erscheint. *EvThom* 14,1; 104,2.

90. Besonders in der europäischen Forschung wurde in dieser Hinsicht die frühe Studie von W. SCHRAGE, *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung* (BZNW, 29), Berlin, Töpelmann, 1964, einflussreich.

a) *Matthäusevangelium*

Mit Blick auf die Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten in der Darstellung der Jesusfigur im *Thomasevangelium* und im Matthäusevangelium werden in der Forschung häufig vor allem die Differenzen hervorgehoben: Das Matthäusevangelium entwirft eine Jesuserzählung, die sich über Jesu Abstammung und Geburt, seine Taufe und öffentliche Wirksamkeit bis hin zu seiner Verurteilung, Kreuzigung und Auferstehung erstreckt. Das *Thomasevangelium* andererseits wird von einem Prolog eröffnet, der eine Leseanweisung in Form einer Verheißung enthält, gefolgt von zahlreichen Redeabschnitten, die meist mit „Jesus spricht:“ eingeleitet werden, sowie mehreren dialogischen Szenen mit Jesus und seinen Jüngerinnen und Jüngern. Eine übergreifende dramatische Entwicklung ist dabei ebenso wenig erkennbar, wie auch die Figuren weitgehend statisch und ohne charakterliche Entwicklung bleiben⁹¹. Was die Gemeinsamkeiten betrifft, sind die zahlreichen inhaltlichen Parallelen etwa in Form von Aphorismen, Gleichnissen und Parabeln zu nennen. Bemerkenswert ist darunter, dass große Teile der matthäischen Parabelrede (Mt 13,1-52) mehr oder weniger enge Parallelen im *Thomasevangelium* haben. Ebenso ist wahrzunehmen, dass beide Evangelien – trotz unterschiedlicher Form – Jesus häufig als redende Figur auftreten lassen, wobei die Jünger auch innerhalb der Reden Jesu als Gesprächspartner vorkommen⁹². Vor allem aber rezipiert das *Thomasevangelium* Jesu Verkündigung von der Gottesherrschaft in einer Breite, die ansonsten nur in den synoptischen Evangelien begegnet. Bemerkenswerterweise kommt dabei auch das Syntagma $\tau\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\rho\ \eta\mu\bar{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ („Königreich der Himmel“) gelegentlich im *Thomasevangelium* vor⁹³.

Die Frage, ob bzw. auf welche Weise diese Schrift das Matthäusevangelium rezipiert, ist Gegenstand einer umfangreichen Forschungsdiskussion. Weniger häufig wird dagegen diskutiert, inwiefern sich einzelne Aussagen als Reaktion auf matthäische Inhalte verstehen lassen, seien sie in Form des Matthäusevangeliums oder auf anderem Wege vermittelt. Interessant ist in dieser Hinsicht vor allem der Blick auf die Szene, in der Jesus seine Jünger auffordert zu sagen, wem er gleiche (*EvThom* 13). Während Petrus, der als erster antwortet, unzweifelhaft eine prominente Figur des frühen Christentums ist, erscheint die Antwort des

91. Punktuelle Ausnahmen sind Thomas (*EvThom* 13) und Salome (*EvThom* 61,2-5). Diese kurzen szenischen Entwicklungen haben jedoch ebenfalls außerhalb dieser Episoden keine Auswirkungen.

92. Vgl. Mt 13,10-23,36-52; 18,2f.; 24,1-3.

93. *EvThom* 20,1; 54; 114,3.

Matthäus an zweiter Stelle etwas überraschend. Wie Simon Gathercole darlegt, spielt Matthäus in der frühchristlichen Literatur keine bedeutende Rolle, bis er bei Papias und anderen später als Verfasser eines Evangeliums genannt wird. Gathercole schlussfolgert daher: „by far the most probable explanation for Matthew’s inclusion here is as a Gospel writer“⁹⁴.

Ein weiterer inhaltlicher Berührungspunkt betrifft die bereits diskutierten rituellen Vollzüge, die insbesondere das Matthäusevangelium aus der jüdischen Tradition übernimmt. In Mt 6,1-17 werden sie in der Weise thematisiert, dass Almosen, Beten und Fasten dem Grundsatz der „Gerechtigkeit“ entsprechen müssen, um den „Lohn von eurem Vater in den Himmeln“ zu erlangen. Auch wenn das *Thomasevangelium* in *EvThom* 6 und 14 eine andere Reihenfolge nennt (Fasten – Gebet – Almosen) und dem jeweils die Frage der Speisevorschriften anfügt, könnte sich darin eine Auseinandersetzung mit Teilen des frühen Christentums zeigen, in denen die genannten rituellen Vollzüge praktiziert werden, zumal dieser Teil des matthäischen Sonderguts den prominentesten Beleg für die konzise Diskussion über Almosen, Gebet und Fasten in der frühchristlichen Literatur bietet⁹⁵. Ob jedoch das Matthäusevangelium selbst oder eine irgendwie geartete Form der Rezeption dieser Schrift im Blick ist, lässt sich angesichts der Kürze der entsprechenden Aussagen kaum entscheiden. Deutlich ist dennoch, dass sich das *Thomasevangelium* gegenüber einer rituellen Praxis, wie sie das Matthäusevangelium vertritt, ablehnend verhält.

b) *Johannesevangelium*

In der Forschungsdiskussion über das Verhältnis des *Thomasevangeliums* zu den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien spielte das Johannesevangelium zumeist nur eine Nebenrolle. Der offensichtliche Grund dafür dürfte in der Tatsache gelegen haben, dass die wörtlichen Parallelen zwischen beiden Schriften verhältnismäßig gering sind. In neuerer Zeit haben jedoch vor allem Ismo Dunderberg und Stephan Witetschek das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Verhältnis beider Evangelien diskutiert. Mit unterschiedlichen Lösungsansätzen kommen beide zu dem Schluss, ein direkter Einfluss des Johannesevangeliums auf das *Thomasevangelium*

94. GATHERCOLE, *Composition* (Anm. 85), S. 170.

95. Vgl. unter anderem bereits Tob 12,8, sowie später *Did.* 7f. (Fasten und Gebet/Vaterunser im Kontext der Besprechung der Taufe) bzw. *Did.* 15,4 (Gebete, Almosen „und alle Taten“).

sei – zumindest in deren ältesten Schichten – nicht anzunehmen⁹⁶. Zugleich sind gewichtige Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen beiden Schriften festzustellen, sowohl mit Blick auf einzelne Motive und Figuren als auch in struktureller Hinsicht, wenngleich in den einzelnen Verwendungsweisen wiederum charakteristische Unterschiede wahrzunehmen sind. An dieser Stelle ist zunächst auf die gemeinsame Figur des Thomas hinzuweisen. Im Johannesevangelium tritt „Thomas, der Didymos genannt wird“, erstmals mit eigener Figurenrede hervor, wenn es um Jesu bevorstehenden Tod und die Wirklichkeit der Auferstehung geht⁹⁷, während er im *Thomasevangelium* als Schreiber der Worte Jesu auftritt (Prolog) und als besonders einsichtig erscheint bis dahin, dass Jesus ihn einer eigenen geheimen Unterweisung würdigt, die ihn von der übrigen Jüngergruppe trennt (*EvThom* 13)⁹⁸. Zu den weiteren Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen beiden Schriften zählen die bevorzugte Verwendung bestimmter Motivkomplexe wie „Leben“ und „Tod“, „Licht“ und „Finsternis“ sowie eine tendenziell negative Darstellung der „Welt“. Bemerkenswert ist zudem, dass in beiden Evangelien „die Vaterbezeichnung die Bezeichnung Gottes im Munde Jesu schlechthin“ ist⁹⁹. Ebenso wird die Beziehung zwischen Gott und Jesus sowie den „Erwählten“ mit Hilfe der Metaphern „Vater“ und „Sohn/Kind“ ausgedrückt¹⁰⁰. Eine bedeutsame

96. Dunderberg sieht im Johannes- und im *Thomasevangelium* eine jeweils unterschiedliche Verwendung ähnlicher jüdischer und frühchristlicher Traditionen, ohne dass eine direkte gegenseitige Beeinflussung stattgefunden habe, und datiert die Abfassung beider Schriften in die Zeit zwischen 70 und 100 n. Chr. (I. DUNDERBERG, *The Beloved Disciple in Conflict? Revisiting the Gospels of John and Thomas*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006, S. 113-115). Witetschek dagegen entwirft eine hochkomplexe, „erzählenswert[e] ... Geschichte“, wonach der Verfasser des Johannesevangeliums unter anderem auf „frei umlaufende Logien“ zurückgriff, die wenig später auch in das entstehende *Thomasevangelium* Eingang fanden. Jedoch sei das *Thomasevangelium* in seinen jüngeren Schichten vom Johannesevangelium abhängig, während Joh 21,11 wiederum von *EvThom* 8 beeinflusst worden sei (WITETSCHKE, *Thomas und Johannes* [Anm. 64], S. 506f.).

97. Joh 11,16; 14,5; 20,24-29; ohne Figurenrede auch in Joh 21,2. In den synoptischen Jüngerlisten findet nur eine namentliche Erwähnung statt in Mk 3,18 / Mt 10,3 / Lk 6,15; vgl. Apg 1,13.

98. Eine ausführliche Untersuchung der Thomas-Figur sowohl im Johannes- und Thomasevangelium als auch in weiteren frühchristlichen Schriften unternimmt J. HARTENSTEIN, *Charakterisierung im Dialog: Die Darstellung von Maria Magdalena, Petrus, Thomas und der Mutter Jesu im Kontext anderer frühchristlicher Traditionen* (NTOA, 64), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg/CH, Academic Press, 2007, S. 213-268.

99. So C. ZIMMERMANN, *Die Namen des Vaters: Studien zu ausgewählten neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen vor ihrem frühjüdischen und paganen Sprachhorizont* (AJEC, 69), Leiden, Brill, 2007, S. 115, mit Blick auf das Johannesevangelium.

100. Jesus als „Sohn des Lebendigen“ (*EvThom* 37,3); in der Trias „Vater – Sohn – Heiliger Geist“ (*EvThom* 44). Zur Bezeichnung der Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten bzw. der „Erwählten“ als „Kinder“ vgl. *EvThom* 3,4; 50,2.

Differenz liegt zugleich darin, dass das *Thomasevangelium* den „Vater“ an keiner Stelle explizit mit „Liebe“ oder anderen Emotionen in Verbindung bringt.

Mit Blick auf die Art und Weise, wie Jesus in beiden Evangelien charakterisiert wird, liegt eine strukturelle Gemeinsamkeit darin, dass Jesus häufig in der Ich-Form über seine Person und sein Wirken spricht¹⁰¹, auch wenn die betreffenden Redepassagen im *Thomasevangelium* deutlich kürzer sind. So spricht Jesus etwa davon, dass er „Feuer in die Welt geworfen“ habe¹⁰², dass er sich „im Fleisch“ gegenüber der „Welt“ offenbarte (*EvThom* 28), und dass er das „Licht“ sei, das „über allem ist“ (*EvThom* 77). Ein bemerkenswerter Befund ist jedoch, dass die Redepassagen, in denen Jesus über sich in der 1. Person spricht, lediglich mit „Jesus spricht:“ eingeleitet werden, ohne dass ein erzählinternes Publikum genannt wird¹⁰³. Befindet sich Jesus dagegen im Gespräch mit der Jüngergruppe – insbesondere auch über Fragen seiner Identität –, redet Jesus selten in der 1. Person, sondern meist in übertragener Form, beispielsweise über das „Licht im Inneren eines Lichtmenschen“ (*EvThom* 24) oder den „Sohn des Lebendigen“ (*EvThom* 37)¹⁰⁴. Im Johannesevangelium wiederum sind die Ich-Aussagen Jesu szenisch eingebettet und es werden die „Volksmenge“, „die Juden“ sowie vor allem die Jüngergruppe als Publikum genannt.

Ein geeigneter Vergleichspunkt für beide Schriften liegt schließlich darin, dass beide in unterschiedlicher Form eine Art Leseanweisung formulieren. Im Johannesevangelium geschieht dies explizit im Epilog (Joh 20,30f.), im *Thomasevangelium* hingegen im Prolog¹⁰⁵. Bemerkenswert ist dabei, dass beide Leseanweisungen inhaltlich darin übereinstimmen, dass die Erlangung des „Lebens“ (Joh 20,31) bzw. „den Tod nicht schmecken“ zu müssen (*EvThom* „1“) als Ziel benannt wird. Ebenso nehmen beide auf den Vorgang der Niederschrift und somit auf die Überlieferung in Buchform Bezug. Unterschiede betreffen jedoch zum einen, dass das Johannesevangelium an dieser Stelle als Bericht über

101. Siehe dazu die ausführliche Diskussion bei DUNDERBERG, *Beloved Disciple* (Anm. 96), S. 68-115 („Jesus' I-Sayings in *Thomas* and their Relationship to Johannine Traditions“).

102. *EvThom* 10; vgl. *EvThom* 16,2.

103. Wichtige Ausnahmen sind die Dialoge mit Thomas (*EvThom* 13,5); Salome (61,2-5) sowie Petrus und Maria (114,2). Dennoch handelt es sich dabei um verhältnismäßig kurze Ich-Aussagen.

104. In *EvThom* 43 und 91 reagiert Jesus auf entsprechende Fragen mit einer Gegenfrage bzw. äußert er den Vorwurf, dass die Jüngergruppe unverständlich ist.

105. Zum Prolog gehört dabei auch die Verheißung, die seit der *Editio princeps* als *EvThom* „1“ gezählt wird.

die „Zeichen“, die Jesus tat, beschrieben wird, wohingegen das *Thomas-evangelium* als Niederschrift der „Worte“ bzw. „Rede“ Jesu durch Thomas in Erscheinung tritt. Vor allem jedoch unterscheiden sich beide fundamental in der Art und Weise, wie das „Leben“ zu erlangen ist: Das Johannesevangelium regt dazu an zu „glauben, dass Jesus der Christus, der Sohn Gottes ist“, damit die Glaubenden „in seinem Namen“ das „Leben haben“ (Joh 20,31). Das *Thomasevangelium* hingegen stellt das Streben nach der „Deutung dieser Worte“ Jesu in den Mittelpunkt, während Glaube „nirgendwo im EvThom ein angemessenes Verhältnis zu Jesus“ beschreibt oder als „hilfreich zur Erlangung von Leben“ gilt¹⁰⁶.

3. Kaiserzeitliche Philosophie

Solange das *Thomasevangelium* in weiten Teilen der Forschung vor dem Hintergrund der „Gnosis“ interpretiert wurde, war die Frage, wie das Verhältnis dieser Schrift zur zeitgenössischen Philosophie beschrieben werden kann, weitgehend verdeckt. Infolge der kritischen Reflexion des „Gnosis“-Begriffs hat Stephen Patterson dagegen darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Wahrnehmung bestimmter „gnostischer“ Motive im *Thomasevangelium* häufig eine sachliche Verengung darstellt, weil sie nicht nur Entsprechungen in „gnostischen“ Texten haben, sondern im weiteren Kontext des Mittelplatonismus verbreitet sind: „*Thomas* dons the garb of Middle Platonism in the loose-fitting way that allowed so many in the late Hellenistic era to make the Platonic tradition their own“¹⁰⁷. Diesem Ansatz folgend hat zuletzt Ivan Miroshnikov eine Studie zum Verhältnis zwischen dem *Thomasevangelium* und der platonischen Philosophie erarbeitet. Dabei beschränkt er sich jedoch auf eine Auswahl von „Sprüchen“ mit platonischen Tendenzen und hebt hervor: „The majority of Thomasine sayings have nothing to do with Platonist philosophy“¹⁰⁸. Diese Feststellung setzt jedoch zum einen die Annahme

106. HARTENSTEIN, *Charakterisierung im Dialog* (Anm. 98), S. 257; vgl. auch unten Abschn. 3b).

107. S.J. PATTERSON, *Jesus Meets Plato: The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas and Middle Platonism*, in FREY – POPKES – SCHRÖTER (Hgg.), *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 1), 181-205, S. 183. Wenige Jahre später hat Patterson diesen Ansatz mit Blick auf die Anthropologie vertieft (Id., *Platonism and the Apocryphal Origins of Immortality in the Christian Imagination. Or: Why Do Christians Have Souls That Go to Heaven?*, in J. SCHRÖTER [Hg.], *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology* [BETL, 260], Leuven, Peeters, 2013, 447-476).

108. I. MIROSHNIKOV, *The Gospel of Thomas and Plato: A Study of the Impact of Platonism on the „Fifth Gospel“* (NHMS, 93), Leiden, Brill, 2018, S. 257. Vgl. die weitere Anmerkung *ibid.*: „*Thomas* savored the delight of philosophy with the fingertip,

voraus, das *Thomasevangelium* sei eine gewachsene Spruchsammlung, sodass die Einzelsprüche entsprechend mutmaßlich verschiedenen theologischen Strömungen getrennt betrachtet werden. Zum anderen steht hier die Überlegung im Hintergrund, dass eine philosophische Tendenz nur bei einer Verwendung charakteristischer Termini anzunehmen ist. Demgegenüber lässt sich jedoch fragen, inwiefern nicht das *Thomasevangelium* insgesamt als ein spezifischer Vermittlungsversuch zwischen frühem Christentum und kaiserzeitlicher Philosophie angesehen werden kann. Aus diesem Grund stehen im Folgenden nicht bestimmte „Sprüche“ mit platonisch geprägten Termini im Fokus. Vielmehr sollen zwei grundlegende theologische Themenkomplexe umrissen werden mit Blick auf die Frage, ob das *Thomasevangelium* als Ganzes nicht deutlich mehr von einer Form der platonisch beeinflussten, christlichen Philosophie geprägt ist, als es die häufige Konzentration auf Einzelaussagen mit synoptischen Parallelen erwarten lässt. Dafür eignet sich zum einen das Gottesbild, das das *Thomasevangelium* erkennen lässt, sowie zum anderen die Frage, auf welche Weise die Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten das „Leben“ erlangen können.

a) *Gott und die Welt*

In der konzisen Zusammenfassung der Theologie des *Thomasevangeliums* von Simon Gathercole, die er „The Religious Outlook of Thomas“ nennt¹⁰⁹, fällt die Beschreibung des Gottesbildes mit nur sieben Textzeilen bemerkenswert knapp aus. Nach einer kurzen Feststellung, dass „der Vater“ im *Thomasevangelium* kaum als handelnde Figur in den Blick kommt, bemerkt Gathercole:

The most that can probably be said is that he is characterised by ‚motion and rest‘ like the elect (GTh 50), as well as having an ‚image of light‘ in GTh 83. He evidently has a ‚will‘ (99), and of course a Son (GTh 61; 64; 99), but especially a kingdom (GTh 57; 76; 96–99; 113)¹¹⁰.

An dieser Stelle ließen sich über Gathercoles kurze Zusammenfassung hinaus noch eine Handvoll Aussagen ergänzen: die von Jesus Angesprochenen sollen danach streben, den „Vater“ zu sehen (*EvThom* 27,2) bzw. zu „erkennen“ (*EvThom* 69) und sich als „Kinder des lebendigen Vaters“ verstehen¹¹¹, so wie der „Vater“ überhaupt mit dem Attribut

which makes it quite understandable why the Platonist flavor of this text went almost unnoticed by scholars of *Thomas*“.

109. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 144–167.

110. *Ibid.*, S. 145.

111. *EvThom* 3,4; 50,2.

„der Lebendige“ in Verbindung gebracht wird¹¹². Neben dem „Willen“ des „Vaters“ (*EvThom* 99) wird ihm auch ein „Wort“ (λογος) zugeschrieben, das es „wahrhaft zu beachten“ gilt (*EvThom* 79,2). Vor allem jedoch sagt Jesus im Dialog mit Salome etwas Grundlegendes über seine Herkunft aus:

(61,3) Jesus sprach zu ihr: „Ich bin der, der aus dem stammt, der (stets) mit sich eins ist. Mir ist gegeben worden von dem, was meines Vaters ist“.

Der zweite Satz legt das Gewicht darauf, dass Jesus etwas von seinem „Vater“ erhalten hat; darunter kann im engeren Sinne seine Botschaft verstanden werden, aber auch in umfassenderer Weise der Zugang zum „Königreich“ bzw. das „Leben“, das Jesus vermittelt. Im ersten Satz von *EvThom* 61,3, der die Herkunft Jesu betrifft, wird wahrscheinlich auf die Unveränderlichkeit als Attribut Gottes Bezug genommen, auch wenn die Übersetzung Fragen aufwirft¹¹³.

Für die vorliegende Diskussion sind daher vor allem vier Beobachtungen von Relevanz: Erstens ist bemerkenswert, dass Gott im *Thomas-evangelium* fast nie als „Gott“ (νοϋτε) bezeichnet wird¹¹⁴. Jesus nennt ihn meist „Vater“ (ειωτ), wohingegen die Jünger an keiner Stelle direkt auf Gott Bezug nehmen¹¹⁵. Die zweite Beobachtung ist, dass Jesus keine Aussagen darüber macht, dass er von Gott „gesandt“ wurde. Auch wenn Jesus gelegentlich sagt, dass er zur Erfüllung bestimmter Aufgaben „gekommen“ oder „erschienen“ sei¹¹⁶, spricht er dabei nicht von einer „Sendung“¹¹⁷. In Verbindung damit steht, drittens, dass Gott an keiner Stelle Emotionen bzw. Affekte zugeschrieben werden. Viertens schließlich findet sich im *Thomas-evangelium* keine Aussage, die den „Vater“ in einen direkten Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung der „Welt“ oder der des Menschen bringt. Obwohl auch die ersten drei Beobachtungen

112. *EvThom* 37; 50,2.

113. NAGEL, *Codex apocryphus gnosticus* (Anm. 82), S. 137, sieht den Ausdruck πετωνω als „nicht recht verständlich“ an. Lambdin übersetzt „from the undivided“ (in B. LAYTON – T.O. LAMBDIN, *The Gospel according to Thomas: Critical Edition/ Translation*, in LAYTON [Hg.], *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7* [Anm. 10], 52-93, S. 75).

114. *EvThom* 30,1 („Wo drei Götter sind, sind es Götter“) und *EvThom* 100,2-4 („Gebt dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist. Gebt Gott, was Gottes ist. Und das, was mein ist, gebt mir“) sind in ihrer Auslegung äußerst umstritten.

115. Vgl. dagegen etwa die Frage des Philippus Joh 14,9.

116. *EvThom* 16,2; 28,1.

117. Eine „Sendung“ Jesu könnte in den beiden Erzählungen vom Gastmahl (*EvThom* 64) und vom Weinberg (*EvThom* 65) in *parabolischer Weise* ausgesagt werden, sofern diese Parabeln nicht lediglich als Reichtumskritik interpretiert werden. Siehe dazu SCHWARZ, *Gleichnisse und Parabeln* (Anm. 54), S. 200-205.

Konvergenzen zur zeitgenössischen Philosophie enthalten¹¹⁸, soll im Folgenden vor allem das zuletzt genannte Themenfeld vertieft werden, da im *Thomasevangelium* in dieser Hinsicht eine breitere Basis von Aussagen vorliegt.

Das Verb **ταμιο** („herstellen, erschaffen“) erscheint ausschließlich im Kontext der Frage Jesu an eine nicht näher bestimmte Gruppe, warum sie „die Außenseite des Bechers“ waschen, aber nicht verstehen, „dass der, der die Innenseite geschaffen hat, auch der ist, der die Außenseite geschaffen hat“ (*EvThom* 89). Diese metaphorisch formulierte Frage, die auf eine entsprechende Reinigung der „Innenseite“ des Menschen zielt, spielt lediglich auf die Erschaffung des Menschen an, ohne den Schöpfer zu benennen oder dessen Handeln zu bewerten¹¹⁹.

Die Entstehung Adams beschreibt das *Thomasevangelium* in der Weise, dass Adam „aus einer großen Kraft und einem großen Reichtum“ entstanden ist (*EvThom* 85). Adam sei zwar gestorben und damit nicht „würdig“ gegenüber denen geworden, die Jesus im *Thomasevangelium* anspricht. Dennoch ist festzuhalten, dass Adams „Werden“ (**γενε**) – von einer Erschaffung ist genau genommen nicht die Rede – grundsätzlich positiv auf „eine große Kraft“ (**οὔνοσ ἡδυναμικ**) zurückgeführt wird. Diese „Kraft“ wird jedoch nicht mit dem „Vater“ identifiziert, was sich durch den offenkundigen Intertext in Gen 1–2 nahelegen würde. Aus dieser Perspektive lässt sich feststellen, dass *EvThom* 85 durch einen verhüllenden Charakter bestimmt ist. Bemerkenswert ist zugleich, dass

118. Die Bezeichnung des ersten Gottes als „Vater“ ist in der antiken Philosophie unter anderem in Anlehnung an Homers Rede von Zeus häufig belegt; vgl. R. FELDMIEIER, *Father, II: Greco-Roman Antiquity*, in *EBR* 8 (2018) 954–956. Prominent ist in der Kaiserzeit etwa Numenios, der laut den überlieferten Fragmenten von drei Göttern gesprochen und nur den ersten Gott als „Vater“ bezeichnet haben soll (Fragmente 11 und 21). Wie Christian Tornau bemerkt: „Numenios ist damit, soweit wir sehen, der erste, der die platonischen Gottesattribute ‚Vater‘ und ‚Schöpfer‘ (*Tim.* 28c) auf zwei dem Rang nach verschiedene Gottheiten oder Hypostasen aufgeteilt hat“ (C. TORNAU, *Der Mittelplatonismus*, in C. HORN – J. MÜLLER – J. SÖDER [Hgg.], *Platon-Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 2017, 414–421, S. 418). Auch Alkinoos (*Didask.* 16,2) nennt den höchsten Gott „Vater von allen“, während die anderen „Götter“ dessen „Nachkommen“ seien. Die Beobachtung, dass Jesus keine „Sendung“ o.ä. erwähnt und nur passivisch davon spricht, dass ihm etwas aus dem Bereich des „Vaters“ gegeben wurde, lässt sich mit Bezug zur Philosophie als ein Bemühen verstehen, die Transzendenz Gottes soweit wie möglich zu wahren, wie dies im Folgenden auch im Hinblick auf die Kosmogonie erläutert wird.

119. Mit Blick auf diese Aussage ist dies freilich kein Spezifikum des *Thomasevangeliums* (vgl. Lk 11,39f.). Mt 23,25f. verwendet eine ähnliche erweiterte Metapher, jedoch ohne auf den Aspekt der Herstellung des „Bechers“ Bezug zu nehmen. Ein Bezug von *EvThom* 89 zum jüdischen Kontext der rituellen Reinheit ist kaum mehr erkennbar, zumal die angesprochene Gruppe nicht benannt wird (in Mt 23,25 sind es die Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer, in Lk 11,39 nur die Pharisäer).

vor allem der Terminus δύναμις in der hellenistischen Philosophie eine wichtige Rolle in der Reflexion über das Wirken Gottes spielt¹²⁰. So geht etwa der pseudo-aristotelische Traktat *De mundo* auf die griechischen Kosmogonieerzählungen ein und legt dar, sie seien zwar insofern zutreffend, dass Gott alles erschaffe und erhalte. Um nicht in einen Widerspruch zur Bestimmung des göttlichen Wesens zu geraten, müsse dies jedoch so verstanden werden, dass Gott dies nur mittels einer „unermüdlichen Kraft“ tue (δυνάμει ... ἀτρύτῳ)¹²¹. In ähnlicher Weise lässt sich *EvThom* 85 als ein Versuch beschreiben, die göttliche Transzendenz zu wahren und die Einschätzung, dass Adam sich nicht als „würdig“ erwiesen und den „Tod geschmeckt“ habe, vom „lebendigen Vater“ fernzuhalten. Diese Interpretation legt sich auch aufgrund des literarischen Kontexts nahe, insofern der Aussage über die Entstehung Adams (*EvThom* 85) ein Redeteil vorausgeht, der die Verborgenheit des „Vaters“, seine Erkennbarkeit als „Licht“ sowie das Verhältnis zwischen „Urbild“ und „Abbild“ des Menschen in platonisch geprägter Terminologie reflektiert (*EvThom* 83–84)¹²².

Neben den Hinweisen auf die Entstehung des Menschen sind auch zwei Bezugnahmen auf das Werden der Welt bemerkenswert. So schreibt Jesus Jakobus eine herausragende Position zu, indem er sagt, dass um seinetwillen „Himmel und Erde entstanden“ seien (*EvThom* 12). Auch an dieser Stelle ist – ähnlich wie in *EvThom* 85 – von einem abstrakten „Werden“ (ὡπρε) die Rede und es wird nicht gesagt, wer „Himmel und Erde“ geschaffen hat. Eine sprachlich sehr dichte Aussage bringt schließlich das „All“ in Beziehung mit Jesus:

(77,1) Jesus spricht: „Ich bin das Licht, das über allem ist. Ich bin das All. Aus mir ist das All hervorgegangen und zu mir ist das All gelangt“.

In der koptischen Version des *Thomasevangeliums* eröffnen diese Sätze eine Rede Jesu, die einen räumlichen Abstieg veranschaulicht: vom

120. Darüber hinaus ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass der δύναμις-Begriff auch bei Philo eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wo der Terminus allerdings häufig im Plural steht (u.a. *Sacr.* 59; *Spec.* 1,327–329; sowie die Aufzählung von fünf „Mächten“ in *Fug.* 95). Vgl. die Darstellung von R. RADICE, *Philo's Theology and Theory of Creation*, in A. KAMESAR (Hg.), *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, 124–145, S. 135–142.

121. Ps.-Aristoteles, *Mund.* 397b9. Die Datierung des Traktats und dessen philosophisches Konzept diskutiert J.C. THOM, *Popular Philosophy in the Hellenistic-Roman World*, in *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 279–295, S. 291–294.

122. MIROSHNIKOV, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 108), S. 251, sieht in *EvThom* 83–84 „a fusion of Biblical and Platonist motifs. Certainly, the saying borrows its combination of likeness and image from Gen 1:26, reinterpreting both terms from the Platonist perspective“.

Höchsten („über allem“) bis hin zu einer bildlichen Veranschaulichung des Niedrigsten, Jesu Gegenwart beim Spalten eines Holzes und Aufheben eines Steins¹²³. Der Beginn dieser Rede birgt jedoch mehrere Interpretationsschwierigkeiten, zu denen vor allem zählt, in welchem Sinne an dieser Stelle vom „All“ bzw. von „allem“ (πᾶσι) gesprochen wird¹²⁴. Deutlich ist in jedem Fall, dass es sich nicht um eine explizite Form der Schöpfungsmittlerschaft handelt, da sich Jesus vielmehr mit dem „All“ identifiziert und sich als dessen Ursprung und Ziel beschreibt. Gathercole schränkt deshalb die Bedeutung von πᾶσι ein als „the totality of the pneumatic element“¹²⁵. Jedoch ist diese sachliche Einschränkung im Text selbst nicht explizit gegeben, sodass hier eine eher offen formulierte, relativ ungeschützte Aussage über das durchdringende Verhältnis zwischen Jesus *als dem* „Licht“ und „allem“ bzw. „dem All“ vorliegt. Wie die koptische Satzstruktur deutlich macht¹²⁶, steht zudem die unüberbietbare Stellung Jesu im Vordergrund der Aussage, während die Frage, was damit über das „All“ gesagt ist, dahinter zurücktritt. Deutlich ist dennoch, dass an dieser Stelle eine Beeinflussung durch stoisch geprägte, popularphilosophische Kosmologie erkennbar wird, wie sie in unterschiedlicher Weise auch bei Philo und in diversen frühchristlichen Texten belegt ist¹²⁷.

b) Das „Leben“ finden

Ein zweiter Themenkomplex, der eine Nähe des *Thomasevangeliums* zur zeitgenössischen Philosophie erkennen lässt, ist der in dieser Schrift beschriebene Weg zur Unsterblichkeit. Das Ziel, nach dem es zu streben gilt, wird im *Thomasevangelium* mit verschiedenen bildlichen Aussagen beschrieben, wie etwa „den Tod nicht schmecken“ (*EvThom* 1; 18,3), „König sein über das All“ (*EvThom* 2,4), „das Leben finden“ (*EvThom* 58)

123. *EvThom* 77,2f. steht in der griechischen Version auf P.Oxy. I 1,27-30 nach *EvThom* 30. Wegen der homonymen Verwendung von πᾶσι („hingelangen – zerbrechen/spalten“), das als Stichwortanschluss gewertet wird, sieht die Forschungsdiskussion meist die griechische Fassung als ursprünglicher an. Zu beachten ist jedoch, dass der doppelte Spruch vom Holz und vom Stein auch eine thematische Weiterführung des Vorausgehenden erzeugt.

124. Vgl. *EvThom* 67, wo πᾶσι einfach nur „alles“ bedeutet.

125. GATHERCOLE, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 9), S. 439.

126. Neben dem ἀνοκ πᾶσι ... richtet wahrscheinlich auch die substantivische Transposition (oder Focalizing conversion) in den weiteren Sätzen die Betonung auf Jesus.

127. Vgl. C. BREYTENBACH, *Schöpfer/Schöpfung, III: Neues Testament*, in *TRE* 30 (1999) 283-292, S. 285, der vor allem auf das Lexem τὰ πάντα hinweist. G.H. VAN KOOTEN, *Creation and Cosmogony, III: New Testament*, in *EBR* 5 (2012) 973-976, Sp. 974, spricht in dieser Hinsicht von „Greek prepositional metaphysics“ und bezieht sich dabei u.a. auf 1 Kor 8,6; Kol 1,16f.

oder zum „Ort des Lebens“¹²⁸ bzw. vor allem in „das Königreich (des Vaters)“ gelangen¹²⁹. Hinsichtlich der Frage, auf welche Weise die im *Thomasevangelium* angesprochenen Menschen dieses Ziel erreichen, ist zunächst ein bedeutender Negativbefund zu vermerken: „glauben“ (ῥηπιστεύε) kommt nur einmal in einer Bitte der Jüngergruppe¹³⁰ an Jesus vor, woraufhin Jesus diese Anfrage augenscheinlich als ein Zeichen dafür wertet, dass die Jünger nicht verstehen, wen sie tatsächlich vor sich haben (*EvThom* 91). Bereits die Beobachtung, dass „glauben“ als nicht hilfreich betrachtet wird, verbindet das *Thomasevangelium* mit einem Großteil der kaiserzeitlichen Philosophie¹³¹. Demgegenüber ist in dieser Schrift eine verhältnismäßig große Anzahl von Lexemen aus dem Wortfeld „wissen/erkennen“ zu verzeichnen¹³². Charakteristisch ist in dieser Hinsicht vor allem, dass in einem der längsten Redeabschnitte am Beginn des *Thomasevangeliums* (*EvThom* 3) das „Königreich innerhalb und außerhalb von euch“ mit Bezug auf die Selbsterkenntnis erläutert wird: „Wenn ihr euch erkennt, dann werdet ihr erkannt werden, und ihr werdet verstehen, dass ihr die Kinder des lebendigen Vaters seid“ (*EvThom* 3,4)¹³³. Auf diese Weise interpretiert das *Thomasevangelium* die Suche nach dem „Königreich“, das bekanntlich zum Kernbestand der Jesustradition gehört, mit Hilfe des philosophischen Konzepts eines Zusammenhangs von Selbsterkenntnis und Gotteserkenntnis. Dieser Zusammenhang wird häufig in Bezug auf die berühmte delphische

128. *EvThom* 4,1; vgl. den „Ort zur Ruhe für euch“ (*EvThom* 60,6) und die „Orte meines Vaters“ (*EvThom* 64,12).

129. *EvThom* 22; 27; 49.

130. Das Subjekt des Pronominalsuffixes in der 3. Pers. pl. bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf die Jüngergruppe, da sie die einzige Gruppe ist, die im *Thomasevangelium* spricht.

131. So etwa ausdrücklich Alkinoos (*Didask.* 7,5), für den „glauben“ nur auf die sinnlich wahrnehmbare Welt bezogen ist. Im *Philippusevangelium* wird „glauben“ dagegen in positiver Weise gewürdigt (*EvPhil* 45f., NHC II,3 61,36–62,6). Eine bedeutende Ausnahme in der Philosophie ist auch Plutarch; siehe dazu G.H. VAN KOOTEN, *A Non-Fideistic Interpretation of πίστις in Plutarch's Writings: The Harmony between πίστις and Knowledge*, in L. ROIG LANZILLOTTA – I. MUNOZ GALLARTE (Hgg.), *Plutarch in the Religious and Philosophical Discourse of Late Antiquity* (Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval Texts and Contexts, 14), Leiden, Brill, 2012, 215–233.

132. Vor allem εἶμε (*EvThom* 3,4; 21,5; 43,2 u.ö.) sowie κοοῦν (*EvThom* 3,4f.; 5,1; 16,2; 18,3; 19,4 u.ö.). Hervorzuheben ist außerdem, dass die Verben des „Erkennens“ mehrfach in eine paradigmatische Beziehung zum ebenfalls häufig gebrauchten Wort „finden“ treten, sodass beispielsweise das „Königreich (des Vaters)“ sowohl „erkannt“ (*EvThom* 46,2) als auch „gefunden“ werden kann (*EvThom* 27,1; 49,1).

133. In der Forschung wird häufig die Ansicht vertreten, dass *EvThom* 3,4f. erst in einem späteren Stadium der Überlieferung mit dem Vorherigen verbunden wurde; vgl. u.a. EISELE, *Welcher Thomas?* (Anm. 26), S. 130; BETHGE, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas* (Anm. 4), S. 507, Anm. 93. Diese These ist jedoch einerseits durch den Blick auf die frühchristlichen Parallelen sowie andererseits an der Annahme einer ursprünglich „einheitliche[n] Form“ (so das Argument bei EISELE, *Welcher Thomas?*, S. 125) orientiert.

Maxime γνῶθι σαυτὸν etwa bei Philo, Seneca oder Plutarch erörtert, während sich die Verbindung von Gotteserkenntnis und einem „Erkannt-Werden“ durch Gott auch bei Paulus findet¹³⁴.

Der Einfluss durch die griechisch-römische Philosophie wird möglicherweise bereits an früherer Stelle des *Thomasevangeliums* erkennbar. Ein Indiz ist dabei die Rezeption einer griechischen Parallelüberlieferung von *EvThom* 2 bei Clemens von Alexandrien, der die entsprechenden Aussagen auf das *Hebräerevangelium* zurückführt¹³⁵. An beiden Stellen, an denen Clemens den Kettenspruch über das Staunen, das Herrschen bis hin zum „Ruhem“ (ἐπαναπαύειν) in unterschiedlicher Länge anführt, ist der jeweilige Kontext ein explizit philosophischer. So kommt Clemens zuerst in *Strom.* 2,45 darauf zu sprechen, wenn es um das „Staunen“ (θαυμάζειν) als dem legendären Anfang der Philosophie geht¹³⁶. An späterer Stelle zitiert Clemens zunächst ausführlich eine Aussage Platons über die Angleichung an Gott (*Tim.* 90d) und leitet danach eine längere Fassung des Spruchs damit ein, dass er sagt, dieser sei mit der Aussage Platons „gleichbedeutend“ (*Strom.* 5,96,3). Clemens versteht den Kettenspruch somit als eine Beschreibung der platonischen Ähnlichwerdung mit Gott (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ). Mit Blick auf dieses Konzept, das als „Telosformel des kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus fungiert“¹³⁷, ist jedoch darauf hinzuweisen, dass sich in der Philosophie eine umfangreiche Diskussion daran entzündete. Schwerpunkte sind dabei einerseits die Ethik, insofern die Angleichung an Gott als Verwirklichung von Gerechtigkeit und Tugend diskutiert wird¹³⁸, andererseits werden darunter jedoch auch ein Rückzug von den „menschlichen Geschäften“ und eine stete Hinwendung zum Intelligiblen verstanden¹³⁹. Für das *Thomas-*

134. 1 Kor 8,2f.; 13,12 etc. Eine Darstellung der verschiedenen Ansätze geben u.a. R. FELDMEIER, *Gotteserkenntnis durch Selbsterkenntnis: Philons Migratio in ihrem religionsgeschichtlichen Kontext*, in M. NIEHOFF – R. FELDMEIER (Hgg.), *Abrahams Aufbruch: Philon von Alexandria, De migratione Abrahami* (Sapere, 30), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017, 187-202; sowie PATTERSON, *Jesus Meets Plato* (Anm. 107), S. 184-186.

135. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* 2,45,5. Das Zitat weist einen hohen Grad an Übereinstimmung mit P.Oxy. IV 654,6-9 auf, soweit das Fragment erhalten ist. Während die koptische Version mit der Aussage „Und er wird König sein über das All“ (*EvThom* 2,4) endet, führt die griechische Version noch einen Schritt weiter, vermutlich bis zu [ἐπαναπα]ήσεται (P.Oxy. IV 654,8f.). Vgl. zum Folgenden auch PATTERSON, *Platonism* (Anm. 107), S. 466.

136. Clemens verweist dabei ausdrücklich auf den Theaitetos (*sc. Th.* 155d).

137. TORNAU, *Mittelpatonismus* (Anm. 118), S. 414.

138. Dies hebt unter anderem Apuleius, *Dogm. Plat.* 2,23, hervor.

139. So ausdrücklich Alkinoos, *Didask.* 28,3f. Zur Gesamtdiskussion siehe J. DILLON, *The Hierarchy of Being as Framework for Platonic Ethical Theory*, in C. PIETSCH (Hg.), *Ethik des antiken Platonismus: Der platonische Weg zum Glück in Systematik, Entstehung und historischem Kontext* (Philosophie der Antike, 32), Stuttgart, Steiner, 2013, 91-98. Bei Plotin wird die ὁμοίωσις θεῷ stärker als zuvor mit dem Gedanken der „Flucht“ sowie

evangelium wiederum lässt sich allgemein feststellen, dass darin zahlreiche ethische Forderungen erhoben werden, wie etwa konkret das Verbot zu lügen sowie die bildlich-abstrakten Formulierungen über die Zusammenführung der „zwei“ zu „einem“ und die Ersetzung des „Bildes“ des Menschen (*EvThom* 22,4.7). Ebenso ließe sich auch die radikalere Haltung gegenüber der „Welt“, insofern sie als „Leiche“ qualifiziert wird, in diesen Kontext einzeichnen¹⁴⁰. Dass die „Welt“ eine „Leiche“ ist, wird ja im *Thomasevangelium* nicht auf ihre Entstehung bzw. auf den, der sie erschaffen hat, zurückgeführt. Das Anliegen ist vielmehr, sich von der „Welt“ abzuwenden und nach dem „Leben“ zu suchen¹⁴¹. Vor allem besteht jedoch die Möglichkeit, dass die Vorstellung einer ὁμοίωσις θεῷ im *Thomasevangelium* in spezifischer Weise als eine Angleichung bzw. sogar Einswerdung mit Jesus geprägt wird: Jesus ist als „Licht“ in einem „Lichtmenschen“ präsent¹⁴², und er verheißt denen, die von seinem „Mund trinken“, dass sie wie er werden bzw. er mit ihnen eins wird (*EvThom* 108).

III. FAZIT

Im Rückblick auf diese skizzenhaften Ausführungen lässt sich zusammenfassen, dass das *Thomasevangelium* jeweils spezifische Positionen und Bezüge gegenüber dem antiken Judentum, dem frühen Christentum sowie der kaiserzeitlichen Philosophie erkennen lässt. Der Abstand zum Judentum ist dabei als vergleichsweise hoch einzuschätzen, da die „Juden“ lediglich clichéhaft dargestellt werden und den Schriften Israels keinerlei positive Funktion zugeschrieben wird. Die jüdische rituelle Praxis wird jedoch in positiver Weise als bildspendender Bereich für diverse metaphorische Aussagen rezipiert. Mit Blick auf die frühchristliche Lite-

ekstatischen Aspekten verbunden; vgl. I. MÄNNLEIN-ROBERT, *Tugend, Flucht und Ekstase: Zur ὁμοίωσις θεῷ in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*, in PIETSCH (Hg.), *Ethik des antiken Platonismus*, 99-111.

140. *EvThom* 56; ähnlich *EvThom* 80. Neben den Aussagen, die die „Welt“ als feindlich darstellen oder mit dem Tod in Verbindung bringen, kommen die „Welt“ bzw. die Menschen in ihr aber auch als Adressaten der Botschaft Jesu in den Blick (*EvThom* 28; vgl. *EvThom* 24).

141. Dies wird vor allem im diskursiven Kontext von *EvThom* 56 deutlich: Auf die Aussage über die „Welt“ als „Leiche“ folgt die Parabel vom Unkraut, die verdeutlicht, dass diese „Welt“ in jedem Fall der Vernichtung anheimfällt; danach schließen sich jedoch mehrere Aussagen und die parabolische Szene *EvThom* 60 an, die zum Streben nach dem „Leben“ auffordern. *EvThom* 56 bis 61A lassen sich daher als Diskurs über „Tod“ und „Leben“ interpretieren.

142. So in Jesu Antwort auf die Frage nach dem „Ort, an dem du bist“, in *EvThom* 24,3; vgl. auch *EvThom* 61,5.

ratur, die am Beispiel des Matthäus- und des Johannesevangeliums einbezogen wurde, lassen sich zum einen vereinzelte Auseinandersetzungen mit deren Theologie vermuten, zum anderen verfolgt das *Thomasevangelium* ein anderes theologisches Konzept, bei dem insbesondere „glauben“ keinerlei positive Rolle spielt. Dennoch ist hervorzuheben, dass die erzählte Welt des *Thomasevangeliums* „biblisch“ geprägt ist, insofern keine Namen oder mythischen Figuren erwähnt werden, die nicht aus den kanonisch gewordenen Schriften bekannt sind. Darüber hinaus lassen sich grundlegende Konvergenzen des *Thomasevangeliums* zur zeitgenössischen Philosophie erkennen. Dies betrifft etwa die Anthropologie¹⁴³, das Gottesbild sowie die Art und Weise, wie die im *Thomasevangelium* Angesprochenen das „Leben“ erlangen sollen. Zugleich rezipiert diese Schrift verschiedene Aspekte der Philosophie in dezidiert christlicher Weise: Es ist der „lebendige Jesus“, der die „Worte“ spricht, deren „Deutung“ zur Überwindung des Todes verhelfen; er wird als Ursprung und Ziel des „Alls“ präsentiert; nur er hat etwas mitzuteilen, was vom „Vater“ stammt, und die Aufnahme seiner Botschaft führt zu einem Eins-Werden mit ihm.

Lässt sich aus diesen theologischen Positionen nun etwas für die Frage der Datierung ableiten? Die Antwort könnte lauten: ja und nein. Das *Thomasevangelium* zeigt einen deutlichen Abstand zu den Schriften Israels sowie zum zeitgenössischen Judentum und es lassen sich Bezüge zu Diskursen erkennen, die ab dem 2. Jahrhundert, aber auch in der späteren Geschichte des antiken Christentums eine Rolle spielten. Eine genauere Datierung auf der Grundlage dieser inhaltlichen Positionen bleibt dennoch schwierig: Zum einen ist dabei zu bedenken, dass religionsgeschichtliche Entwicklungen nicht an allen Orten gleichzeitig und gleichförmig verlaufen. Zum anderen sollte die oftmals aphoristisch-fragmentarische Ausdrucksweise des *Thomasevangeliums* nicht unmittelbar als Indiz für ein hohes Alter dieser Schrift betrachtet werden. Kürze und eine gewisse Interpretationsoffenheit bzw. Rätselhaftigkeit sind vielmehr auch Teil des hermeneutischen Programms dieser Schrift, sodass die Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten zur Suche nach einer eigenständigen Deutung und Aneignung aufgerufen werden.

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Theologische Fakultät
Unter den Linden 6
DE-10099 Berlin Deutschland
konrad.schwarz@hu-berlin.de

Konrad SCHWARZ

143. Dies wird insbesondere in dem Beitrag von PATTERSON, *Platonism* (Anm. 107) erörtert.

AGAINST THE TWELVE

THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES AND THE STATUS OF THE APOSTLES

Let us imagine a map of early gospels or gospel-like literature. Our map consists in three concentric circles. The innermost circle contains the four gospels attributed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, separated from other early gospel literature by a thick black line that represents the canonical boundary. Matthew, Mark, and Luke are located in close proximity to one another, with John at a slight distance. Yet the boundary-line ensures that John and the synoptics are seen to belong together. While the four texts retain their individual integrity, each is what it is only in its relation to the other three. This fourfold gospel is also a singular entity in which each text is constrained by its relation to the other three. Differences are acknowledged, but they cannot be permitted to harden into significant contradictions. To speak of contradiction within this fourfold testimony to the definitive saving event would be to commit a category mistake¹.

Prominent within the second of our three concentric circles are the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Proto-Gospel* or *Protevangelium of James*. Both texts have close affinities with aspects of the canonical Matthew and Luke – the sayings tradition in the one case, the nativity stories on the other. A close relationship with canonical literature is also evident in a third non-canonical text, the *Gospel of Peter*, the major extant fragment of which corresponds to the canonical passion and resurrection narratives. Other fragments are also in evidence in our second circle, most significantly the scant remains of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the *Egerton Gospel*. If such texts had survived in full they would have formed a major counter-weight to the canonical four. Precisely because they came to be seen as potential rivals to the four, they fell victim to passive neglect or active suppression².

1. On this point see my *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2013, pp. 85-91.

2. Eusebius describes *GPeter* as νόθον (“illegitimate”, i.e. spurious, inauthentic) as regards its authorship but nevertheless acknowledges that it belongs among the ἀντιλεγόμενα (“disputed” works), indicating that the decision to exclude it has been challenged (*Hist. Eccl.* 3,3,3; 3,25,4-6; 6,12,2-6). More tentatively placed among the ἀντιλεγόμενα is *GHebrews*, whose use is said to be limited but not disputed (*Hist. Eccl.*

Turning now to the outermost circle, we encounter a group of texts that have come to be known as “dialogue gospels”³. These are conventionally regarded as “gnostic” in orientation and thus as somehow deviant and “heretical”. If the line that separates the first circle from the second is the canonical boundary, the line that differentiates the second circle from the third corresponds roughly to the boundary between orthodoxy and heresy. It is true that the dialogue gospel known as the *Epistula Apostolorum* might be described as “proto-orthodox” in orientation⁴. Conversely, *GThom* has often been thought to harbour heretical tendencies but belongs to the intermediate circle because of its close relation to the synoptic tradition and its prominence – unique for a non-canonical gospel text – within recent scholarly debate⁵. Yet supposedly “gnostic” texts predominate within the dialogue gospel category. They survive not in their original Greek but in Coptic, and prominent examples include the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Gospel of Judas* and the *Apocryphon of James*⁶.

This mapping of early Christian gospels is loosely based both on ancient Christian categories (canonical, apocryphal, heretical) and on modern scholarly priorities (the continued privileging of the canonical four). This is, then, a *conventional* picture, and it remains indispensable especially in ecclesial contexts and in the scholarship whose primary role is to serve such contexts. Yet to indicate that it is contextual is also to relativise it. We might choose instead to *erase* the boundaries that separate the canonical from the non-canonical and the “proto-orthodox” from

3,25,5). That Eusebius feels he has to make this distinction indicates that the canonical/non-canonical boundary is still itself “disputed”, even in the case of gospel literature.

3. See J. HARTENSTEIN, *Die zweite Lehre: Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen als Rahmenerzählungen frühchristlicher Dialoge* (TU, 146), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2000; C. MARKSCHIES – J. SCHRÖTER (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I/1: Evangelien und Verwandtes*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2012, pp. 1051-1238; S. PARKHOUSE, *Eschatology and the Saviour: The Gospel of Mary among Early Christian Dialogue Gospels* (SNTSMS, 176), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019.

4. In spite of its references to the heretics Simon and Cerinthus (*EpAp* 1,2; 7,1), there is little or no evidence that “[d]er Verfasser unseres Apokryphons hat sich die von den Gnostikern geschaffene Form zu eigen gemacht”, even as he advocates “die Abwehr des Einbruchs der doketischen und antiapokalyptischen Gnosis”, as argued by M. HORNSCHUH, *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 5), Berlin, De Gruyter, 1965, pp. 6-7.

5. On the relationship between *GThomas* and the synoptic gospels, see (i.a.) M. GOODACRE, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas's Familiarity with the Synoptics*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2012.

6. Texts, translations and commentaries in C.M. TUCKETT, *The Gospel of Mary* (Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007; J. BRANKAER (with B. VAN OS), *The Gospel of Judas* (Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019; D. ROULEAU – L. ROY, *L'Épître Apocryphe de Jacques (NH I,2) / L'Acte de Pierre (BG 4)* (BCNH.T, 18), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1987.

the “gnostic” and thus to view the field of early gospel literature as a single though differentiated whole. We would then be in a position to explore analogies, comparisons, and contrasts between any points on the map, wherever these seem potentially fruitful. Reconnecting these texts will also bring to light the matrix out of which the four gospel collection was formed. Early gospels all participate in prior traditions about Jesus’ human existence which they each develop in their own distinctive ways. Whether or not they were later deemed canonical, it is worth exploring how they relate to one another⁷.

In this paper I shall illustrate this proposal by tracing contrasting views of the role and status of the apostles vis-à-vis Jesus himself. How far is the post-Easter propagation of Jesus’ message dependent on an apostolic mission initially confined to preaching but later extended to writing? How far do early Christian communities see themselves as built on the foundation of a united apostolic testimony, and how is this issue reflected in their gospel literature? No gospel can dispense entirely with the role of disciples or apostles, but that role may be reduced to a minimum. Disciples or apostles may be presented as revered authorities, but they may also be disparaged. As we shall see, the *Apocryphon of James* is significant here as an example of the tendency to minimise and disparage, in contrast to the mainstream “Matthean” tradition that makes the apostles pivotal for the extension of Jesus’ work into the wider world. We turn first to *GMatthew*, in order to set the scene for the later work.

I. APOSTOLIC MISSION, APOSTOLIC GOSPELS

When Mary Magdalene and “the other Mary” visit Jesus’ tomb on Easter morning, the evangelist Matthew synchronises their arrival with that of an angel from heaven whose appearance is like lightning and his garment white as snow. His arrival is accompanied by an earthquake, and his task is to roll away the stone (displaying the empty space from which Jesus has somehow already made his exit), eliminate the guards, and communicate an important message to the women (*GMatt* 28,1-7)⁸. They must go immediately to the disciples and tell them that Jesus has risen

7. For a fuller justification of this programme, see F. WATSON – S. PARKHOUSE (eds.), *Connecting Gospels: Beyond the Canonical/Non-Canonical Divide*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018, 1-11 (“Introduction”).

8. While the rolling away of the stone here serves to demonstrate that the tomb is empty, the motif may derive from an earlier tradition in which this angelic act enables Jesus’ exit (cf. *GPet* 9,47–10,42): so R.H. FULLER, *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives*, London, SPCK, 1971, pp. 74-75.

from the dead and that he wishes to be reunited with them in Galilee (28,7). The two Maries are not included in this invitation as the risen Jesus appears to them even as they run back to Jerusalem, repeating and clarifying the angel's instruction: "Go, tell my brothers to go to Galilee, and there they will see me" (28,10). The message is presumably communicated and believed, although the evangelist turns his attention at this point to another group hurrying back to Jerusalem with news of disturbing occurrences: the guards at the tomb (28,11-15). Galilee is a rather unspecific location for a reunion, so the evangelist makes it clear that the eleven disciples were directed by Jesus to a particular mountain, to which they duly make their way (28,16). No mention has been made of any such direction, so the need for a specific location seems to have been an afterthought⁹. On the mountain-top Jesus appears, asserts his universal lordship, and sends his disciples out to ensure that that lordship is universally recognised. They are to go and make disciples of all Gentiles, baptising them and instructing them in the manner of life Jesus has prescribed (28,19-20)¹⁰. In this way the eleven disciples become apostles, sent out by Jesus to preach and teach (cf. 10,2). This brief narrative establishes in outline the "canonical" account of the way in which the gospel message was conveyed to the world. Jesus' disciples become his apostles. They represent him, and he continues to speak and act through them. The sending of the apostles is the indispensable mechanism for the continuation of Jesus' story¹¹.

Foundational though it may seem for later Christian tradition, the Matthean version of events is secondary to the Markan version, which it radically rewrites. In *GMark*, the women flee from Jesus' empty tomb in terror and say nothing to anybody (16,8), so the invitation or instruction to meet with the risen Lord in Galilee is not passed on. Logically, therefore, the meeting cannot take place and the disciples cannot be sent out

9. According to W.D. DAVIES – D.C. ALLISON, τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς in *GMatt* 28,16 should be translated "the mountain where Jesus gave them commands", a reference to the site of the Sermon on the Mount (*The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* [ICC], Edinburgh, T&T Clark, vol. 3, 1997, vol. 3, p. 681). Yet in 5,2 Jesus is said to "teach" his disciples rather than "commanding" them (cf. 10,5).

10. On the question whether πάντα τὰ ἔθνη includes or excludes Israel, see U. LUZ, *Matthew 21–28* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2005, pp. 628-631. An "inclusive" view of apostolic mission is taken in *GLuke* 24,47 (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ). An "exclusive" view is probably implied where specific nations are allocated to individual apostles, each of whom was to go εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ κύριος αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν (*AcThom* 1). Both passages may be dependent on *GMatt* 28,19-20.

11. The motif of universal mission is "a quite late achievement of Hellenistic Christianity (if not also in part of Hellenist Jewish-Christianity)", according to R. BULTMANN, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, p. 289.

as apostles to the nations¹². Thus the so-called Longer Ending is added at some point in the second century, recounting resurrection appearances and a Matthean-style commission to “go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature” (*GMark* 16,15)¹³. This Ending is oddly co-ordinated with the narrative it follows, appearing to suggest that the original plan for a Galilean reunion was aborted and replaced by a series of appearances occurring in or around Jerusalem (*GMark* 16,9-20). A somewhat smoother sequence is later achieved by the Shorter Ending, given here in its oldest extant form, from the Old Latin Codex Bobiensis (*k*, 4th-5th century). Here the words “they said nothing to anyone” are omitted and contradicted¹⁴:

...But go and say to the disciples and Peter, “I am going before you to Galilee, there you will see me just as I said to you”. And when they had left the tomb they fled, for trembling and panic overcame them because of their fear. And everything that they had been commanded they announced briefly to those who were with Peter. And after this Jesus appeared and sent through them, from east to west, the holy and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation (*GMark* 16,7-8 + Shorter Ending [*k*, emended])¹⁵.

12. It is not clear how J. MARCUS can assume that “[e]veryone in the Markan audience knew that the reunion in Galilee prophesied in 14:28 and 16:7 had actually taken place”; *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 2 vols., New Haven, CT – London, Yale University Press, 2000-2009, vol. 2, p. 1095. Why then would the Markan evangelist seem to contradict what his audience thought they knew?

13. The Longer Ending is attested in Irenaeus, who introduces a citation of *GMark* 16,19 with the phrase, “In fine autem euangelii ait Marcus...” (*Adv. haer.* 3,10,5), and throughout the Old Latin tradition with the exception of Codex Bobiensis (which has the Shorter Ending). The Longer Ending is absent from Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus, the Sinaitic Syriac, and also from the Eusebian canons, as a conscientious scribe notes before proceeding to 16,9-20: ἐν τισὶ μὲν τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν ἕως ὧδε πληροῦται ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἕως οὗ καὶ Ἐυσεβίου ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκανόνισεν (R. SWANSON, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus*, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press; Pasadena, CA, William Carey International University Press, 1995, p. 267). On the various Markan endings, see B. METZGER, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, London – New York, United Bible Societies, 1975, pp. 122-128; B.G. UPTON, *Hearing Mark's Endings: Listening to Ancient Popular Texts through Speech-Act Theory*, Leiden, Brill, 2006, pp. 154-195.

14. Rightly noted by A. YARBRO COLLINS, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2007, p. 802. The omission is likely to be original.

15. Latin text in A. JÜLICHER – W. MATZKOW – K. ALAND (eds.), *Italia: Das Neue Testament in Altlateinischer Überlieferung. II: Marcus-Evangelium*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1970, p. 158. The reading “et qui cum puero erant” is presumably a corruption of “eis qui cum Petro erant”, as Greek mss here read τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον, echoing τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ in 16,7. The Greek ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως (L Ψ) is obviously preferable to *k*'s “ab orientem usque usque in orientem” (*sic*). The Greek mss conflate the three main endings, however, retaining καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπον in 16,8 and including both the Shorter and the Longer Endings, introduced in L by the words φέρετε ποῦ καὶ ταῦτα.

In the Longer Ending, the women's silence is recognised as a problem. Plan A (the Galilean reunion) has to be replaced by Plan B (appearances culminating in the "Great Commission"). In the Shorter Ending in its earliest form, the women's silence is eliminated: "They said nothing to anyone" is replaced by "everything that they had been commanded they announced briefly to those who were with Peter". It is not said where the commission to preach from east to west was issued, but Galilee may be envisaged. Either way, it seemed essential to later editors to correct the disastrous impression left by the original ending that no reunion, commission, or mission could have taken place. In *GMark* as it left the hands of the earliest evangelist, the means by which the gospel was communicated to the world remain shrouded in mystery. Whatever Mark had in mind in ending his gospel as he did, he seems uninterested in any apostolic mission mandated by the risen Lord. In this he is unique among the canonical evangelists, and the evidence of *GMatt* and the Longer and Shorter Endings indicates that this lack was a serious problem for some early readers.

The problem is compounded by Mark's ambiguous attitude towards the Twelve elsewhere in this gospel. On the one hand, they are the privileged recipients of revealed truth: "To you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God" (*GMark* 4,11). On the other hand, their failure to understand a parabolic utterance about "leaven" leads Jesus to rebuke them in the strongest terms:

Do you still not understand or perceive? Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes do you see not, and having ears do you hear not? And do you not remember...? (*GMark* 8,17b-18).

The rebuke leads into an interrogation strangely focused on the quantities of leftover food after the two feeding miracles. Although the disciples give the right answers (twelve basketsful in one case, seven in the other), the dialogue ends on a note of extreme dissonance: "Do you still not understand?" (8,19-21). The harshness of the rebuke seems disproportionate to its occasion and suggests an evangelist with a specific interest in having Jesus disparage his own disciples¹⁶. This is confirmed when Peter's confession, "You are the Christ" is followed shortly afterwards by a furious denunciation – "Get behind me, Satan!" – when the same Peter expresses understandable dismay at Jesus' announcement of his sufferings

16. With the exception of the saying about the leaven in 8,15, 8,14-21 appears to be the evangelist's own composition: so MARCUS, *Mark* (n. 12), vol. 1, p. 509. Like other commentators, however, Marcus seeks to minimise the negativity of this passage (vol. 1, pp. 511-512).

(8,29-33)¹⁷. The question is whether the Markan indifference to apostleship and disparagement of apostles has any analogies within the broader field of early gospel literature. Was the ongoing post-Easter role of the apostles everywhere regarded as the crucial link between the time of Jesus and the time of later Christian communities?

In general it is the Matthean view that predominates. According to *I Clement*, the orderly existence of the church is dependent on its apostolic foundation, itself grounded in Jesus Christ and in God:

The apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus the Christ was sent from God. So Christ is from God and the apostles from Christ, so that both were in conformity with the will of God. After receiving their instructions and becoming fully convinced through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and trusting in the word of God, they went out in full assurance of the Holy Spirit, proclaiming the coming of the kingdom of God. Preaching in one district or city after another, they appointed their first converts as bishops and deacons for those who were to believe, testing them by the Spirit (*I Clem* 42,1-4).

An important addition to this picture occurs when *writing* is incorporated into the apostolic vocation. In the *Epistula Apostolorum*, the entire apostolic collective writes “to the churches of the east and the west, to those in the north and the south” about “what we have heard and remembered” (*EpAp* 2,2; 1,4). A further apostolic role is countering heresy. This epistolary gospel has been written “because of Simon and Cerinthus the false apostles..., so that no-one should associate with them, for there is in them a poison by which they kill people” (1,2)¹⁸.

17. Older scholarship saw a historical reminiscence here, based on the recollections of Peter: “Only original testimony can account for the story” (V. TAYLOR, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, Macmillan, 1952, p. 379). In contrast, T.J. WEEDEN argues for a Mark hostile to the Twelve and traces “an evolution in the disciples’ relationship to Jesus from imperceptivity (1:16–8:26) to misconception (8:27–14:9) to rejection (14:10–72)”; *The Heresy that Necessitated Mark’s Gospel*, repr. in W. TELFORD (ed.), *The Interpretation of Mark*, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress; London, SPCK, 1985, 64–77, p. 66. Weeden worked out this view at length in his *Mark: Traditions in Conflict*, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1971. Weeden’s emphasis on the negative Markan view of the disciples still has merit even though his explanation for it – that Mark presents them as embodying a false “divine man” Christology prevalent in his own community – has been rightly criticised.

18. Verse enumeration is taken from J.V. HILLS, *The Epistle of the Apostles*, Santa Rosa, CA, Polebridge, 2009, adopted with minor changes in my own forthcoming translation and monograph. For “poison” (*ḥamz*) most mss read “deceit” (*ḥabl*).

This extension of apostolic preaching into apostolic writing is also evident in Justin. Like the authors of *1 Clement* and *EpAp*, Justin is familiar with the “Matthean” tradition of a universal apostolic mission:

From Jerusalem there went out into the world men twelve in number, and these uneducated and lacking the ability to speak. Yet by the power of God they preached to people of every race, as they were sent by Christ to teach all people the word of God (*1 Apol.* 39,2).

According to Justin, this apostolic mission is the fulfilment of scripture. Through Isaiah the prophetic Spirit had announced that “out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem”¹⁹; through David, that “their sound has gone out into all the earth and their words to the ends of the world”²⁰. That apostolic sound is signified by the twelve bells attached to the high priest’s robes, corresponding to the twelve apostles who depend on the power of Christ, the eternal priest²¹. That the bells are twelve in number is not stated in the scriptural passages; Justin may have obtained this information from the *Protevan-gelium of James*, where the high priest Zechariah takes the “twelve-bell [garment]” (τὸν ἰβ’ κώδωνα) into the holy of holies when he prays for divine guidance about Mary’s future care (*Prot. Jas* 8,3)²². For Justin the apostles’ words sound forth to the ends of the world not only through their speech but also in their writing. The texts more commonly known as “gospels” are “memoirs of the apostles”²³. Apostolic speech continues to sound forth as these memoirs or gospels are read at the eucharist every Sunday²⁴. Justin’s terminology implies that these memoirs (ἀπομνημονεύματα) represent the collective apostolic testimony.

The assumption that apostolic writing is an extension of apostolic preaching is maintained by Irenaeus, even as he adopts the Papias tradition of individual authorship and extends it beyond Matthew and Mark to Luke and John. Papias (who does not use the word “gospel”) attributes one version of the Lord’s words and deeds to the apostle Matthew and another to Mark and indirectly to Peter, whose preaching Mark recorded²⁵. In Irenaeus’ hands, this format is reduplicated: a third version is attributed to Luke and indirectly to the preaching of Paul, a fourth to the apostle

19. *Isa* 2,3, cited *1 Apol.* 39,2.

20. *Ps* 18,5; *Dial.* 42,2.

21. Justin, *Dial.* 42,1; cf. *Exod* 28,33-34 + 39,25-26.

22. In *Prot. Jas* 8,3 the twelve bells represent the twelve tribes (cf. 1,1, where the story of Joachim is said to be recorded ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν ἰβ’ φυλῶν).

23. Justin, *1 Apol.* 66,3; *Dial.* 100,4; 101,3; 102,5; 104,1, etc.

24. Justin, *1 Apol.* 67,3.

25. Cited in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,39,14-16.

John²⁶. According to Irenaeus, Matthew was writing the gospel (γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου) while Peter and Paul were still preaching it (εὐαγγελιζομένων)²⁷. Preaching and writing the gospel are two parallel activities, and Mark and Luke demonstrate that the one can straightforwardly be converted into the other. Often overlooked is the fact that for Irenaeus these individual figures – Matthew, Mark/Peter, Luke/Paul, John – represent the wider apostolic mission. Just as all the apostles preached, so they all write in and through the named individuals:

For we have learnt the plan of our salvation from none other than those through whom the gospel came to us, which they first preached and afterwards handed on to us in writings that were to be the foundation and pillar of our faith (*Adv. haer.* 3,1,1).

For Irenaeus the fourfold written gospel is the exact counterpart of the apostolic preaching. To claim as heretics do that the apostles had not entered into a full knowledge of the truth, and that their teaching therefore requires correction or clarification, is to set one's own authority above that of the Father and the Son: for, as Jesus said to the apostles, "The one who hears you hears me, and the one who despises you despises me and the One who sent me" (*Adv. haer.* 3, preface, citing *GLuke* 10,16). Hearing the apostles means hearing the written apostolic gospel. It is intolerable for heretics to claim "that they are wiser than the apostles and have found the pure truth" (*Adv. haer.* 3,1,2). It is the apostles who have communicated the pure truth to us, initially in their preaching and then in the writing that encapsulates their preaching within the four apostolic texts.

II. RESISTING APOSTLESHIP

Within the fourfold gospel, the Markan disparagement of the apostles and indifference to their mission is barely perceptible. Distinctive features of the Markan voice may all too easily be drowned out by its nearest literary neighbours, especially when reinforced by *Acts*. Yet, as Irenaeus acknowledges, a negative attitude towards the apostles remains a possibility for people who still regard themselves as Christian. As Mark shows,

26. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3,1,1. For Irenaeus' adaptation here of Papias, see WATSON, *Gospel Writing* (n. 1), pp. 457-468. Contrast Martin HENGEL's claim that Irenaeus is "relatively independent" of Papias and that his information about gospel origins "presumably ... comes from the Roman church archive" (*The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ*, London, SCM, 2000, p. 36).

27. Irenaeus' Greek is preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5,8,2-4.

one can be utterly loyal to Jesus while finding fault with his disciples. One later text that develops this possibility in its own way is the *Apocryphon of James*, from Nag Hammadi Codex I, otherwise known as the *Apocryphal Letter of James*²⁸. The titles are modern, but there is good evidence for them in spite of the lacuna at the start of this text. Its author is James, as the last line of the first page makes clear²⁹. Further up the page we see that James describes his work as an “Apocryphon”, a secret text intended for limited circulation among a spiritual elite, and we learn that the revelation it contains was granted not only to James but also to Peter³⁰. The second singular address throughout what remains of the first page makes it clear that this is also a letter, so the first word of line 1 will have been “Iakobos”, James, and the second “writes”, or “the one who writes”, the usual formula at the opening of a Coptic letter even when translated from Greek³¹. This James refers to himself as one of the twelve disciples (1,24-25), but his association with Jerusalem and the practice of prayer suggests that he is modelled on James the Lord’s brother rather than James the son of Zebedee (16,8-11). As we shall see, this text makes reference to an earlier apocryphon, probably to be identified as the *First Apocalypse of James* where Jesus addresses James as “my brother”³². The James of the later apocryphon conflates James of Jerusalem with James the son of Zebedee, but he is primarily the former³³. This is confirmed by his authority over the other disciples (16,5-8; cf. *Gal* 2,9.12).

28. Coptic text in H.W. ATTRIDGE (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex): Introductions, Texts, Translations, Indices* (NHS, 22), Leiden, Brill, 1985, pp. 28-53 (F.E. WILLIAMS); ROULEAU, *L'Épître Apocryphe de Jacques* (n. 6), pp. 32-91; D. KIRCHNER (ed.), *Epistula Jacobi Apocrypha: Die zweite Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex I* (TU, 136), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1989, pp. 8-34; M. MALININE et al. (eds.), *Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha*, Zürich – Stuttgart, Rascher Verlag, 1968; J.M. ROBINSON (ed.), *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex I*, Leiden, Brill, 1977. The work of Attridge, Kirchner, Malinine, Rouleau, and Williams will be referred to by surname only.

29. “...as revealed to me, James [ⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ]” (1,35-36).

30. “...an apocryphon revealed to me and to Peter by the Lord” (1,10-12; cf. 1,30-31, “another apocryphon”).

31. Thus at Jas 1,1 the Sahidic Coptic renders Ἰάκωβος ... ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ as ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ... ⲉϣⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟϥ ⲙⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ (“James ... writes to the twelve tribes in the diaspora”). In *ApocrJas* 1,1, the text probably read “James writes ... who writes” ([ⲛ]ⲉⲧ[ⲥⲁ]ⲉⲓ). See KIRCHNER, p. 56.

32. NHC V 24,13-16; Codex Tchacos 10,2-5. The two versions of this text are set out in parallel in J. BRANKAER – H.-G. BETHGE (eds.), *Codex Tchacos: Texte und Analysen* (TU, 161), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2007, pp. 88-129.

33. So J. HARTENSTEIN – U.-K. PLISCH, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*. 1. Band: *NHC I,1-V,1*, ed. H.-M. SCHENKE et al. (GCS NF, 8), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2001, p. 13 (henceforth HARTENSTEIN – PLISCH).

So, “Iakobos writes...”, but to whom³⁴? The last letter on page 1 line 1 probably preceded the definite article followed by an epithet characterising the addressee (thus, $\overline{\mu}/[\pi\dots]$). And the $-\theta\omicron\varsigma$ near the end of line 2 is probably the final syllable of the addressee’s name, from which we learn that he was male. Can we identify him?

Cerinthus or Kerinthos is an attractive option³⁵. Like Simon Magus, Cerinthus was believed to have been a contemporary of the apostles. Thus the apostle John rushes out of a bath-house because Cerinthus’ presence might make it structurally unstable, according to a story Irenaeus says he heard from Polycarp³⁶. Caius of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria claim that Cerinthus was the true author of the Revelation misattributed to John, and that he awaited the arrival of a messianic kingdom in Jerusalem in which the resurrected saints would enjoy a thousand years of uninterrupted carnal pleasures³⁷. In the *Epistula Apostolorum*, as we have seen, the apostles write to all churches everywhere to counter the false teaching that Cerinthus and Simon are spreading throughout the world, though we are not told what that is³⁸. Epiphanius makes Cerinthus personally responsible for the judaising opposition attested in Paul’s letters and in *Acts*³⁹, although he is aware that this conflicts with potentially reliable information about an anti-Jewish Cerinthus in Irenaeus⁴⁰.

If Cerinthus as James’ addressee is to be made plausible and even probable, we need to know how many letters can be accommodated in the gap in line 2 between the left-hand margin and the $-\theta\omicron\varsigma$ with which the extant text resumes. In the first intact lines, lines 7-11, line 7 has ten letters in the relevant space, lines 8-11 nine each⁴¹. If we have nine letters available for the line 2 gap, and if the last five of them are the $\kappa\eta\rho\iota\nu-$ of $\kappa\eta\rho\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$, that leaves us with four for the definite article and the introductory epithet. $\pi\varsigma\omicron\nu$, “the brother” would fit well⁴²: “James

34. The author’s name may have been spelled as $\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (1,35; 2,34) or $\iota\alpha\kappa\kappa\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (8,32; 14,1).

35. So MALININE, p. 35 (citing Βοηθός or Ζηθός as alternatives); KIRCHNER, pp. 56-64; ROULEAU is unconvinced (pp. 93-94). Standard English translations leave the lacuna unfilled, but HARTENSTEIN – PLISCH render the opening as: “[Jakobus ist es], der [an den Schüler Kerinth schreibt]”, where “den Schüler” represents $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$, “the son” (NHD 1, p. 18).

36. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3,3,4.

37. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,28,1-5.

38. *EpAp* 1,1; 7,1.

39. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 28,2,3-4,6.

40. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 28,2,1-2; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,26,1.

41. My calculations are based on the *Facsimile Edition* (n. 22, above).

42. So H.-M. SCHENKE, *Der Jakobusbrief aus dem Codex Jung*, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 66 (1971) 117-130.

writes to the brother Cerinthus: Peace to you from Peace, Love from Love, Grace from Grace...”, and so on. But a more reliable calculation is available. The symmetrical structure of this opening greeting means that the incomplete lines 3-6 can be rather securely reconstructed, and here the number of Coptic letters between the left-hand margin and a point directly below the -ΘΟC in line 2 would have been 10-11-10-11. If the last five of ten or eleven missing letters are the ΚΗΡΙΝ- of ΚΗΡΙΝΘΟC, that gives us five or six letters prior to the hypothetical ΚΗΡΙΝΘΟC, rather than the four of ΠCΟΝ, “the brother”.

One possibility is ΠΜΕΡΙΤ, “the beloved”, a common epithet in early Christian letter-openings: “James writes to the beloved Cerinthus”⁴³. An alternative and perhaps preferable option would be “my son Cerinthus” (ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΚΗΡΙΝΘΟC), which would correspond to “my son Rheginus” (ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΡΗΓΙΝΟC) at the opening of the *Treatise on the Resurrection*, also in Nag Hammadi Codex I. In *ApocrJas* as in *TrRes*, the text responds to a request from the addressee, casting the author in the role of a paternal authority figure:

When you requested that I send you an Apocryphon revealed to myself [an]d Peter by the Lord, I could neither refuse you nor speak with you in person. So [I have writt]en it in Hebrew and sent it to you... (*ApocrJas* 1,8-17).

In this context, a term reflecting a relationship of dependence (“my son”) seems more probable than one implying a relationship of equals (“the beloved”, “my brother”, or “our brother”). Towards the end of this text, James and Peter inform their fellow-disciples that the revelation they have received is for the benefit of “sons who are to come after us” (15,38-39), which would include the addressee. The text closes by associating the author and the addressee with “those whom the Lord has made his sons” (16,28-30), perhaps alluding back to “my son” in the lost opening.

While the epithet preceding the name of James’ addressee cannot be certainly reconstructed, the sequence of definite article, epithet, and addressee’s name is relatively secure, and the most likely epithets would leave space for five or six letters at the start of the addressee’s name. Plausible Greek names consisting in five or six letters followed by ΘΟC are hard to come by, and Cerinthus/Kerinthos would be a perfect fit. “James to his son Cerinthus” is at least a strong possibility.

43. A potential difficulty is that, in Coptic as in Greek, the epithet “the beloved” in a letter opening tends to follow the addressee’s name rather than preceding it – as in Paul’s letter to Philemon (φιλήμονι τῷ ἀγαπητῷ...), the Elder’s Letter to Gaius (Γαῖῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ, 3 John 1), or Eusebius’ letter to Carpianus (Καρπιανῷ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ).

Why would the author of a gospel or gospel-like letter choose Cerinthus as its addressee, rehabilitating this notorious opponent of apostolic Christianity? The answer is that the author is himself an opponent of apostolic Christianity. It is true that he assigns this text to an apostolic figure, James, and traces it back to a revelation received also by Peter⁴⁴. Yet apostolic Christianity claims to derive from all eleven or twelve apostles collectively, and here this is explicitly ruled out. James takes the precaution of writing this apocryphon in Hebrew so as to keep its contents confidential, and the addressee is to withhold the book from the many just as the Saviour withheld the revelation it contains from the Twelve.

[I have writt]en it in Hebrew [ΜΜΝΤΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΙC] and I have sent it to you – to you indeed individually but in your role as a minister [ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ] of the salvation of the saints. Take care and see that you do not read to many a book that the Saviour [CΩΡ] did not will to communicate to all of us, his twelve disciples [ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ]. Blessed [ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ] shall they be who are to be saved by the faith [ΠΙCΤΙC] of this discourse [ΛΟΓΟΣ]! (*ApocrJas* 1,15-25)⁴⁵.

For the small elect community over which the addressee presides, this text will be the means of salvation. Evidently the same cannot be said of traditions and texts representing the Twelve as a whole:

And as the Twelve Disciples [ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ] were all sitting together, recalling what the Saviour [CΩΤΗΡ] had said to each of them, whether secretly or openly, and as they were preparing books, and I was writing the contents of [my book] – behold, the Saviour [CΩΡ] appeared, after he had gone from us and we awaited him, and (this was) five hundred and fifty days after he rose from the dead (*ApocrJas* 2,7-21)⁴⁶.

44. There is no evidence to suggest that, in contrast to James, “Peter’s questions consistently display misunderstanding” (P. PERKINS, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*, New York, Paulist, 1980, p. 148). James and Peter are both alike challenged and refuted in the course of the dialogue.

45. Other translations assume that the “but” (ΑΛΛΑ) begins a new sentence: “(I have) sent it to you, and you alone. But since you are a minister of the salvation of the saints, endeavor earnestly and take care not to rehearse this text to many...” (WILLIAMS, p. 29, followed closely by Marvin Meyer, in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The Revised and Updated Translations of Sacred Gnostic Texts*, ed. M. MEYER, New York, HarperCollins, 2009, p. 23; cf. MALININE, p. 3). It is not clear why the addressee’s role as “minister of the salvation of the saints” should be the basis for the appeal “not to rehearse this text to many”. It is preferable to connect ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩC to the preceding statement (so KIRCHNER, p. 9; ROULEAU, p. 33; HARTENSTEIN – PLISCH, p. 18), resulting in a ΜΕΝ ... ΑΛΛΑ formulation: ΝΕΚ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΑΕΕΤΚ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩC... (1,17-18). For the addressee as ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ, cf. *GLuke* 1,2; *Acts* 26,16; *1 Cor* 4,1 (KIRCHNER, p. 72n).

46. The reference to 550 days probably serves to date the occasion when “the Saviour appeared” (so KIRCHNER, pp. 11, 78; HARTENSTEIN – PLISCH, p. 19), rather than introducing the disciples’ first question: “And after five hundred and fifty days since he had risen from the dead, we said to him...” (WILLIAMS, p. 31; cf. MEYER, p. 24; MALININE, p. 5; ROULEAU, p. 37).

Several distinct traditions about gospel origins are conflated here. Gospel writing is presented as the responsibility of the apostolic group as a whole – as in the case of Justin’s memoirs of the apostolic collectivity. Superimposed on that early tradition is a later tradition of individual authorship: the disciples are “recalling what the Saviour said to each of them”. The many gospels in circulation by the time *ApocrJas* was written are supposed to derive from that original plurality. The individual apostolic authors include not only Matthew and John, authors of publicly available gospels, but also Thomas, who writes the “secret words” of Jesus and who thereby lays claim to superior spiritual insight accessible only to an elite readership. Pearls are not to be cast before swine. James designates his own work as an *Apocryphon* of this kind, and he takes the precaution of writing it in Hebrew so that it will remain impenetrable even if it falls into the wrong hands. Whether for general or restricted use, however, all of the apostles are busy writing their memoirs as the risen Jesus appears to them.

One might expect Jesus to be impressed by this zealous memorialising activity. Instead, he is contemptuous of it. James and Peter are taken aside to receive private instruction, while the other disciples are left to get on with their writing as if to keep them out of the way (2,33-39). The crucial passage at the top of page 3 is again unfortunately damaged, but enough remains to make Jesus’ low opinion of apostolic gospel writing clear. This can be demonstrated by italicising the reconstructed text so as to differentiate it from the extant text:

2,39 The Saviour
said, “You have received mercy
3,1 [*from the Father to receive my words*], whereas
[*the other disci*]ples have writt[en]
[*the contents of their*] books as
[... *Take heed*] to yourselves,
[*for ... have they la*]boured, and
3,5 [*l*]ik[*e the foolish*] they have [*not*] heard,
and [*l*]ike the deaf] they have not understood (*ApocrJas* 2,39–3,7)⁴⁷.

47. In 2,40–3,2, I have followed KIRCHNER’s reconstruction (p. 10, 85-86): 2,40–3,2 ἀπογνᾶε νητῆν’ [ῥμ πιωτ νχι ναωεχε] εἰωπε’ [πκεωωχιπ ῃμαθῆ]της ἀ[ῥ]ογρζε[ε]. “Disciples” is highly probable in view of the final syllable -της and the reference to their writing (cf. 2,7-16). “The rest of the disciples” is attested at 15,28-29, where they are again contrasted with James and Peter as recipients of revelation; cf. also πκεωωχιπ at 2,38, just four lines previously. At 3,3 I prefer [εἰ ῃναωεχε ῥν νεγ]χαμε (“the contents of their books”) to Kirchner’s [εἰ ῃναωεχε ῥν νεγ]χαμε (“my words in their books”), which is too long for the available space; for ῃνετῆν in precisely the same sense, cf. 2,16. “The other disciples have written the contents of their books as...” must have led to a negative characterisation in the lacuna at 3,4, and Kirchner’s ἀρηζ ἀρωτν is plausible as its sequel (cf. ῥαρεζ ερωτῆν = φυλάσσεσθε

While the reconstructions may only be approximations, the extant text clearly indicates a contrast between “you” (James and Peter) and the other disciples, who have written their books without understanding. The Markan denunciation of the disciples for their failure to see, hear, or understand is here extended to their literary activity (cf. *GMark* 8,17-21). Jesus delivers this devastating verdict in the past tense, even though the other disciples are supposedly writing as he speaks. In reality, this is the verdict of the author of the *Apocryphon* on all gospel books other than his own. They are the work of apostles, no doubt, but these apostles are incompetent and their books are not to be trusted. The author knows that his own work postdates many other gospels but turns this belatedness to his own advantage, seizing the opportunity to disparage his competitors. This belatedness is reflected within the text as the risen Jesus delivers his authentic message to James and Peter 550 days or around 18 months after his resurrection. This 18 month appearance tradition is also attested in Irenaeus and the *Ascension of Isaiah*⁴⁸, but here it has a specific function: Jesus’ definitive post-resurrection teaching is given at the latest possible moment and after a long delay. All other gospels are written in Jesus’ absence; the *Apocryphon* is unique as the representation of his risen presence. This text presents itself as the supreme and definitive work of gospel literature. Other texts stemming from other apostles should be discounted.

The author’s denial that other gospel literature is of any value extends to an earlier text attributed to James himself. Cerinthus – if he is the addressee – is already familiar with the earlier text, but he should now understand that it was intended for James alone whereas the new text is for the benefit of others, Cerinthus and his circle:

1,28 I
sent you ten
months ago another Apo-
cryphon revealed to me
by the Saviour. But
that one should be regarded
as revealed
to myself, James, whereas this one

at *GLuke* 12,15; ἀρεζ is attested at *ApocrJas* 1,21). At 3,6-7, the parallel verbs at the end of the lines ([ἸΠ]ΟΥCΩΤῢ, ΜΠΟΥῚΝΟΙ) must refer to “the other disciples” and make a third plural reference to them probable in the preceding line ([ΑΥῚΜΕ]ΛΕΤΗ). “Like” (×2) seems probable, presumably introducing an analogy between the disciples who “have not heard” or “have not understood” and certain classes of people. Kirchner’s ΝΝΑΘΗΤ (“the foolish”) and ΝΝΑΛ (“the deaf”) fit the available space well.

48. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,3,2; 1,30,14; *AscIs* 9,16.

2,1 [should be regarded as re-]
 vealed [for your sake and] those who are yours. So [take care]
 and foll[ow the word!]
 2,5 In this wa[y you will be sa-]
 ved, with [those who are yours], a[s]
 you rev[*veal* it] (*ApocrJas* 1,28–2,7)⁴⁹.

This earlier *Apocryphon* is no doubt the book that James says he was writing when the Saviour appeared (2,15–16). The reference may well be to another extant dialogue gospel, the *First Apocalypse of James*, which tells of the revelation James receives immediately prior to the Saviour's suffering and following his resurrection⁵⁰. In contrast to the *Apocryphon*, this text strongly emphasises the personal relationship between the Saviour and an often emotional James, and could plausibly be “regarded as revealed to myself, James”. For the author of the *Apocryphon*, the earlier apocryphon is a competitor which must be explicitly subordinated to the new text. Naturally, James does not say of his own earlier work that it reflects a failure to hear or understand, as in the case of the other gospels the apostles are writing when the Saviour appears. Yet the intended effect is the same: to ensure the exclusive and definitive status of the present *Apocryphon*.

This negative view of other apostolic gospels implies an equally negative view of apostolic mission more generally. As the text draws towards a close, the Saviour ascends and James and Peter ascend with him in the spirit – until they are brought down to earth by the other disciples, who question them about what Jesus said to them and where he has now gone. The two privileged disciples report that the Saviour spoke of “sons who are to come after us”, and that “we will be saved for their sake” (15,37–16,2). This subordination of apostles to a later Christian generation proves unpopular:

49. (1) 2,1–2: πείνι ν' αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀπαρ τῶν ἡμῶν ἀλλήλων ἐβητῆκε μὴ νῆτενοῦ[κ]. Underlined words correspond to 1,33–34, as suggested by the ΜΕΝ... ΔΕ construction and the repetition of “revealed”. The contrast here is between “to me, James” and “[.....] those who are yours”, as beneficiaries of the two revelations. [ἐβητῆκε], cf. ἐτβε νῆτμμεγ, 16,2.25–26 (= νῆτενοῦ[κ] here); ἐτβε τῆνε, 10,28; ἐβητῶν, 13,11. (Alternative reconstructions in WILLIAMS, p. 28n.) (2) 2,2: [ἐριπατοοτῆκε], as in 1,20–21 (so KIRCHNER, p. 8, 72). The conjunctive verb in 2,3 suggests a preceding imperative. (3) 2,4: [πιλογοῦ], as in 1,27. (4) 2,6–7: μ[ὴ νῆτενοῦκ ἡ] τῶ[ν] ἐκδοῦ[σιν] ἐκδοῦ[σιν]. The 2nd sing. verb at 2,7 (ἐκδοῦ[σιν]) requires a previous 2nd sing. verb at 2,5, e.g. [κῆλαξί μοι] ἔχει (cf. KIRCHNER, p. 8, 73). (5) [νῆτενοῦκ], as in 2,3.

50. For this identification of the “other apocryphon”, see J. HARTENSTEIN, *Die zweite Lehre: Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen als Rahmenerzählungen frühchristlicher Dialoge* (TU, 146), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2000, pp. 229–232, rightly highlighting references to earlier private instruction for James at *ApocrJas* 8,31–36, 13,38–14,1.

And when they heard, they believed the revelation but were angry about those who were to be born. Not wishing to cause them offence [ΔΥΜΝΤΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΣ] I sent each of them to another place. I myself went up to Jerusalem, praying that I might gain a share with the beloved who were to be revealed (16,2-11).

Here reference is made to the tradition of the disciples' worldwide dispersal. Yet it is James rather than Jesus who sends them, and he does so not so that they may preach the gospel to the world but to avoid quarrels arising from their perceived loss of status⁵¹. A Matthean-style Galilean setting may be presupposed here, for James "goes up" to Jerusalem rather than remaining there or returning there. If so, James' sending out of the disciples to their respective destinations is a parody of Matthew's "Great Commission"⁵². In this text apostolic activity is largely confined to the composition of inadequate gospels. The only true apostolic mission is the one that will be achieved by James' text, as the addressee communicates it to the few who are worthy to hear it.

III. THE CLAIM OF THE *GOSPEL APOCRYPHON*

The question this raises is why *ApocrJas* needs to assert its own superiority over all other gospels, and indeed to disparage them even though their apostolic status is acknowledged. On the conventional view that the Nag Hammadi literature is a "Gnostic library", the answer might seem straightforward: that the exclusiveness the text claims for itself reflects the exclusiveness of a Gnostic sect, followers of Cerinthus whose understanding of the Jesus tradition differs radically from that of the "Great Church" and its gospels. A problem for this account is that the teaching that Jesus imparts to James and Peter is relatively conventional and shows few if any of the features supposed to be characteristic of gnostic ideology. The Saviour exhorts James and Peter to be filled with the

51. As HARTENSTEIN notes, this passage entails, "vor dem Hintergrund des traditionellen Missions-Motives gelesen, eine herbe Kritik an diesem: Die Aussendung der Jünger zeichnet sie nicht aus, sondern soll Sünde verhindern; wenn sie predigen, können sie nur ihr eigenes Unverständnis weitergeben, denn die wichtigen Offenbarungen haben sie nicht erhalten bzw. nicht verstanden" (*ibid.*, pp. 240-241).

52. Other dialogue gospels relate positively to the Matthean motif of apostolic mission: cf. *EpAp* 29,7-30,5; *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, NHC III 119,14-16 (BG 127,5-9); *GMary*, BG 8,21-9,24, 18,18-19,2; *Epistle of Peter to Philip*, NHC VIII 132,16-133,1; 140,11-13 + 23-27 (cf. Codex Tchacos 1,5-9; 9,8-12). In *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, NHC III 90,18-91,1 (BG 77,15-17) the setting is explicitly the Matthean mountain (*GMatt* 28,16). In a Greek fragment of *GMary*, it appears to be only Levi (Mary's defender) who goes out to preach: [ταυ]τα ε[ι]πον ο Λευ[εις] μεν απελθων ηρχεν κη[ρυ]σσειν (P.Ryl. 463; text in TUCKETT, *The Gospel of Mary* [n. 6], pp. 114-118).

Spirit⁵³. He warns them that they will have to undergo suffering at the hands of Satan and his agents, as he himself has⁵⁴. There is no hint of docetism here: the two disciples are to “remember my cross and my death”, knowing that for “those who have believed in my cross, theirs is the kingdom of God”⁵⁵. The Saviour speaks of his descent from heaven⁵⁶. He refers to his earlier parables, mostly identifiable from the synoptic gospels⁵⁷, and the new parables he presents rework familiar themes of fruitfulness and sowing and reaping⁵⁸. He employs traditional phraseology: “Amen I say to you...”, “Blessed are those...” and “Woe to those...”, “the kingdom of heaven”, “the Son of man”, and so on⁵⁹. Although the Saviour’s discourses make frequent use of paradox and include a number of striking and unexpected formulations, this text cannot easily be accommodated within Irenaeus’ binary opposition between orthodoxy and heresy. It does not appear to have been written to promote an alternative Christian ideology over a “mainstream” one⁶⁰.

A more promising explanation for *ApocrJas*’ hostility to other gospel literature lies in its distinction between the Saviour’s secret and public teaching: each of the apostles is composing a gospel containing one or other type of material (2,7-15). James himself is writing a book (2,15-16), and this and its successor – the present work – both belong to the sub-genre of the secret gospel, the “apocryphon” (1,30). A work traced back

53. *ApocrJas* 4,18-22.

54. *ApocrJas* 4,31–5,20.

55. *ApocrJas* 5,33-35; 6,5-7.

56. *ApocrJas* 9,1-4: “I came down to dwell with you so that you yourselves might dwell with me”.

57. *ApocrJas* 8,4-10. Six parables are listed under the titles, “The Shepherds” (cf. *GMatt* 18,12-14 + par.; *GJohn* 10,1-16), “The Seed” (*GMatt* 13,3-9 + par.), “The Building” (cf. *GMatt* 7,24-27 + par.), “The Lamps of the Virgins” (*GMatt* 25,1-13), “The Wage of the Workmen” (*GMatt* 20,1-16), “The Didrachmae and the Woman” (*GLuke* 15,8-10).

58. *ApocrJas* 7,23-35 (“It [the kingdom of heaven] is like a date shoot...”); 8,16-27 (“The Word is like a grain of wheat...”); 12,22-30 (“The kingdom of heaven is like an ear of grain...”).

59. “Amen/Truly I say to you...” (*ApocrJas* 2,29; 6,2-3.14-15; 10,1.15-16; 12,9; 13,8-9; 14,14); “Blessed are those...”, or more usually “Blessed will they be...” (1,26; 3,19.30-31; 10,34; 11,14; 12,38.40-41; 13,12; 14,37), and “Woe to those/to you...” (3,17.27; 11,11.13.28; 12,39; 13,9); “the kingdom of heaven” (2,31; 6,6-7; 7,23; 8,25; 9,35; 12,15.22-23; 13,18.29-30.35-36), “the Son of man” (3,14.17-18). For a form-critical analysis of traditional elements this text, see R. CAMERON, *Sayings Traditions in the Apocryphon of James*, Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1984; also H. KOESTER, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development*, Philadelphia, PA, Trinity Press International; London, SCM, 1990, pp. 187-200.

60. There is no need to suppose that *ApocrJas* is concealing its “Gnostic” commitments for tactical reasons, as Judith HARTENSTEIN suggests (*Die zweite Lehre* [n. 50], p. 219).

to a revered figure of the past may represent itself as “secret” in order to function as direct address from the pseudonymous author to a later generation of readers. This is the case with the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,2; IV,2)⁶¹, composed by Seth and concealed in order to come to light in the last days for the benefit of the elect:

This is the book that the great Seth wrote and placed it on high mountains on which the sun has not risen, nor can it do so. And from the days of the prophets and apostles and preachers the name has never at all risen in their hearts, nor can it do so; and their ear has not heard it (NHC III 68,1-9 [IV 80,15-25])⁶².

More directly relevant are the Saviour’s elaborate instructions for the transmission of the revelations contained in *I ApocJas*, which James must conceal for many years until his death is imminent. At that point he is to communicate the revelations to Addaios, who after ten years “will dare to sit down and write them” before handing them on to Manael, from whom “shall come a holy seed worthy to inherit what I have said”⁶³. Manael’s son Levi marries a woman of Jerusalem and begets two sons whom the text does not name, and it is the younger of them who is to be the holy seed promised to Manael and who makes the revelation to James public after meditating on it for seventeen years: thus, “many will be saved through him and he will establish this discourse as a decree in many regions”⁶⁴. This secret transmission through five generations – James, Addaios, Manael, Levi and his son – occurs against the chronological backdrop of three occasions when the land of Israel is at war⁶⁵. It seems that *I ApocJas* claims to have come to light at the time of the Bar-Kokhba revolt.

61. The title ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ (NHC III 69,6) should be translated “Gospel of the Egyptians” rather than “Egyptian Gospel”, in spite of the lack of the additional Ν to mark the genitive relationship (noted by A. BÖHLIG – F. WISSE, *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Invisible Spirit)* [NHS, 4], Leiden, Brill, 1975, p. 18). Böhlrig and Wisse wrongly claim that “ΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ is the usual adjective of ΚΗΜΕ”, citing Crum’s dictionary (110a), where “Egyptian” = Ἀγύπτιος is a substantive not an adjective, as the examples cited show. Cf. *I ApocJas* 24,16-17 (Codex Tchacos), ΟΥΓΖΙΜΕ ΝΡΜΘΙΛΗΜ, “a woman of the Jerusalemites”. The title “Gospel of the Egyptians” is broadly in line with the opening self-description of this work as “The holy book of the [Egyptians] about the great invisible Spirit, the Father whose name cannot be uttered...” (cf. *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2*, pp. 52-53).

62. A second conclusion to this work makes the same point at greater length (NHC III 68,10–69,5 [NHC IV 80,26–81,2]). The mountains must exceed the height of the sun to protect Seth’s book from the flood, and the resulting darkness symbolises the book’s hiddenness even from prophets and apostles.

63. *I ApocJas* 23,10–24,7 (Codex Tchacos).

64. *I ApocJas* 24,7–25,8.

65. *I ApocJas* 23,15-19; 24,10-11; 25,1-2.

No such complex transmission process is envisaged in *ApocrJas*, communicated by James to [Cerin] thus so that he can serve as “a minister of the salvation of the saints” (1,16-20). Yet this James apocryphon shares with its predecessor a concern to ensure a direct channel of communication between Jesus and a later generation of readers, the “children who are to come after us” (15,38-39; cf. 16,5). For readers of these texts, publicly available works such as *GMatt* have long circulated promiscuously, whereas the hidden revelations that Jesus disclosed through James were always intended exclusively for them. In the motif of the other disciples’ annoyance at this bypassing of their own foundational role we catch an echo of proto-orthodox polemic against “heresy”, normally defined by way of the false beliefs ascribed to it. In the case of *ApocrJas*, however, proto-orthodox “offence” is associated not so much with the contents of the revelation as with its irregular transmission. From the standpoint of its intended readers, this apocryphon promises direct and unmediated access to the life-giving words of the Saviour.

The credibility of an apocryphon rests on the general epistemological assumption that truth or reality is concealed behind appearance and is accessible only to the few who possess the appropriate spiritual or intellectual qualities. This schema may be applied to a single canonical text, as when interpreters such as Philo or Origen engage in a quest for higher truths concealed behind a text’s generally accessible literal sense. Alternatively, the appearance/reality schema may be used to differentiate between texts. In *4 Ezra* 14, Ezra is instructed to assemble a team of five scribes whose task is to rewrite the scriptures that have perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. With divine assistance, ninety-four books are written in forty days, and Ezra is instructed to

[m]ake public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and the unworthy read them, but withhold the seventy that were written last, so as to give them to the wise among your people. For in them is the spirit of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the river of knowledge (*4 Ezra* 14,45-47)⁶⁶.

A similar distinction is in view when James instructs his addressee to “[t]ake care and see that you do not read to many a book that the Saviour did not will to communicate to all of us, his twelve disciples” (*ApocrJas* 1,20-25). By definition, the apocryphon exists on a higher plane than the

66. On the theme of secret revelation in *4 Ezra*, see M.E. STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 1990, pp. 70-71 (on 3,14), 418-419 (on 14,5-6), and 441-442 (on 14,44-47).

publicly accessible text of canonical scripture. If the apostles as a group are associated with gospels intended for general use, then a single apocryphon will be of greater value than all their collective efforts. It is true that the gospels the Twelve are writing when the Saviour appears may themselves focus on his secret as well as public teaching. Their books record their memories of “what the Saviour had said to each of them, whether secretly or openly” (2,11-14). Yet a single verdict is passed on the authors of all of these books, whether secret or public: “[T]hey have not understood” (3,7). This gospel apocryphon concedes no space to any of its competitors. The possibility that the Saviour bestowed secret revelation on a number of disciples – not only James and Peter but also Thomas, Judas, or Mary – is excluded, for the gospel apocryphon requires a contrast between the single privileged disciple (or pair of disciples) and the apostolic collective.

For early Christian authors such as Matthew, Luke, Clement of Rome, Justin, and Irenaeus, the church’s apostolic foundation was a reality to be celebrated. Sent out by the risen Lord and empowered by the Holy Spirit, the apostles went into all the world to found communities in which their collective teaching would be preserved and passed on from one generation to another. Yet apostleship is an ambivalent concept. On the one hand, the apostles mediate the Lord’s saving message to the world. They are the indispensable link between Jesus and his church. On the other hand, their mediating role can be perceived as oppressive, preventing direct access to the living Lord. In that case, the significance of their own experience of Jesus will be relativised. What matters is not so much how they experienced him then but how “we” experience him now, for the object of all such experience is alive and present and cannot be confined to an ever-receding past.

The ambivalence of apostleship comes to expression in the words of the Johannine Jesus to Thomas: “Because you have seen do you believe? Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe” (*GJohn* 20,29). In its narrative context, Thomas’ failure is his disbelief in the testimony of the other disciples that “[w]e have seen the Lord” (20,25). Thomas wished to see and experience for himself, without mediation. Yet the contrast between those who have seen and those who have not seen can be taken quite differently, as elevating the status of later believers over the apostolic eyewitnesses. In a typically paradoxical reversal, the Jesus of *me* speaks initially of the disciples’ privileged relationship with him but proceeds to pronounce a woe on those who have seen and a blessing on those who have neither seen nor heard:

From now on, waking and sleeping, remember that you have seen the Son of man, and that it is he who spoke with you and him whom you have heard. Woe to you who have seen the So[n of m]an! Blessed are those who have not seen the Man and who have not associated with him, and have not spoken with him, and have heard nothing from him! Yours is life!... (*ApocrJas* 3,11-25).

The blessed are those who do not depend on the testimony of others, even and especially if those others are eyewitnesses and apostles. While the presence of James and Peter within this text acknowledges that apostles cannot be entirely dispensed with, the author's strategy is to undermine the claims of all other apostolic texts, and to identity his own belated text with the voice of the Saviour as he issues his definitive final instructions before departing.

Durham University
Department of Theology and Religion
Abbey House
Palace Green
Durham, DH1 3RS
UK
francis.watson@durham.ac.uk

Francis WATSON

CAN WE DATE THE *APOCRYPHON OF JOHN*?

During our student years, we once heard: “When you don’t know how to date a text, it must be from 140” (AD). If we well remember, it was in a debate around the different hypotheses trying to understand sources and redaction of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Fortunately, the actual research about this apocryphal gospel can be today a little more precise. But what about the *Apocryphon of John*? Are we raising this question about the four Coptic versions of this text (three from the Nag Hammadi Codices II, III and IV, and one from the Berlin Gnostic Codex)? Or, do we presuppose one or several Greek versions behind the Coptic versions? In this essay we do not intent to give a summary of the research on the *Apocryphon of John* (from now on *ApocrJn*); it was well done by Anti Marjanen in a Québec colloquium in 2015¹. As you know, all the commentaries of this very important tractate depend on a possible context assigned by the research. We therefore would like first to point out some working hypotheses on this tractate. Secondly, we intend to examine some questions which still need to be solved, before arriving at some conclusions.

There is a general consensus to divide the four Coptic versions into two groups: a short recension (SR: with the Berlin Codex, BG, and the version of Nag Hammadi Codex III), and a long recension (LR: with the versions of Nag Hammadi Codices II and IV). This division mainly stands on the fact that the LR has a final hymn about the three descents of Pronoia and a lengthy development on the parts of the bodies related to esoteric names of angels. Bernard Barc and Louis Painchaud wrote pages about the literary consequences of the introduction of the final hymn into the rest of the LR of this *apocryphon*². It implies that the LR is meant to be a later rewriting of the SR, in spite of the argument of Michel Tardieu who thought of the opposite, mainly because of his

1. A. MARJANEN, *The Apocryphon of John, Its Versions, and Irenaeus: What Have We Learned over 70 years?*, in E. CRÉGHEUR – L. PAINCHAUD – T. RASIMUS (eds.), *Nag Hammadi à 70 ans: Qu'avons nous appris? / Nag Hammadi at 70: What Have We Learned? Colloque international, Québec, Université Laval, 29-31 mai 2015* (BCNH.É, 10), Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2019, 237-249.

2. B. BARC – L. PAINCHAUD, *La réécriture de l'Apocryphon de Jean à la lumière de l'hymne final de la version longue*, in *Le Muséon* 112 (1999) 317-333.

understanding of a variant reading between Codex II and IV on one side, and BG and Codex III on the other³. In Codex II, 30,11-13 (= IV, 46,23-27), the perfect Providence is said to have “changed herself into her seed” while in Codex III, 39,11-13 (= BG 75,10-13), the blessed Mother-Father “is taking form in her seed”⁴. Michel Tardieu thought that the correct reading of the LR was coming from a Greek form of μετέβαλον εἰς or ἐν while the SR changed later the reading by metathesis into μετέλαβον. We don’t know of anyone who refuted his argument, but such a metathesis can happen at the stage of the translation of Greek into Coptic, as Michael Williams gave several examples⁵. So, there is no need to presuppose in that case that the SR corrected the LR in the course of its transmission. In any case, a detailed study of these variants has been encouraged by the publication of the synoptical tool of Waldstein and Wisse. Beside B. Barc and L. Painchaud, Michael Waldstein and Karen King have produced several pages on this subject⁶. But there is still an open domain of study, and we agree with Hugo Lundhaug on this point⁷.

For this essay we will deal mostly on the SR, using the version of the Berlin Codex which we take for a Coptic translation of a Greek original. In the first point, we will briefly sketch several working hypotheses to illustrate the complexity of the *ApocrJn*.

3. M. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques: Codex de Berlin* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 1), Paris, Cerf, 1984, p. 340.

4. References to translations of the *ApocrJn* are taken from M. WALDSTEIN – F. WISSE (eds.), *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi codices II, 1; III, 1 and IV, 1 with BG 8502, 2* (NHMS, 33), Leiden, Brill, 1995.

5. M.A. WILLIAMS, *Response to the Papers of Karen King, Frederik Wisse, Michael Waldstein and Sergio La Porta*, in J.D. TURNER – A.M. MCGUIRE (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (NHMS, 44), Leiden, Brill, 1997, 208-220, pp. 214-215, after F. WISSE, *After the Synopsis: Prospects and Problems in Establishing a Critical Text of the Apocryphon of John and in Defining Its Historical Location*, *ibid.*, 138-153, p. 148.

6. M. WALDSTEIN, *The Primal Triad in the Apocryphon of John*, in TURNER – MCGUIRE (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years* (n. 5), 154-187; K.L. KING, *Approaching Variants of the Apocryphon of John*, *ibid.*, 105-137 and EAD., *The Secret Revelation of John*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 244-257.

7. H. LUNDHAUG, *An Illusion of Textual Stability: Textual Fluidity, New Philology, and the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in L.I. LIED – H. LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (TU, 175), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2017, 20-54.

I. WORKING HYPOTHESES

(1) In recent years, the **monastic** understanding of the Nag Hammadi Coptic codices has been developed by Hugo Lundhaug and his colleagues⁸, encouraged for years by former works of Elaine Pagels⁹, Karen King¹⁰, Frederik Wisse¹¹ and James Goehring¹², just to name a few. Among these kinds of studies, there is a recent article of Christian H. Bull which deals with the *ApocrJn*: its subtitle runs as follows: “The Myth of the Watchers in the Apocryphon of John and Its Monastic Manuscript Context”¹³. Even if Christian Bull is not the first author to write on this myth in the *ApocrJn*¹⁴, he intends to be more interested in the Coptic manuscript context of the *ApocrJn* than in the hypothetical Greek original of this work that “has been conjectured to have been written in Alexandria in the second century”¹⁵. He spends some time recalling traces of the myth of the watchers in Late Antique Egypt, before analysing the special features of the *ApocrJn*, and the differences between the SR and the LR. He ends up in showing how relevant the myth of watchers could be for Egyptian monasticism. In the last congress of the International Association of Coptic Studies in Claremont (2016), we have already dealt with this kind of approach. These studies help us look at the posterity of Gnostic texts in the history of Egyptian monasticism or in the fourth century

8. H. LUNDHAUG – L. JENOTT, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (STAC, 97), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015; ID. (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (STAC, 110), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2018.

9. L. JENOTT – E.H. PAGELS, *Antony's Letters and Nag Hammadi Codex I: Sources of Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt*, in *J ECS* 18 (2010) 557-589.

10. KING, *The Secret Revelation of John* (n. 6), pp. 20-21 and 257.

11. F. WISSE, *Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt*, in B. ALAND (ed.), *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 431-440; ID., *Flee Femininity: Antifemininity in Gnostic Texts and the Question of Social Milieu*, in K.L. KING (ed.), *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity), Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1988, 297-307, pp. 306-307; ID., *After the Synopsis* (n. 5), pp. 147-148.

12. J. GOEHRING, *The Provenance of the Nag Hammadi Codices Once More*, in M.F. WILES – E.Y. YARNOLD (eds.), *Studia Patristica 35: Ascetica, Gnostica, Liturgica, Orientalia. International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1999*, Leuven, Peeters, 2001, 234-253; ID., *An Early Roman Bowl from the Monastery of Pachomius at Phbow and the Milieu of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in L. PAINCHAUD – P.-H. POIRIER (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (BCNH.É, 7), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006, 357-371.

13. C.H. BULL, *Women, Angels and Dangerous Knowledge: The Myth of the Watchers in the Apocryphon of John and Its Monastic Manuscript Context*, in U. TERVAHAUTA – I. MIROSHNIKOV – O. LEHTIPUU – I. DUNDERBERG (eds.), *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity* (VigChrSup, 144), Leiden, Brill, 2017, 75-107.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 86, n. 47 (cf. G. Stroumsa; M. Scopello; B. Pearson; C. Losekam).

15. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

theological debates¹⁶. In this context, Michel Tardieu noticed more than thirty years ago the trace of a debate between Eunomians and Gnostics in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*¹⁷.

(2) A second approach to the *ApocrIn* has been developed along with the **Sethian hypothesis**. Since the first proposals of Hans-Martin Schenke in 1971¹⁸, we owe to the very productive works of John D. Turner¹⁹ that a kind of consensus has been established to treat the *ApocrIn* as a special representative of the so-called Sethian gnosis. H.-M. Schenke was certainly right in suggesting the Gnostic tractates with the four luminaries are coming from a tradition which is not represented by the Valentinian gnosis. But the systematisation of the Gnostic Sethians forming a group of fourteen tractates, with a series of common themes²⁰ cannot be considered as coming from a single group of Gnostics. There is too much diversity in these fourteen tractates, especially as there is no consensus about the so-called Christian secondary interpolations in these tractates, nor is there a precise Jewish milieu (sacerdotal and Baptist) which may have produced such a gnosis. Lastly, we see a real difficulty in the proposed reconstruction of the hypothetical history of the Sethian movement²¹.

Despite some weaknesses of this hypothesis, the real adventure coming from these studies deserves a renewed attention to the philosophical background of second and third centuries Gnostics. To say it in short: everyone knows that Plotinus considerably debated with the Gnostics in

16. A. CAMPLANI, *Sulla trasmissione di testi gnostici in copto*, in ID. (ed.), *L'Egitto cristiano, Aspetti e problemi i età tardo-antica* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 56), Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1997, 121-175, insisted on the period of transmission of Greek texts into Coptic.

17. M. TARDIEU, *Une diatribe antignostique dans l'interpolation eunomienne des Recognitiones*, in J. POUILLOUX et al. (eds.), *Alexandrina: Hellénisme, judaïsme et christianisme à Alexandrie. Mélanges offerts à Claude Montdesert*, Paris, Cerf, 1987, 325-337, referred to *Recogn.* III, 2-11.

18. Published in H.-M. SCHENKE, *Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften*, in P. NAGEL (ed.), *Studia Coptica* (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 45), Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1974, 165-173.

19. J.D. TURNER, *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition* (BCNH.É, 6), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001, who does not seem to know about C. SCHMIDT's study on the *ApocrIn* of the Berlin Codex as a source of Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,29 (*Irenäus und seine Quelle in Adv. haer. I, 29*, in A. HARNACK et al. [eds.], *Philotesia: Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag*, Berlin, Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1907, 315-336). C. Schmidt takes the *ApocrIn* for a Sethianic text, like S. GIVERSEN, *Apocryphon Johannis: The Coptic Text of the Apocryphon Johannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex II, with Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Acta Theologica Danica, 5), Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1963, p. 282 following him.

20. TURNER, *Sethian Gnosticism* (n. 19), pp. 63-64.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-301.

his school (*Tractate 33, Against the Gnostics*). This critical attitude of Plotinus can be observed in all his tractates, before and after the thirty-third *Tractate*; such a result is not always the cup of tea of Plotinus' specialists. Further, John D. Turner and the colleagues to whom he served as a friendly coach are really considering how the Gnostics of the second and third centuries have contributed to the history of Middle Platonism in Antiquity. This brings new perspectives for the study of the *ApocrJn*.

(3) Diverging from the Sethian hypotheses, there is a series of studies on the **Christian understanding** of the *ApocrJn*. In his commentary, Michel Tardieu insisted on the origins of the debate between the Gnostic author of the *ApocrJn* and Judaeo-Christians and Christians of the first generations²². Against Judaeo-Christians, the *ApocrJn* criticises the Law and the Temple; against Christians, it rejects their erroneous adoption of the Old Testament. Its author could be a dissident of the Johannine school in Asia, using the prologue of the fourth gospel and other Johannine passages to illustrate the role of Providence, instead of the *Logos* of John 1. If the redaction of the Johannine prologue could be dated around the end of the first century, the final hymn of the Pronoia, in the LR, could be contemporary with the final redaction of the fourth gospel (around 120 for M. Tardieu). Therefore, a certain time is needed to diffuse the fourth gospel until an esoteric John decides to write the first version of the *ApocrJn*. According to Michel Tardieu, the date of 170 is a likely date for the composition of this apocryphal text.

A Christian context is also proposed by Alastair Logan²³ on the basis that the *ApocrJn* is a Gnostic reworking of a Christian source evoked by Irenaeus in *Adv. haer.* 1,29. For Karen King, Zlatko Pleše, and Daniele Tripaldi, for example, there is no possible discussion about a non-Christian phase of the *ApocrJn*²⁴. They all understand the *ApocrJn* as a Christian work using different sources. In his commentary, Bernard Barc is quite hesitant to assign the *ApocrJn* to a definite Christian milieu²⁵

22. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 3), pp. 38, and 42-43.

23. A. LOGAN, *Gnostic Truth and Christian Heresy: A Study of the History of Gnosticism*, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1996, pp. 21-54.

24. KING, *The Secret Revelation of John* (n. 6), pp. 2-24; Z. PLEŠE, *Poetics of the Gnostic Universe: Narrative and Cosmology in the Apocryphon of John* (NHMS, 52), Leiden, Brill, 2006, pp. 7-20; D. TRIPALDI, *Dio e gli dèi: Tracce di teogonia egiziana nell'Apocrifo di Giovanni?*, in *Adamantius* 18 (2012) 83-107, p. 83 and *Id.*, *From Philo to Areimanios: Jewish Traditions and Intellectual Profiles in First-Third Century Alexandria in the Light of the Apocryphon of John*, in P. LANFRANCHI – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Antiquity: A Regional Perspective* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 18), Leuven, Peeters, 2018, 101-119, p. 101.

25. B. BARC – W.-P. FUNK, *Le Livre des Secrets de Jean: Recension brève* (NH III, 1 et BG, 2) (BCNH.T, 35), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2012, pp. 34-37.

as he considers the prologue of the *ApocrJn* as a secondary addition to an original redaction of the text; besides, the hymn of the Pronoia of the LR does not show any link with the Johannine prologue, as J.-D. Kaestli²⁶ tried to demonstrate. Finally, the several allusions to New Testament texts, including Johannine allusions, cannot elucidate the formal Christology of the work. Against the position of Bernard Barc on the prologue of the *ApocrJn*, we believe, with Zlatko Pleše²⁷ that the prologue of the *ApocrJn* is part of the original text. It gives a hint at the preoccupations of the Gnostic author. The use of the apostolic figure of John is part of a Johannine trajectory. The opposition of the apostle John, son of Zebedee, to a Pharisee named Arimanius, can be a clue for establishing the literary and theological context of the *ApocrJn*. Against the commune opinion of the Sethian character of the *ApocrJn*, I also tried to underline the importance of the Johannine material in the *ApocrJn*, not as secondary interpolations but references which are part of the narrative and the arguments of the *ApocrJn*²⁸.

As son of Zebedee, John is the brother of James. Bernard Barc interprets this reference in relation to the last verses of the Gospel of John (21,20-25)²⁹, in a discussion of Jesus with his disciples about the Beloved disciple and Peter. The *ApocrJn* then corresponds to the predicted revelation of the Gospel of John that may go back to Christian traditions of Jerusalem. Since the commentary of S. Giversen³⁰, the common interpretation of the figure of Arimanius refers to the evil spirit of the Zoroastrians, mainly because the LR mentions, among lists of passions, a *Book of Zoroaster* for those who want to know more (II, 19,10). The suggestion of Bernard Barc to see behind Arimanius an allusion to Joseph of Arimathea³¹, a person who can think about the disappearance of Jesus, does not seem convincing as there is no other trace in the *ApocrJn* to confirm this suggestion. The question is then: why is Arimanius qualified as a Pharisee? On one hand, John is leaving the Jerusalem Temple to go to an unidentified secret place on the mountain of the revelation. On the other, Arimanius is trying to exhort John not to follow a false Messiah,

26. J.-D. KAESTLI, *Remarques sur le rapport du quatrième évangile avec la gnose et sa réception au II^e siècle*, in Id. – J.-M. POFFET – J. ZUMSTEIN (eds.), *La communauté johannique et son histoire: La trajectoire de l'évangile de Jean aux deux premiers siècles*, 1990, 351-356, especially, pp. 351-352; cf. our critique in J.-D. DUBOIS, *La tradition johannique dans l'Apocryphe de Jean*, in *Adamantius* 18 (2012) 108-117, pp. 115-116.

27. PLEŠE, *Poetics of the Gnostic Universe* (n. 24), pp. 7-73.

28. DUBOIS, *La tradition johannique dans l'Apocryphe de Jean* (n. 26).

29. BARC – FUNK, *Le Livre des Secrets de Jean* (n. 25), p. 184.

30. GIVERSEN, *Apocryphon Johannis* (n. 19), p. 152.

31. BARC – FUNK, *Le Livre des Secrets de Jean* (n. 25), p. 184.

the Nazorean who has discarded the traditions of the fathers. Arimanius takes up a known criticism of Jesus by the Pharisees in the canonical gospels (for ex. Matt 15,2). It is possible that the ending of the name Arimanius, in the Greek text behind the Coptic version, may evoke a criticism of Saklas, the mad God, one of the names of Yaldabaoth³² whose meaning is interpreted in the LR (II, 11,15-22). As Zlatko Pleše noticed it³³, the name Arimanius enlarges the scope of the encounter of John with him; it makes John part of a cosmic drama with the devil which may recall the powers of darkness in the Johannine prologue.

Then, John grieves in himself, remembering some of Jesus sayings and enumerating a series of questions to answer Arimanius' criticism (BG 20,8-17): "How then was the savior appointed and why was he sent into the world by his Father, who sent him, and who is his Father, and of what sort is that aeon to which we shall go? He said to us 'This aeon is of the type of that imperishable aeon', but he did not teach us concerning the latter of what sort it is". In the footnotes of his translation, Michel Tardieu mentions no less than fourteen possible Johannine allusions behind these questions³⁴. In other words, the *ApocrJn* will explain what salvation is about, the role of the Father of Jesus in this salvation, and the length of time that is to be expected before salvation will happen. We could go on following other Johannine allusions to describe the argument of the apocryphon.

(4) Before turning to other points, it is necessary to mention another working hypothesis for describing the context of the *ApocrJn*: the **Egyptian hypothesis**. Several studies brought questions about a possible Egyptian heritage of the Gnostic texts. Émile Amélineau wrote, already in 1887, an *Essay on the Egyptian Gnosticism*³⁵. Reviewing most of the heresiological documentation about the different Gnostics of the second and third centuries, É. Amélineau drew a general picture of possible links between Egyptian mythologies and elements of some Gnostic systems. Today, such an approach cannot be satisfying because there is a lack of detailed analysis of Gnostic systems, except the Valentinian one that can be better examined. More recently, the study of Hermetic texts, in the *Corpus hermeticum* and in the Nag Hammadi collection, shows Egyptian

32. B. BARC, *Samaël – Saklas – Yaldabaoth*, in Id. (ed.), *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi* (BCNH.É, 1), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981, 123-150.

33. PLEŠE, *Poetics of the Gnostic Universe* (n. 24), pp. 21-22.

34. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 3), p. 84.

35. É. AMÉLINEAU, *Essai sur le gnosticisme égyptien: Ses développements et son origine égyptienne* (Annales du Musée Guimet, 14), Paris, Leroux, 1887.

roots of this kind of wisdom literature³⁶. For the research on the *ApocrJn*, Daniele Tripaldi tried to avoid egyptomania and parallelomania³⁷. Yet, his research starts with the Egyptian background of Hermetic texts and magical papyri. From that, he draws on Egyptian reflections about the First Principle, and on different scenarios of theogonies, with masculine and feminine gods, in order to sketch the theogony of the *ApocrJn*. It brings new questions about the role of the Mother or of the Son in relation to its intellect. It also shows that the different emanations of the *ApocrJn* go in series that have Egyptian parallels. The conclusion summarises the cultural milieu which the *ApocrJn* comes from: an Alexandrian milieu where Greek, Jewish, Platonic and Iranian sources are mixed and slowly form the Christian identity of the Gnostics.

From all these different working hypotheses, several points can be mentioned:

- (a) the monastic hypothesis furnishes a resource for understanding the actuality of Gnostics sources in the fourth century;
- (b) the Sethian hypothesis will still produce new questions about the history of philosophy in Late Antiquity, mainly the history of Platonism and Neo-Platonism;
- (c) the Christian hypothesis allows us to examine how the Scriptures have been used in the *ApocrJn*;
- (d) the Egyptian hypothesis enlarges the scope of the study in the religions around the Mediterranean Basin. It shows the importance of the specific Alexandrian milieu in which the *ApocrJn* may have been produced.

II. UNSOLVED QUESTIONS

In the second part of our contribution, we intend to underline domains of research with unsolved questions which may help us to come slowly to a possible dating of the *ApocrJn*.

(1) We have just mentioned the research of Daniele Tripaldi. He recently published another article which extends his interrogation to the **possible milieu of the *ApocrJn***³⁸. In a Leuven Colloquium on Jews and

36. Cf. for ex. F. DAUMAS, *Le fonds égyptien de l'hermétisme*, in J. RIES et al. (eds.), *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique: Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve (11-14 mars 1980)* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 27), Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste, 1982, 3-25.

37. TRIPALDI, *Dio e gli dèi* (n. 24).

38. TRIPALDI, *From Philo to Areimanios* (n. 24).

Christians, he set a methodology to situate the *ApocrJn* between Philo and third-century theologians and philosophers. We have always thought that Gnostics were to be interpreted in a framework starting from Philo and going to Origen, and at the same time, starting from Philo and going to Plotinus. Daniele Tripaldi exploits the opposition between the apostle John and the Pharisee Arimanius of the narrative framework. If the followers of Jesus are criticised for abandoning the traditions of the fathers, D. Tripaldi rightly asserts that this criticism is a typical cliché of Jewish reactions against Hellenisation since the Maccabean revolt³⁹; he lists many passages from Josephus and the New Testament which allude to this position. He does not follow Michel Tardieu who thought that the opponents of the *ApocrJn* could have been Jewish Christians and Christians, nor Bernard Barc who wants to situate the *ApocrJn* in the debates about interpretation of Jewish Scriptures among Pharisees after the Jewish revolt in Alexandria. D. Tripaldi prefers a third position referring to a kind of Alexandrian “Christianity” as it can be traced in the works of Philo:

All in all, [he says] behind the cliché the following overall picture begins to unfold: Philo addresses positions of other “historical” Jews. Whether or not they actually constituted one single group or were just individuals with analogous opinions that were targeted as a group, is harder to tell in each and every case. However, Philo evidently considers these adversaries as an integral part of one and the same wider tendency to disregard, betray and abandon Israel’s traditions⁴⁰.

In searching for allusions to “godless” Jews, “atheists”, “polytheists”, but also references to the birth of the *Logos* by a father and mother wisdom, or to the two spirits in a human soul, D. Tripaldi offers very suggestive domains of research, following, in fact, Zlatko Pleše with his constant use of Philo in his *Poetics of the Gnostic Universe*⁴¹. In 2012, Z. Pleše was remarking:

Back to Philonic “echoes” in the Savior’s monologue, an in-depth literary and philosophical comparison of Philo’s corpus and the *ApocrJn* remains a desideratum⁴².

If we consider Michel Tardieu’s reconstruction of hypothetical sources of the *ApocrJn*, we have to admit that he did not win general agreement

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

41. PLEŠE, *Poetics of the Gnostic Universe* (n. 24).

42. Z. PLEŠE, *Intertextuality and Conceptual Blending in the Apocryphon of John*, in *Adamantius* 18 (2012) 118-135, p. 131, n. 23.

among specialists⁴³. The set of several revisions of the *ApocrJn* with the use of Jewish speculations about Wisdom and the introduction of hymns and fragments of hymns, going back to Chaldaic and esoteric Johannine traditions, seems a complicated hypothesis, difficult to prove. On the contrary, studies of the Jewish milieu of Alexandria in relation to speculations of Gnostic texts exist for several years. We can think of contributions of Albertus F.J. Klijn on “Jewish Christianity in Egypt”⁴⁴ and Birger A. Pearson on “Earliest Christianity in Egypt”⁴⁵. Several contributions of Roelof van den Broek also illustrate the variety of subjects by which one can approach Gnostic theological and philosophical speculations; between 1981 and 1988, his articles even exploit central themes of the *ApocrJn*⁴⁶: the ineffable nature of God in *Eugnostos*, the *ApocrJn*, Aristides and Apuleius; the divine emanations in *Eugnostos*, the *ApocrJn*, Philo, Valentinus and Origen; the Jewish Wisdom figure and the Saviour; the creation of Adam’s psychic body. We can quote the conclusion of this last article going back to the Oxford Patristic Congress of 1979 as it gives a brief summary of the kind of studies that still need to be done on the *ApocrJn*:

AJ’s account of the creation of Adam is a curious mixture of Plato’s analysis of the structure of the human body, a planetary *melothesia*, and a doctrine of the soul’s astral body, all based on a Jewish, Alexandrian interpretation of the biblical story of the creation of man⁴⁷.

(2) Given this **Alexandrian, Jewish and “Christian” milieu** mixing Platonic ideas with the biblical Scriptures, it is no wonder that comparisons between the *ApocrJn* and other Christian Gnostics can be made. In his *Beyond Gnosticism*, Ismo Dunderberg analyses, for example, resemblances and differences between the *ApocrJn* and Valentinus’ presentation of the creation of Adam⁴⁸. The superiority of Adam over the angels involved in the creation is a common theme. But it is difficult to draw a conclusion on a possible borrowing of the *ApocrJn*’s scenario of

43. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 3), pp. 38-45.

44. A.F.J. KLIJN, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (NTSup, 46), Leiden, Brill, 1977; ID., *Jewish Christianity in Egypt*, in B.A. PEARSON – J.E. GOEHRING (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity), Philadelphia, PA, Fortress, 1986, 161-175.

45. B.A. PEARSON, *Earliest Christianity in Egypt: Some Observations*, in ID. – GOEHRING (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (n. 44), 132-159.

46. Cf. the collection of his articles, *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (NHMS, 39), Leiden, Brill, 1996, particularly pp. 22-130.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

48. I. DUNDERBERG, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2008, pp. 49-52.

Adam's creation by Valentinus. In a similar manner about Adam's creation, David Brakke intends to show how a definite Christian understanding of Valentinism can illustrate points of difference with the mythology of the *ApocrJn*⁴⁹. According to us, the amount of pages devoted to the cultural milieu of Alexandria during the last thirty years still remains a gold mine of research for those who are interested in Jewish and Christian speculations about the ineffability of God, about the scenario of the world's creation, about the role of the *Logos* and the Spirit, and the anthropology implied in such a precise description of the body of Adam.

In his commentary, Michel Tardieu tried to uncover the attributes of God as Father and Spirit. Beyond the possible allusion to John 4,23-24 – the adoration of God in Spirit and Truth –, he revealed the Pythagorean doctrine of the monad as one source of the *ApocrJn*⁵⁰. And twelve years before his discovery of the common Gnostic source of *Zostrianos* and Marius Victorinus' anti-arian work (I, 50,1-5), he could explain the presence of the Spirit in the Gnostic Source of the *ApocrJn*, without postulating a Neo-Platonist approach of a Stoic Spirit identified to the Fire of the *Chaldean Oracles*⁵¹. M. Tardieu described how the author of the *ApocrJn* used to define the ineffability of God with classical schemes of eminence, anteriority, synthesis of opposites, and negative and positive attributes. In doing so, he identified a wealth of Platonic sources as they are studied with the Neo-Pythagorean mood of the second century. When it comes to define the Father as *Aiôn*, M. Tardieu plunged into Wisdom literature of the Old Testament and Egyptian notions also attested in the Hermetic corpus and Greek magical papyri. The emergence of the divine power of *Aiôn* brings a spring of living water of light in which Barbelo appears as an image of the Father's thought (BG 26,19ff.). She is the perfect Providence of the All (BG 27,11), the First Thought, the Primordial Man, the virginal Spirit, granted with Thought, Foreknowledge, Providence, Indestructibility and Eternal Life. M. Tardieu identifies the multiple references to Jewish hymns to Sophia (Proverbs 8, Wisdom of Solomon 7, Jesus Sirach 24). The appearance of the third principle, the Son, is explained as a spark of light (BG 29–30) which goes back to an allegorical interpretation of Gen 1,26 (image and resemblance) and

49. D. BRAKKE, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 99-105.

50. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 3), pp. 247-248.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 248, and M. TARDIEU, *Recherches sur la formation de l'Apocalypse de Zostrien et les sources de Marius Victorinus* (Res orientales, 9), Bures-sur-Yvette, Groupe pour l'étude de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1996, pp. 91-98.

2,7 (breath and living soul). The qualification of the Son as *monogenes* comes from the Johannine prologue (1,14-18); but “first-born” (*prototokos*) derives from the hymn to Colossians (1,15; 2,9-10) which is understood as a commentary of the term *monogenes* of the Johannine prologue⁵², while *autogenes* seems quite new in this context of Jewish eulogies of Wisdom. John Whittaker demonstrated that this last qualification is influenced by oracular literature much before the Gnostics; it represents “a frequent feature of the theologico-philosophical speculation of the early Roman empire”⁵³. Roelof van den Broek explains that speculations about *autogenes* and Adamas in the *ApocrJn* could come from a myth of a heavenly Anthropos that distinguishes between Man and the Son of man; this myth corresponds to Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,30 and was combined to the triad Father-Mother-Son which appears in the first part of the *ApocrJn* corresponding to Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,29⁵⁴.

The list of notions of the autogenerated Son still hides some of its secrets, as the tetrad of luminaries is organised with their allegorical interpretations in terms of intellectual faculties discussed in philosophical schools of the second century. Michel Tardieu did not solve all the clues of these listings. In another direction, Takashi Onuki showed several years ago how the *ApocrJn* was using and reacting against Stoic doctrines of epistemology, psychology, theories of passions, and providence⁵⁵. He manifested very clearly that the *ApocrJn* was part of the philosophical debates of the second century. More recently, Dylan M. Burns reflected on the structure of the *ApocrJn* around the notion of “First thought” or “Forethought”⁵⁶, insisting on the fluidity of language in the different versions of the *ApocrJn*: *Pronoia*, *Protennoia*, *Ennoia*, *Epinoia*, *Prognosis*. Yet, the complexity raised by the different versions of the *ApocrJn*

52. Cp. in the Valentinian *Tripartite Tractate* (57,8-23).

53. J. WHITTAKER, *Self-generating Principles in Second-Century Gnostic Systems*, in B. LAYTON (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*. Vol. I: *The School of Valentinus* (Studies in the History of Religions, 41), Leiden, Brill, 1981, 176-193, p. 189.

54. VAN DEN BROEK, *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (n. 46), pp. 64-66.

55. T. ONUKI, *Gnosis und Stoa: Eine Untersuchung zum Apokryphon des Johannes* (NTOA, 9), Freiburg/CH, Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989 and Id., *Die dreifache Pronoia: Zur Beziehung zwischen Gnosis, Stoa und Mittelplatonismus*, in Id. (ed.), *Heil und Erlösung* (WUNT, 165), Tübingen, Mohr-Siebeck, 2004, 240-270.

56. D.M. BURNS, *First Thoughts on the Structure of the Apocryphon of John (NHC II.1 and par.) and Divine Providence in ‘Classic Gnostic’ Literature*, in D. BRAKKE – S.J. DAVIS – S.E. EMMEL (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 263), Leuven, Peeters, 2017, 29-54; cf. also his critical reactions (p. 47) of ONUKI, *Die dreifache Pronoia* (n. 55).

does not hide the explicit role of providence in theogony, cosmogony, anthropology and soteriology. Such an approach leads D. Burns to compare the *ApocrJn* to other Gnostic Sethian texts, beside the always disputed testimony of Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,29. He concludes that the Coptic copies of the *ApocrJn* “reflect significantly expanded, later revisions of the same source that was known to Irenaeus in *Adv. haer.* 1,29, having undergone redaction from individuals interested in the Barbeloite-Sethian idea about providence and “first thought”⁵⁷. As for the anthropogonic myth which leads to the creation of Adam, that is evoked by Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,30 and in Sethian texts like the *ApocrJn*, *Origin of the World*, *Trimorphic Protennoia* and perhaps *Hypostasis of the Archons*, the Greek originals of these Nag Hammadi texts may also reflect later reworkings of the source of Irenaeus. In other words, the Greek *Vorlage* of the theogony of the *ApocrJn* may not be earlier than the Barbeloite and Ophite traditions that we find in the “Platonising Sethian” texts of Nag Hammadi that were in use in Plotinus’ school, by the mid-third century⁵⁸.

(3) Can we now be more precise about the **Christology of the *ApocrJn***?

In the introduction of his commentary, Bernard Barc recognises that the *ApocrJn* is one of the earliest Gnostic documents about Christology; yet, profound traces of rewriting in the *ApocrJn* make this teaching very obscure: “All in all, wrote Bernard Barc, the Christology of the *Secret Book of John* remains to be deciphered”⁵⁹. Let’s consider the three moments defining the Son. **At first**, the Son is generated as a spark. Karen King rightly underlined that the version of Berlin Codex presents a difference with the LR of Codex II⁶⁰. The Berlin Codex describes the Mother gazing intensely at the Father: “Barbelo gazed intently into him, the pure light. She turned herself to him and gave birth to a spark of blessed light, but he is not equal to her in greatness” (29,18–30,4), while the LR of Codex II pretends that it is the Father who is generating the Son: “He looked into Barbelo with the pure light which surrounds the invisible Spirit and his spark, and she conceived from him. He begot a spark of light with a light resembling blessedness, but he does not equal his greatness” (II, 6,10-15). As we noticed before, the Son is qualified as *monogenes*, *prôtotokos* and *autogenes*. But whatever we conclude

57. BURNS, *First Thoughts* (n. 56), p. 50.

58. *Ibid.*

59. BARC – FUNK, *Le Livre des Secrets de Jean* (n. 25), p. 37.

60. K.L. KING, *Sophia and Christ in the Apocryphon of John*, in EAD. (ed.), *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* (n. 11), 158-176, pp. 162 and 167.

from the divergent birth scenarios, in both, the Son is not equal to his Mother in greatness (BG) or not equal to his Father's greatness (LR); his light only resembles blessedness. This inferiority of the Son is explained as engendered by the Mother or the Father. In terms of history of christological ideas, it could be understood as a kind of subordinationism.

The **second moment** of the manifestation of the Son evokes his unction. The Berlin Codex narrates the joy of the invisible Spirit over the newborn light:

The invisible Spirit rejoiced over the light who had come into being, who had proceeded from the first power which is his Providence, Barbelo. And he anointed him with his Christhood/goodness so that he became perfect and not lacking in anything Christ/good because he had anointed him with his Christhood/goodness (that) of the invisible Spirit which he poured out for him. And he received the anointing by the virginal Spirit. And he attended him glorifying the invisible Spirit and the perfect Providence because of whom he had come forth (BG 30,9–31,5).

The translation of Waldstein and Wisse, quoted here⁶¹, points to the willful ambiguity of *tmntkrestotès* or *tmntchrestos* which could refer to the goodness of the anointing Spirit and at the same time to Christhood that is conferred in this ritual. It's difficult not to see here an allusion to the descent of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism (John 1,33-34; Luke 3,22), recalled in the quotation of Isa 61,1 in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke 4,18). The three mentions of goodness or Christhood evokes the baptismal epiclesis in the name of the Father, Son and Spirit⁶². In the narrative framework of the *ApocrIn*, the different manifestations of the Son happen "in silence and thought" (BG 31,10-11) to remind the reader that the whole passage is still in the domain of the Spirit, before any manifestation of the *Logos*. In other words, the narrative framework corresponds to a phase preceding the manifestation of the *Logos* in the Johannine prologue. In terms of history of christological opinions, the *ApocrIn* does not share the idea that Jesus became Christ only at his baptism. Even if it is in a different context, one can think of Valentinian controversies over the presence of the Spirit in Jesus, right from birth or only from his baptism, if we are to trust the paragraph of the *Elenchos* 6,35,3-6.

61. WALDSTEIN – WISSE (eds.), *The Apocryphon of John* (n. 4), pp. 40-42; cf. also WALDSTEIN, *The Primal Triad in the Apocryphon of John* (n. 6), pp. 174-177.

62. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 3), p. 266.

The **third moment** of the manifestation of the Son is devoted to the reception of Intellect. The Son requests the emission of *Nous* before the manifestation of Will and *Logos*:

And (the Son) requested to give him one thing, the Mind, and the invisible Spirit consented. The Mind came forth. He stood in attendance together with Christ glorifying him and Barbelo. And all these came to be in a silence and thought. And the invisible Spirit wanted to make something. And his Will became actual, and came forth, and stood in attendance together with the Mind and the Light, glorifying him, and the Word followed the Will (BG 31,5-16).

Once again, the scenario of the *ApocrIn* does not place the Word (the *Logos*) at the beginning of time, like in the Johannine prologue (1,1); according to the *ApocrIn*, Word is preceded by *Nous* and then Will. In Gnostic scenarios, a Christology of the Mind or Intellect is quite rare in the second century, except among Basilidian Gnostics. If we think of Irenaeus' polemics against Valentinian Gnostics, there is a discussion about the order of aeonic emissions. In *Adv. haer.* 2,13,3, Irenaeus criticises the Valentinians who think that *Ennoia* and *Nous* precede the arrival of the *Logos*, as it is contrary to the Johannine prologue, but also, it is a proposal which examines psychological phenomena of human anthropology that could not be applied to God. A little later in *Adv. haer.* 2,13,8, Irenaeus repeats at length his argument: an understanding of a psychological process has no pertinence in any discourse about God who is all Mind and *Logos*. If human psychology is justified for Irenaeus, a reasoning about the order of emissions in God's nature is inappropriate and just the result of bold conjectures.

In the text of the *ApocrIn*, the three successive emissions of Mind, Will and *Logos* have a definite purpose: it serves to explain something about the role of *Logos* in the creation, in a different manner from the third verse of the Johannine prologue (John 1,3):

For through the Word, Christ, the divine Self-Generated, created the All. Eternal Life together with the Will, the Mind with Foreknowledge attended and glorified the invisible Spirit and Barbelo, since they had come into being because of her. And he completed by the Spirit the eternal divine Self-Generated, the Son of Barbelo, that he may attend him, the eternal, virginal invisible Spirit, the divine Self-Generated, the Christ, whom he had honored with great honor, since he had come into being from his first Thought, he whom the invisible Spirit installed as God over the All, as true God. He granted him all authority and subjected to him the truth which is in him that he may know the All, he whose name will be told to those who are worthy of it (BG 31,17-32,19).

One can trace several allusions to the Johannine prologue in these lines. What comes out of this specific scenario, is the responsibility of Self-Generated Son of Barbelo, called Christ, in the creation of the All through the *Logos*. Besides, the invisible Spirit installed him as true God over the All so that he may know the All, with the help of Truth. His name is hidden except for those worthy of the Gnostic knowledge. As the Christhood of the Son does not depend on the incarnation of the *Logos*, like in John 1,14, this Christhood is granted from the beginning; it installs the Son as true God in the domain of the invisible Spirit. In terms of history of theological ideas, this position of the *ApocrJn* corresponds to a conception of God as *Pneuma*, and a conception of the Son of God also as *Pneuma*. This pneumatic understanding of the Christology is current during the second century, at least until Irenaeus. Examining the relations between triad and trinity speculations, Alexander Böhlig was ready to explain this insistence on divine *Pneuma* as coming from a Stoic background⁶³. It should be distinguished from a Valentinian understanding of the triad, Father-Son-Church, like in the *Tripartite Tractate*, or the triad Father-Son-Holy Spirit like in the *Peri Archôn* of Origenes.

(4) And finally, can we date the *ApocrJn* from **its use of the Scriptures?**

The recent monograph of David Creech on this subject raised a special interest for us⁶⁴. D. Creech recognises his debt to Karen King's pages on the variants of the *ApocrJn*⁶⁵ and several studies of Gerard Luttikhuisen on the Biblical exegesis of Genesis' accounts in Jewish apocalyptic literature⁶⁶. D. Creech raises a question linked to former definitions of Gnosticism; the *ApocrJn* bases his arguments on the Scriptures, while

63. A. BÖHLIG, *Triade und Trinität in den Schriften von Nag Hammadi*, in B. LAYTON (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*. Vol. II: *Sethian Gnosticism* (Studies in the History of Religions, 41), Leiden, Brill, 1981, 617-642, p. 623; WALDSTEIN, *The Primal Triad in the Apocryphon of John* (n. 6), underlines, on the contrary, Middle-Platonic references of the *ApocrJn*'s triad.

64. D. CREECH, *The Use of Scripture in the Apocryphon of John: A Diachronic Analysis of the Variant Versions* (WUNT, II/441), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

65. KING, *Approaching Variants of the Apocryphon of John* (n. 6). Unfortunately, D. Creech does not make much use of a chapter of this work: "Methods and Strategies", pp. 177-190, which takes into account Biblical interpretation in the redactional strategies of the *ApocrJn*.

66. G.P. LUTTIKHUIZEN (ed.), *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Themes in Biblical Literature, 3), Leiden, Brill, 2000; Id., *Gnostic Revisions of Genesis Stories and Early Jesus Traditions* (NHMS, 58), Leiden, Brill, 2006.

Gnostics have very often been taken as rejecting the Old Testament. After reviewing a series of studies of the *ApocrJn*, he chooses to treat some passages where the interpretation of the *ApocrJn* can be summarised by the slogan “It’s not as Moses said”: the spirit moving above the waters in Gen 1,2; Adam’s sleep (Gen 2,21); Adam’s rib (Gen 2,21-22); Noah’s hiding in the ark (Gen 6,18)⁶⁷. D. Creech examines also texts on the demiurge and his manifest ignorance⁶⁸. His interest lies in the Gnostic text as a rewritten Bible⁶⁹, in passages where there are citations of other works (the *Book of Zoroaster*, the Prophet [Isaiah], Moses), or narrative contexts with a smile of the Saviour. A last chapter is devoted to the redactional history of the *ApocrJn*⁷⁰. Comparing Irenaeus’ summary of the first part of the *ApocrJn* (*Adv. haer.* 1,29) with the versions of the Gnostic tractate, D. Creech concludes that the criticisms against “what Moses said” are “likely later additions”⁷¹; they have been inserted in a second redactional phase of the *ApocrJn* as reactions to Irenaeus’ criticisms about Gnostic uses of the Scriptures, but also as a way for the Gnostics to distance themselves from Valentinian themes or Early-Catholic interpretations. For example, when the *ApocrJn* declares that Noah hid himself with a luminous cloud, and not in the ark, D. Creech supposes that it meant that the *ApocrJn* refuses the ark as a symbol of the Church⁷². His treatment of the subject is an illustration of group identity markers typical of conflicts over the Scriptures near the end of the second century.

Among the weaknesses of this monograph, we would like to stress that the whole approach is concentrated on the use of the Jewish Scriptures, mainly the Genesis stories, in spite of the title “The Use of Scripture in the Apocryphon of John”. If we just take the references to the Gospel of John in this monograph, there are four general references to the gospel as a whole, one reference to the Papyrus P⁵² on John 18 and one allusion to Wisdom themes in the Johannine prologue; these references only come from studies mentioned by D. Creech, and not from Biblical references of the text of *ApocrJn*. Besides, D. Creech examines the Biblical text used by the *ApocrJn* with general references to the Septuagint, but without a study of the kind of Biblical text used by the *ApocrJn*. Unfortunately, D. Creech does not know Bernard Barc’s works on this

67. CREECH, *The Use of Scripture in the Apocryphon of John* (n. 64), pp. 42-47.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-59.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-68.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-118.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

subject, and especially not his commentary of the *ApocrJn* in the Québec series, “Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi”⁷³. In his article on the three sons of Adam⁷⁴, B. Barc demonstrates that the author of the *ApocrJn* either knew a Hebrew text of the Bible or had a Greek translation analogous to Aquila’s. In a second article on the figure of Seth in the Hebrew Bible and in the *ApocrJn*⁷⁵, B. Barc insists on the possible Jewish milieu who knew about the rules of a literal interpretation of Scriptures: he assigns this interest on a literal interpretation of Scriptures to the sacerdotal circles of the Temple in Jerusalem, opposed to a Pharisaic interpretation based on oral traditions complementing the Biblical text. The article of Adamantius⁷⁶, published in 2012, offers an extract of the interpretation of Bernard Barc’s commentary of the *ApocrJn* published the same year. If we consider again the example of Noah’s hiding (BG 73,4-12)⁷⁷, B. Barc mentions that the Hebrew text of the Bible distinguishes between the ark of the Flood (*tévah*) and the ark of the Covenant (*’aron*) while the Septuagint takes the same word for both (*kibôtos*). Entering in the ark would mean therefore for Noah and his generation to join the Mosaic Covenant. Therefore, he “sheltered” himself, with the verb that the Septuagint (Exod 2,2) uses for Moses saved from the waters (*skepazein*); he sheltered in a luminous cloud which is the cloud of the Great Archon (BG 38,6-12). In such a hiding place Noah has access to the knowledge of Yaldabaoth and his plans; and this will lead to the salvation of the “unshakable race”. In short, Bernard Barc illustrates the great interest of the *ApocrJn* on the literal meaning of the Hebrew text, even if it is transmitted to him through Greek revisions of the Hebrew Bible. We know that these revisions of the Hebrew Bible are circulating among Jews and Christians during the second century. Bernard Barc underlines that the opposition to a Mosaic understanding of the Bible is anchored in the conflicts raised over the literal interpretation of the Bible, among the sacerdotal circles around the Temple at the time the Pharisaic party takes

73. B. BARC, *Les arpenteurs du temps: Essai sur l’histoire religieuse de la Judée à la période du second Temple*, Lausanne, Éditions du Zèbre, 2000; ID., *Cain, Abel et Seth dans l’Apocryphon de Jean (BG) et dans les Écritures*, in L. PAINCHAUD – P.-H. POIRIER (eds), *Colloque international «L’Évangile selon Thomas» et les Textes de Nag Hammadi* (BCNH.É, 8), Québec, Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2007, 17-42; ID., *Seth et sa race dans la Bible et dans le Livre des secrets de Jean*, in J.-P. MAHÉ – P.-H. POIRIER – M. SCOPELLO (eds.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi, Histoire des religions et approches contemporaines*, Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres – de Boccard, 2010, 155-176; ID., *Le mythe gnostique de Seth et de sa race est-il conforme aux Écritures hébraïques?*, in Adamantius 18 (2012) 71-82; BARC – FUNK, *Le Livre des Secrets de Jean* (n. 25).

74. BARC, *Cain, Abel et Seth* (n. 73).

75. BARC, *Seth et sa race* (n. 73).

76. BARC, *Le mythe gnostique de Seth* (n. 73).

77. BARC – FUNK, *Le Livre des Secrets de Jean* (n. 25), p. 322.

over the leadership of Judaism around the second revolt (132-135 AD). The conflicts are very serious as the *ApocrJn* names the devilish Pharisee of the narrative frame, Arimanius. Besides, B. Barc also takes into account the few references to New Testament texts that exist in the *ApocrJn*. He then proposes that the likely date of the *ApocrJn* can be fixed by the end of the first third of the second century⁷⁸.

We can now come to a few words of conclusion:

- 1) The *ApocrJn* illustrates a period when Christian philosophers started to understand Biblical Scriptures with the help of Platonic approaches. The first chapters of the *ApocrJn* on defining the transcendent God make use of a Neo-Pythagorean understanding of the monad, typical of the second century.
- 2) The Jewish and Christian milieu in Alexandria is still a reservoir of sources that can be studied with Platonic, Stoic or Chaldean references.
- 3) From the point of view of the history of Christology, the *ApocrJn* show an interesting picture of a pneumatic Christ, not equal to the Father. This is different from a *Logos* Christology that is characteristic of the Alexandrian school of thought, later dominated by Origenes.
- 4) In the history of the transmission of the Jewish Bible in Greek, the studies of Bernard Barc offer a very precise period of time when the literal understanding of the Hebrew Bible was an object of controversies around the second Jewish revolt. If we keep in mind, at the same time, the history of texts that will be integrated in the corpus of the New Testament, the *ApocrJn* was written at a time these Early Christian texts were not yet object of quotations. It corresponds to the situation of New Testament allusions in the *Gospel of Truth*. Besides, the *ApocrJn* is also part of a Johannine trajectory leading to the *Apocryphal Acts of John*; but this is the subject of another communication. After all, was the *ApocrJn* written in the year 140? Not really. But all my conclusions lead to a likely date of composition of the *ApocrJn* just around the middle of the second century.

École Pratique des Hautes Études
Les Patios Saint-Jacques
4-14 rue Ferrus
FR-75014 Paris
France
Jean-Daniel.Dubois@ephe.psl.eu

Jean-Daniel DUBOIS

78. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXTS OF THE PROVIDENCE
DOXOGRAPHIES IN THE *WISDOM OF JESUS CHRIST*,
EUGNOSTOS, AND THE *TRIPARTITE TRACTATE*

I. INTRODUCTION*

The *Wisdom of Jesus Christ* is a relatively well-preserved text, extant in Berlinus Gnosticus 8502,2 as well as Nag Hammadi Codex III,4. The scanty fragments of it in Greek – P.Oxy. 1081 – appear to preserve a different version, closely related to that upon which our Coptic versions are based¹. It appears to employ another apocryphal work, *Eugnostos* – extant in NHC III,3 and V,1 – as a source. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* adapts large portions of *Eug.*, adding a frame-narrative which puts the latter's revelatory monologue about theogony and cosmogony into the mouth of the risen Jesus as part of a dialogue with his disciples. It also inserts additional material, absent from *Eug.*, which discusses cosmic and salvation-history in a manner very much informed by the Gnostic Sophia-myth².

The importance of the work is manifold: on the level of composition, it remains something of a “rorschach test” for redaction-critical questions in the Coptic Gnostic corpus³. It is also a *Paradebeispiel* for questions concerning early Christian revelatory genres⁴. Meanwhile, it presents

* The author thanks the other participants in the Leuven colloquium, as well as R. Falkenberg, for their remarks and criticisms of an earlier draft of this study.

1. These fragments do not contain any of the text I discuss in this article, and so I proceed from here without reference to them. See further C. BARRY (ed. and tr.), *La Sagesse de Jésus-Christ (BG,3; NHC III,4): Texte établi, traduit et commenté* (BCNH.T, 20), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1993, pp. 4-6; J. HARTENSTEIN, *Die zweite Lehre: Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen als Rahmenerzählungen frühchristlicher Dialoge* (TU, 146), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2000, p. 35.

2. On the structure of the work, see particularly BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), pp. 20-29; HARTENSTEIN, *Zweite Lehre* (n. 1), pp. 41-44. On the structure of *Eug.*, see A. PASQUIER, *Eugnoste: Lettre sur le Dieu transcendant, NH III, 3 et V, 1: Commentaire* (BCNH.T, 33), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

3. Contrast for instance the earlier redaction-critical studies of the work with the more recent attempts to read it from the perspective of “new philology”. See H. LUNDHAUG, *An Illusion of Textual Stability: Textual Fluidity, New Philology, and the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in L.I. LIED – H. LUNDHAUG (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (TU, 175), Berlin, De Gruyter, 2017, 20-54, p. 48.

4. Useful discussions include F.T. FALLON, *The Gnostic Apocalypses*, in *Semeia* 14 (1979) 123-158, pp. 129-130 (“apocalypse without a heavenly journey”); BARRY, *Sagesse*

itself as “wisdom” (σοφία) and in so doing brings up all of the difficulties that the category of “sapiential literature” conjures⁵. To complicate matters, even if we were to accept and utilise the category of “wisdom literature”, *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is no obvious fit for this category, despite its claim to be “wisdom”. It does not contain any quotations or reworking of “traditional” Jewish sapiential texts. Nor does it feature advice about everyday affairs. In both respects, it differs from more obvious candidates for a category of “early Christian sapiential literature”, such as the *Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,4) or the *Sentences of Sextus* (NHC XII,1)⁶. So why did the author(s) or redactor(s) of this text want to call it “Wisdom”⁷?

An answer presents itself if we closely examine the content of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* The theogony and cosmogony it shares with *Eug.* are highly distinctive, but are important for our understanding of what T. Rasimus has termed the “Ophite” strain of “Classic Gnostic” literature⁸. Above all, it is a work of great significance for the study of the relationship of Gnosticism to philosophy, whether one focuses on it as a work of “noetic exegesis” (so R. Falkenberg) or on its negative theology⁹. The present study will pursue the philosophical angle of *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, particularly the famous “providence doxography” at the beginning of the work. Many scholars have examined this doxography in its various forms across the manuscripts of *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, focusing on identifying the philosophical valence of the arguments at hand, some with reference to a similar (but not identical) doxography present in the *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,5). Yet there is still considerable disagreement about how to understand the content of these doxographies in the context of later Greek and early Christian philosophical literature,

(n. 1), pp. 31-33 (“dialogue de revelation”); HARTENSTEIN, *Zweite Lehre* (n. 1), pp. 5-20 (“Dialogeangelium”).

5. See e.g., W. KYNES, *The Wisdom Literature Category: An Obituary*, in *JTS* 69 (2018) 1-24.

6. See now D.M. BURNS, *Jewish Sapiential Traditions in the Nag Hammadi Library*, in S. ADAMS – M.J. GOFF (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Wisdom Literature*, London, Wiley-Blackwell, 2020, 412-428, pp. 413-417.

7. BARRY’S answer – that in an “exoteric” sense it refers to Jesus’ wisdom in the gospels (Luke 2,41-52; Matt 12,42 = Luke 11,31), and in an “esoteric” sense it refers to the “hidden wisdom” Jesus qua revelator is about to restore (*Sagesse* [n. 1], pp. 191-192) – I find plausible but hardly satisfying. Similarly HARTENSTEIN, *Zweite Lehre* (n. 1), p. 36, italics hers: “Der Titel kann aber auch als die Weisheit Jesu Christi verstanden werden, damit ist der Inhalt als bedeutsame Lehre Jesu charakterisiert”.

8. T. RASIMUS, *Paradise Reconsidered in Gnostic Mythmaking: Rethinking Sethianism in Light of the Ophite Evidence* (NHMS, 68), Leiden, Brill, 2009.

9. R. FALKENBERG, *Eugnostos the Blessed: An Exegetical Analysis and Interpretation of the Coptic Version in Nag Hammadi Codex III,3*, Ph.D. dissertation, Aarhus University, 2010, currently in revision for publication in NHMS.

to say nothing of their import for our greater understanding of *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*

The present study will attempt to answer the question of why *Soph. Jes. Chr.* designates itself “wisdom” by way of examining the philosophical contexts of the providence doxographies in *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, particularly in their treatment of “the wise”. I will begin by diagnosing the philosophical valence of the arguments these doxographies relate (section II), but then I will go further and investigate what this form of argumentation accomplishes on a rhetorical level. That is to say, this study will tackle the evidence with regard to the questions of what doxographies are for and why philosophers and heresiographers employed them, focusing on the techniques of διαίρεσις and διαφωνία – respectively, the “division” of various arguments, and the “dissonance” used to induce a state of skepticism by way of highlighting the multiplicity of views regarding data humans gather from their senses (section III). My phrasing here is deliberate: when we turn to the third doxography, in the *Tripartite Tractate*, we see a providence doxography organised with διαίρεσις and διαφωνία used to tell a story about “Pagan” and “Jewish” wisdom for heresiological purposes, denoting Christian in-groups and out-groups. This rhetorical aim is absent in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, at least explicitly, which rather supplants its providence doxography with a Gnostic myth about the demiurge and his archons who in their blindness believe themselves to be gods administering providence, indicating a Christian Gnostic polemic directed against Hellenic philosophy and cult (section IV).

II. THE PROVIDENCE DOXOGRAPHIES IN THE *WISDOM OF JESUS CHRIST* (BG 8502,2; NHC III,4) AND *EUGNOSTOS* (NHC III,3; V,1)

The question of providence and divine administration of the cosmos is raised at the very beginning of *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, which reads as follows:

The Wisdom of Jesus Christ. After he arose from the dead, his twelve disciples and seven women were observing his teaching, having come to Galilee, on the mountain called “the place of harvest and joy”. When they got together, perplexed about the true nature of the universe and the divine plan and holy providence and the character¹⁰ of the authorities, and about everything which the Savior accomplishes with them in the mystery of the holy, divine plan, the Savior appeared – not in his earlier form, but in (that of) the Invisible Spirit. Now, his likeness was like a great angel of

10. ἀρετή, “quality, characteristic” – cf. the usage in *Tri. Trac.* NHC I 67,10-21; 67,30-34; 73,8-18; *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 225b, s.v. ἁ.δ.1.

light. But his form – I could not describe it! No mortal flesh could receive it – rather, a pure, perfect flesh, just as he taught us about on the mountain called “the one belonging to olives”, in Galilee. And he said: “Peace unto you! The peace which belongs to me, I give to you!” And they all marveled, and they were afraid¹¹.

As is typical in apocalypses, the seers (here the apostles) are awash in ignorance about a certain topic – in this case regarding the “true nature of the universe and the divine plan and holy providence and the character of the authorities”, etc., and then become afraid when the revelator arrives to communicate the truth to them¹². Thus, from the start, the apocalyptic frame-narrative of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is concerned with providence and divine administration, and these concepts’ relationship to the Incarnation¹³. Presented with a divine revealer – here, the divine, if somewhat intimidating Jesus – they recoil in fear. The revealer gently rebukes them and begins to explain the answers to their questions, starting with the aforementioned “providence doxography”: an attack on “the wisest among (humanity)”, namely the philosophers, and their opinions about the administration of the world. *Eug.* begins with this very section, and I have set the passages out here as a synopsis¹⁴. (I present the versions from NHC III, which give the best-preserved versions of the texts):

<i>Eugnostos</i> (NHC III 70,2–71,13)	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i> (NHC III 91,24–93,24)
Greetings!	The Savior laughed, saying to them: “What are you thinking about? Are you perplexed? What are you searching for?” Philip said, “about the true nature of the universe, and the divine plan”. The Savior told them:

11. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* NHC III [90],14–91,24, text in BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), pp. 116, 118. All translations given in this paper are my own, unless noted otherwise, with edition for primary source texts noted, as here.

12. Parallels include (but are hardly limited to) *1 En.* 60,3–5; *ApocrJn* NHC II 1,17–2,25 and par.; *Zostrianos* NHC VIII 3,23–4,19; *Epistle of Peter to Philip* NHC VIII 1[34],9–[135],7.

13. The importance of providence in the frame-narrative of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is not discussed by BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), nor HARTENSTEIN, *Zweite Lehre* (n. 1).

14. For the text of *Eug.* in the synopsis, see A. PASQUIER (ed. and tr.), *Eugnoste: Lettre sur le Dieu transcendant, NH III, 3 et V, 1* (BCNH.T, 26), Québec, Les Presses de l’Université Laval; Leuven – Paris, Peeters, 2010, pp. 34, 36; for the text of *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, see BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), pp. 118, 120.

I want you to know that every human being that was born, from the creation of the world up to now, is dust; even as they seek God – who he is, of what sort he is – they have not found him. The wisest amongst them, from the organization of the world, have given a likeness of the truth, and the likeness did not reach the truth. For the organization is described with three explanations by all the philosophers.

Concerning this topic, they are not in agreement, for some among them say of the world that it has been directed on its own; others, that it is providence (that directs it); still others, that it is destiny.

It is none of these. Again, of these three voices that I just mentioned, no one of them is true.

For whatever comes from its own self leads an empty existence. Providence is folly.

Destiny is <an> unperceiving <thing>.

Therefore, as for whoever is capable of coming into (the truth) – independent of these three voices that I just mentioned – and comes into (the truth) through another voice, and reveals the God of truth, achieving agreement with everyone about Him: this one is an immortal being, dwelling in the midst of mortals!

“I want you to know that all people born on earth, from the creation of the world up to now, are dust; even as they seek God – who He is, of what sort he is – they have not found him. Now, the wisest among them, from the organization of the world and the movement, have given a likeness, but their likeness did not reach the truth. For the organization is described in three ways, held by all the philosophers.

Concerning this topic, they are not in agreement, for some among them say of the world that it is directed on its own; others, that it is providence (that directs it); still others, that it is destiny.

It is none of these. Again, as for the three voices that I just mentioned, no one of them is close to the truth – or rather, they come from humanity. But I, who came from the infinite light, I am here – for I have knowledge of it – so that I might tell you the exact truth.

Whatever comes from its own self leads a polluted existence. Providence has no wisdom in it.

Fate does not perceive.

So, to you was it given to know, and to whoever is worthy of knowledge shall it be given – those who were not begotten through the seed of the impure rubbing, but (who were begotten) by the first one <who> was sent; for this one is an immortal one in the midst of mortals!”

For the sake of presentation, I will focus on the text of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* as given in NHC III,4. “The wisest” among mortals, we are here told, have derived “from the organisation of the world” (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΑΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ) – i.e., their observation of nature, a point *Soph. Jes. Chr.* emphasises with the addition of the phrase “and movement” (ΜΝ ΠΚΙΜ) – various “voices” (ΣΜΗ) about how nature operates¹⁵. The voices are as follows:

15. I.e., the Greeks formed hypotheses regarding the order of the world by observing the regular motion of the elements, *pace* BARRY, who suggests that the mobility of the

- a. “It is directed on its own” (εγαρε ἡμοϩ ριτοοτῳ ἡμιν ἡμοϩ)¹⁶. This could be a reference to Epicurean claims that the universe is τὸ αὐτόματον, and the gods are not involved at all in its administration¹⁷. (The Peripatetics, too, denied the extension of providence to the cosmos, at least the sub-lunar world.)
- b. “It is providence” (οὐπρνοια τε). Probably the Stoa, who often claimed that providence directly administers the cosmos¹⁸.
- c. “It is destiny” (πετηπ εϣωπε). The phrase πετηπ εϣωπε – “what is reckoned to be” – may render εἰμαρμένη¹⁹ or even

cosmos is meant to be contrasted with the immobility of the heavenly world and “the immovable race” (*Sagesse* [n. 1], p. 199). *Soph. Jes. Chr.* may here seek to clarify the ambiguity of the term διοίκησις, used in *Eug.* NHC III,3, which can simply mean “organisation” but also an intentional “care” or “administration”. On this point, see P.-H. POIRIER, *Deux doxographies sur le destin et le gouvernement du monde*, in L. PAINCHAUD – P.-H. POIRIER (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (BCNH.É, 7), Québec, Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2006, 761-786, pp. 780-781, n. 94. διοίκησις was understood in this sense of “care, administration” by the translator of *Eug.* NHC V,1, who renders πῑ ρο[ο]ϣω ἡτε πῑϩ[ϭ]μ[ο]ϭ rather than Graeco-Coptic ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙς (NHC III,3). *Tri. Trac.* explicitly refers, like *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, to the regular motion of the cosmos (see below).

16. Cf. BG 2: “that it is a pure spirit, by itself”. W. TILL made the fine conjecture that here, the infinitive ἄγειν was confused with the adjective ἄγιον, completed by a scribe with πνεῦμα, in *Codex Berolinensis Gnosticus: Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (TU, 60), Berlin, De Gruyter, 1955, p. 203; followed by M. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques: Codex de Berlin* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 1), Paris, Cerf, 1984, p. 351; BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 200; POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), p. 782; P. VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy in the Letter of Eugnostos* (NHC III,3 and V,1) and *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2012, p. 65. As R. VAN DEN BROEK notes, the administration of the cosmos by a “pure spirit” would be good Stoicism, anyways – see his *Eugnostos: Via sceptsis naar gnosis*, in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 37 (1983) 104-114, p. 109; similarly, BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 200.

17. See Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2,1079-1107, per D.M. PARROTT, *Eugnostos and “All the Philosophers”*, in M. GÖRG (ed.), *Erbe Ägyptens: Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte zu Ehren von Alexander Böhlig* (Ägypten und Altes Testament), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1988, 153-167, p. 157; see also BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 200; VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), p. 66. Further, POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), pp. 782-783.

18. So PARROTT, *Eugnostos* (n. 17), p. 156; BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 200; POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), p. 783 (re: Aëtius, *Placita* 1,28,3); PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), p. 9; VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), p. 66; many examples could be adduced.

19. The Graeco-Coptic ριμαρμε[νη] is used in NHC V,1. On the term used in BG 2, τεϩοντ, see BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 201, but esp. W.-P. FUNK, *Tethont oder the vermeintliche “Nähe” des Schicksals: Zum lexikalisch-semantischen Hindernislauf der Heimarmene in einigen koptischen Gnostica*, in *Göttinger Miszellen* 177 (2000) 13-23, followed by POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), pp. 784-785; VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), pp. 65-66.

ἀνάγκη. This could refer to the Stoa, too²⁰, or at least to Chrysippus, who equated πρόνοια and εἰμαρμένη. Others have suggested astrol-ogers²¹. It is worth noting that the *locus classicus* for these interpretations of **b** and **c** is to be found in “Aëtius”, on whom see below.

Soph. Jes. Chr. refutes the arguments of “the wisest” about “the organisation of the world”, as follows:

- aa. “Whatever comes from its own self leads a polluted existence”²². This could be a caricature of Epicurean morals²³.
- bb. “Providence has no wisdom in it”. Epicureans and Peripatetics mocked the Stoic belief in providential administration of the world on grounds of the observation of worldly evil²⁴.
- cc. Finally, “fate does not perceive”. Nature is lampooned as “blind” in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*²⁵. The notion of “blind fate” may take on additional significance in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, which of course features the blind demiurge Yaltabaoth²⁶.

The upshot of these arguments is clear, in all the versions: the multitude of philosophical “voices” (CΜΗ) “are not in agreement” (Ἰσχυροφῶναι ἄν). Behind these Coptic terms we can detect a pun in the Greek *Vorlagen* of *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*: Copt. CΜΗ * Grk. φωναί (sg. φωνή), which together cannot add up to a συμφωνία²⁷. In contrast to this multiplicity of philosophies, the present teaching offers the real truth – a *Leitmotiv* of early Christian apologetics²⁸. This truth is

20. So TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 16), p. 352, followed by BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 201, re: Aëtius, *Placita* 1,28,3; Justin Martyr, 2 *Apol.* 7; see also PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), p. 9; VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), pp. 66-67.

21. PARROTT, *Eugnostos* (n. 17), p. 156; E. THOMASSEN, *Commentaire: Le Traité Tripartite*, in Id. (ed.), *Le Traité Tripartite (NH I, 5)* (BCNH.T, 19), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989, 260-453, p. 412 (with reference to *Tri. Trac.*, discussed below).

22. Cf. BG 2: “wicked” (ζοοογ).

23. PARROTT, *Eugnostos* (n. 17), p. 159; BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 202.

24. Rightly BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 203, re: Philo, *Prov.* 2,1; similarly PARROTT, *Eugnostos* (n. 17), p. 160.

25. VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), p. 57, re: *Rec.* 8,40. Cf. also Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 5,4 on “blind Fortune”, discussed below.

26. Rightly BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), pp. 203-204.

27. PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), p. 13, followed by VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), p. 63.

28. BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 199 (re: Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 2,1-2); POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), p. 781; VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), pp. 72-73 (re: Epiphanius, *Panarion* 33,3,3; Tatian, *Address to the Greeks* 3,3). With regards to the doxography in *Tri. Trac.*, see G. SMITH, *Guilt by Association: Heresy Catalogues in Early Christianity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 110-111, and the discussion below.

revelatory²⁹, and it has soteriological implications, for whoever is given knowledge becomes an immortal among mortals³⁰. This is knowledge of the first principle and its emanations – and, in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, the birth of Yaltabaoth and the subsequent history of the world and humanity.

There is also a lack of harmony in the modern, scholarly “voices” analysing the details of these arguments, with significant repercussions for how one reads the more general rhetorical aims of *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* For instance, van den Broek and Pasquier have both suggested (with reference to *Eug.*, although the point also applies to *Soph. Jes. Chr.*) that the sense of the phrase “it is directed on its own” is not that the world is self-directed (as in Greek Atomism), but that the world is self-generated (as the Stoa argued)³¹. On this reading, argument **a** would be not Epicurean, but Stoic. Pasquier emphasises that such a reading is bolstered by the repeated emphasis in the ensuing theogonies on the self-generated (ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ) character of the deity³². Van den Broek, meanwhile, has read the rhetoric of *Eug.* as informed by Neo-Pyrrhonian Skepticism, particularly in arguments **aa**, **bb**, and **cc**³³. His conclusion is that the author of *Eug.* is a Hellenised Jew who has become skeptical regarding the traditions of his ancestors, and uses skeptical arguments as a way to demolish these traditional views before setting up an alternative route to god – negative theology³⁴.

Finally, when we turn to *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, the question is complicated further by the fact that, as Barry observes, the opening frame narrative (see above, at the beginning of this section) refers to the “wise providence”. There is then a conflict between the “wise providence” and the nasty providence mentioned in argument **bb**, which can only recall passages in other Gnostic texts where a lower ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ is administered by Yaltabaoth and his archons³⁵. In other words, while *Eug.* is critical of

29. Rightly emphasised by VAN DEN BROEK, *Eugnostos* (n. 16).

30. PARROTT, *Eugnostos* (n. 17), pp. 160-165.

31. VAN DEN BROEK, *Eugnostos* (n. 16), p. 109; PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), p. 8.

32. PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), pp. 9-10.

33. VAN DEN BROEK, *Eugnostos* (n. 16), pp. 109-110. For the “empty life” (**aa**, in *Eug.*), he refers to Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 5,8, a loose parallel; the foolishness of ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ (**bb**, in both *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*) he takes to be an attempt to divide up the identification of πρόνοια and σοφία in Wis 8,1, with reference to Skeptical arguments about theodicy; “fate is an undiscerning thing” (**cc**) could recall passages on the capriciousness of natural disasters in Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 5,9-10.

34. VAN DEN BROEK, *Eugnostos* (n. 16), pp. 111, 113-114.

35. PARROTT, *Eugnostos* (n. 17), p. 160; BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 203; VĀHĀKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), pp. 69-70, all regarding *On the Origin of the World* NHC II 101,26-28; 108,7-24; 109,3-6; 111,14-18; 111,31-112,1; 125,23-32. See also *ApocrIn* NHC II 12,17 and BG 43,12; for further citations and secondary literature on the latter passage, see D.M. BURNS, *First Thoughts on the Structure of the Apoc-*

πρῶνοια, *Soph. Jes. Chr.* claims that there *is* a divine providence, but it is *not* the malevolent one running the cosmos – a distinctively Gnostic pronouncement on divine administration (and itself an argument for utilisation of some category like “Gnosticism”)³⁶. Hartenstein is right that the text thus offers some kind of Christian Gnostic teaching³⁷, but her argument that it has an “unpolemical character”³⁸ is difficult to square with the vitriol the work directs against “all the philosophers”.

III. DOXOGRAPHY, DIVISION, AND DISSONANCE

Eug. and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* are not themselves doxographies. Rather, they employ a doxographical source in a polemical manner, and make use of specific rhetorical devices common in polemical appropriations of doxographical sources: διαίρεσις, “division” and διαφωνία, “dissonance”. Pasquier’s argument that the doxography in *Eug.* attacks Stoic conceptions of cosmic self-generation, rather than multiple theories about divine administration, and Hartenstein’s claim that *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is not a polemical work, both rely on readings of the respective texts which are mutually exclusive with their clear use of διαίρεσις and διαφωνία.

“Doxography” is not a first-order term of the ancient world, but was coined by the German philologist Hermann Diels to describe the phenomenon of ancient literature that deals *in extenso* with “opinions” (Grk. δόξαι) representing the views of different schools of thought, particularly about matters of nature, politics, or medicine³⁹. In modern usage,

ryphon of John (*NHC II,1 and par.*) and Divine Providence in ‘Classic Gnostic’ Literature, in D. BRAKKE – S.J. DAVIS – S.E. EMMEL (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 263), Leuven, Peeters, 29-54, p. 33, n. 16.

36. On this point, see D.M. BURNS, *Providence, Creation, and Gnosticism according to the Gnostics*, in *JECS* 24 (2016) 55-79, esp. pp. 76-77.

37. HARTENSTEIN, *Zweite Lehre* (n. 1), p. 40: “Die SJC setzt sicherlich Vertrautheit mit gnostischen Lehren, z.B. über den Fall der Sophia und die Erschaffung der Welt und des Menschen, voraus. Aber an LeserInnen ohne jedes Wissen über Jesus und das Christentum kann die Schrift auch nicht gerichtet sein”.

38. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 41.

39. See of course H. DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1879. For useful introductions to his work and the history of the notion of doxography, see D.T. RUNIA, *What Is Doxography?*, in P. VAN DER EIJK (ed.), *Ancient Histories of Medicine: Essays in Medical Doxography and Historiography in Classical Antiquity* (Studies in Ancient Medicine, 20), Leiden, Brill, 1999, 33-55; also *Id.*, *Philo and Hellenistic Doxography*, in J. MANSFELD – D.T. RUNIA (eds.), *Aëtiana: The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*. Vol. 3: *Studies in the Doxographical Traditions of Ancient Philosophy* (Philosophia Antiqua, 118), Leiden, Brill, 2009, 271-312, pp. 273-274, in addition to the material in the following notes.

the term “doxography” is employed to describe any account of the thoughts or beliefs of philosophers and their schools – texts which overlap but are not identical with what we may call a “history of philosophy”. There was no “doxographical genre” in antiquity; rather, there was a “doxographical method” which appeared in a number of literary contexts⁴⁰. In a more strict sense, then, “doxography” denotes the specific, identifiable textual units that list philosophical beliefs or arguments belonging to the Greek tradition – i.e., collections of *doxai*, which are exemplified by but not limited to the *Placita* literature⁴¹. As Runia writes,

Placita (or ἀρέσκοντα or δόξαι) are short summaries of doctrine attributed to famous and less famous philosophers on a particular theme or topic. The style is usually bald and highly compact ... These can vary in length, but almost always they are descriptive, giving little or no argumentation on the position held ... The *placita* themselves are collected together in chapters on particular topics...The sequence is generally determined by systematic considerations⁴².

Placita often do not include names at all: the emphasis is on the view held rather than the one holding it⁴³. While Runia describes several types of doxographical literature, the distinction that is important here is between works specifically devoted to *placita* and works or authors which employ *placita* as sources for some other end⁴⁴. While authors such as Cicero, Philo, or Plutarch may be very important for our understanding of ancient doxography, it is more helpful to speak of “doxographical passages” in their works than to describe them as “doxographers” writing “doxographies”. This is surely the case for *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* as well.

Diels invented the term “doxography” when identifying and interpreting the verbatim parallels with doxographical content shared between Pseudo-Plutarch, Stobaeus, and Theodoret of Cyrrihus, parallels so extensive that they could only indicate a shared source⁴⁵. Theodoret uses the

40. RUNIA, *What Is Doxography?* (n. 39), p. 52.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, p. 40. Similarly, J. MANSFELD, *Sources*, in K. ALGRA – J. BARNES – J. MANSFELD – M. SCHOFIELD (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, 3-29, pp. 17-18.

43. RUNIA, *Philo and Hellenistic Doxography* (n. 39), p. 285.

44. Surveyed in RUNIA, *What Is Doxography?* (n. 39), pp. 41-42. See also G. BETEGH, *The Transmission of Ancient Wisdom: Texts, Doxographies, Libraries*, in L.P. GERSON (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, vol. 1, 25-38, pp. 34-35.

45. For a critical summary of Diels' work, J. MANSFELD – D.T. RUNIA, *Aëtiana: The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*. Vol. 1: *The Sources* (Philosophia Antiqua, 73), Leiden, Brill, 1996; RUNIA, *What Is Doxography?* (n. 39), pp. 35-39; ID.,

name Aëtius to designate the author of this source; we know nothing else of this figure, but it is unlikely that Aëtius was actually his name⁴⁶. The title and dating of Aëtius' work may only be guessed, but it is reasonable to follow Mansfeld and Runia in supposing it to have been called *Περὶ ἀρεσκόντων* ("On What It Pleases One to Think", i.e., "On the Opinions (of the Philosophers)"; Lat. *De placitis*), and to date it between roughly 100-250 CE⁴⁷. Now, as noted above, Aëtius' *Placita* is a favourite reference for scholars diagnosing the providence doxographies in *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, particularly arguments **b** and **c** (that "providence" and "destiny", respectively, run the cosmos)⁴⁸. Aëtius writes as follows:

On the Nature of Fate (*Περὶ οὐσίας εἰμαρμένης*): According to Heraclitus, the essence of fate is a certain reason which penetrates the substance of all being; and this is an ethereal body, containing in itself that seminal faculty which gives an original to every being in the universe. Plato declares that it is the eternal reason and the eternal law of the nature of the universe. Chrysippus, that it is a spiritual faculty, which in due order doth manage and rule the universe. Again, in his book styled the *Definitions*, that fate is the reason of the world, or that it is that law whereby Providence rules and administers every thing that is in the world; or it is that reason by which all things past have been, all things present are, and all things future will be. The Stoics say that it is a chain of causes, that is, it is an order and connection of causes which cannot be resisted. Posidonius, that it is a being the third in degree from Jupiter; the first of beings is Jupiter, the second nature, and the third fate⁴⁹.

As Mansfeld has emphasised and as this passage makes abundantly clear, the content of Aëtius' *Placita* is not polemical, or even oriented towards any particular argument; it resembles a list, or a reference work⁵⁰. The taxonomy of *doxai* does not serve to advance any agenda beyond description of the arguments at hand.

Philo and Hellenistic Doxography (n. 39), pp. 272-273; for their modified summary of what we know about Aëtius, see MANSFELD – RUNIA, *Aëtiana 1*, pp. 319-332.

46. J. BREMMER, *Aëtius, Arius Didymus and the Transmission of Doxography*, in *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 154-160, p. 156.

47. For the title, see MANSFELD – RUNIA, *Aëtiana 1* (n. 45), pp. 324-326; RUNIA, *What Is Doxography?* (n. 39), p. 40. For the date, see MANSFELD – RUNIA, *Aëtiana 1*, p. 319: the last philosopher mentioned in the work is Xenarchus of Seleucia (80/75 BCE–ca. 0 CE) and so the *terminus post quem* is around the turn of the millennium, while Pseudo-Plutarch has a *terminus ante quem* of the later third century, since his work is quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Praep. ev.* 1,7-8).

48. TARDIEU, *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 16), p. 352; BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), p. 201; POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), p. 783.

49. Aëtius, *Placita* 1,28,3 *apud* Plutarch [*Placita*] 885a-d, trans. W.W. GOODWIN, *et al.*, *Plutarch's Morals*, 5 vols., Boston, MA, Little, Brown, and Co., 1878, vol. 3, p. 130.

50. MANSFELD, *Sources* (n. 42), pp. 18-19.

Less neutral presentations of *placita* appear in other authors. A fine example presents itself in a passage from the second-century orator and eclectic Platonist Maximus of Tyre, in an oration which attacks the viability of prayer for worldly things:

Of all the things which men pray to obtain, some are under the control of Providence, others are enforced by Destiny, some are at the mercy of fickle Fortune, and some are regulated by Science. Providence is God's work, Destiny the work of Necessity, Science the work of man, and Fortune the work of blind Chance. It is to the supervision of one or another of these four factors that the raw material of life is allocated. What we pray for must therefore be attributed either to divine Providence, or to destined Necessity, or to human Science, or to the vagaries of Fortune⁵¹.

By dividing up the spheres of human life into four, which are in turn under the rulership of four causal forces, Maximus here plots a trajectory for his argument that prayer is superfluous: if it can be shown that it is absurd to pray for things under (i) the domain of providence, (ii) under the domain of Necessity, (iii) under the domain of Science, and (iv) under the domain of Fortune, then it is absurd to pray for any worldly object at all, and this is precisely the argument he pursues⁵². This mapping out of arguments as a series of “divisions” – “simple but systematically significant antitheses”, in Runia's words – is a common technique in doxographical writing, called διαίρεσις⁵³. Another useful example of the technique used with respect to the question of providence can be found in the Stoic Marcus Aurelius' bald statement that “either it's providence,

51. Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 5,4, in M. TRAPP (trans.), *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1997, 45. TRAPP (*ibid.*, p. 45, n. 18) recalls Plutarch [*Placita*] 885c-d and Stobaeus, *Eclogues* 1,15,15-16 (i.e., Aëtius, *Placita* 1,28,3), in addition to other relevant sources. On this passage, see also A. TIMOTIN, *Porphyry on Prayer: Platonic Tradition and Religious Trends in the Third Century*, in J.M. DILLON – A. TIMOTIN (eds.), *Platonic Theories of Prayer* (Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition 19), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2015, 71-107, p. 91, re: Plato, *Leg.* 10,885b; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.

52. Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 5,4-7. Rather, the only viable prayer is that of the philosopher who prays to the gods, demonstrating the rare gift of virtue which the gods have given to him (*ibid.* 5,8). For discussion, see G. DORIVAL, *Modes of Prayer in the Hellenic Tradition*, in DILLON – TIMOTIN (eds.), *Platonic Theories of Prayer* (n. 51), 27-45, pp. 38-39; C. O'BRIEN, *Prayer in Maximus of Tyre*, *ibid.*, 58-71, p. 63; TIMOTIN, *Porphyry on Prayer* (n. 51), p. 93.

53. RUNIA, *What Is Doxography?* (n. 39), p. 40. This rhetorical sense of the term διαίρεσις recalls the word's usage by Plato (*Phaedrus* 263b-266c; *Sophist* 235b-d, 253c-e) to map the division of categories of concepts in dialectic, a sense adapted in a different Nag Hammadi text, *Thunder: Perfect Mind* NHC VI,2. For discussion of this latter sense of διαίρεσις, see T. BAK HALVGAARD, *Linguistic Manifestations in the 'Trimorphic Protennoia' and the 'Thunder: Perfect Mind'. Analysed against the Background of Platonic and Stoic Dialectics* (NHMS, 91), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2015, esp. pp. 17-25, 158-162.

or atoms” (ἤτοι πρόνοια ἢ ἄτομοι) – and providence is surely the better option⁵⁴.

Such divisions can also be piled onto one another to induce a state of confusion through sheer polyphony: the technique of διαφωνία. This “dissonance” was first developed by the Academic Skeptics, and is best known in our extant sources in its use by Neo-Pyrrhonists such as Sextus Empiricus⁵⁵. The Skeptic sets out a number of distinctive views about a given topic (e.g., providence and the gods’ care for humanity), and the clash between the different perspectives contributes to a sense that the problem is either completely or nearly insoluble. Despite its Hellenistic vintage, use of the technique by Alexander of Aphrodisias shows that it was still intelligible in the second century CE⁵⁶. The term came to encompass the “modes” developed by the Skeptical philosopher Aenesidemus (first century BCE)⁵⁷ for inducing a state of disbelief. Particularly relevant for us are the “second” and “tenth” Aenesidemian modes. According to the second mode, different people have different sensory experiences (φαντασίαι) of the same natural phenomena, and so come to different conclusions about them⁵⁸. Whom is one to believe? Meanwhile, the tenth Aenesidemian mode applies the technique specifically with reference to the subject of providence and divine administration⁵⁹.

As noted above, scholars have recognised that *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* present us with a pun when they describe how “all the philosophers” have many “voices” (φωνή) which “are not in agreement” (ἄσυνφωνοι), and that the technique is used at times in Christian apologetics⁶⁰. However, to the best of my knowledge, only

54. Marcus Aurelius 4,3, text in C.R. HAINES (ed. and trans.), *Marcus Aurelius* (Loeb Classical Library, 58), Cambridge, MA – London, Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 68, trans. mine. For this passage as an example of διαίρεσις, see J. MANSFELD – D.T. RUNIA, *Aëtiana. The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*. Vol. 2: *The Compendium* (Philosophia Antiqua, 114), Leiden, Brill, 2009, p. 342.

55. J. MANSFELD, *Diaphonia: the Argument of Alexander De fato chs. 1–2*, in *Phronesis* 33 (1988) 181–207, p. 184, esp. n. 9; see also BETEGH, *Transmission* (n. 44), p. 37.

56. MANSFELD, *Diaphonia* (n. 55), pp. 186, 196.

57. For the ascription of the Neo-Pyrrhonist “modes” for inducing skepticism to Aenesidemus, see Diogenes Laërtius 9,78–79.

58. Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 1,79–90; also Diogenes Laërtius 9,80–81, Philo, *Ebr.* 176–177; see further MANSFELD, *Diaphonia* (n. 55), pp. 188–189, 205; B. MATES, *The Skeptic Way: Sextus Empiricus’s Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 236–237.

59. Cicero, *Acad.* 2,119–121 (probably relying on an Academic Skeptical source – MANSFELD, *Diaphonia* [n. 55], pp. 199–200; see also RUNIA, *Philo and Hellenistic Doxography* [n. 39], p. 278), but esp. Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 1,151; Diogenes Laërtius 9,83; Philo, *Ebr.* 199, per MANSFELD, *Diaphonia*, pp. 200–201.

60. PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), p. 13, followed by VÄHÄKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), p. 63.

van den Broek has recognised the roots of the technique of inducing dissonance via the invocation of multiple philosophical “voices” in Neo-Pyrrhonism⁶¹. We can now go further: *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* make clear use of the second and tenth modes of Aenesidemian Skepticism, and allude to this employment of διαφωνία when they state that the “voices” of the philosophers “do not agree”, for διαφωνία is the opposite of συμφωνία⁶². These techniques are common in *Placita* literature – Aëtius himself used them⁶³ – and so it is likely that they were already in the doxographical source utilised by *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, albeit adopted for a new rhetorical context which attacks “all of the philosophers”. Meanwhile, the fact that “all the philosophers” draw their erroneous conclusions “from the organisation of the world” (ΕΒΟΛ ΖῆΤΑΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ) – a phrase glossed in *Soph. Jes. Chr.* NHC III,4 with the phrase “and movement” – indicates that this doxographical source employs the second Aenesidemian “mode”, where the external sensory phenomena interpreted by multiple individuals which leads to the polyphony of dissonant voices. Pasquier’s argument that the doxography in *Eug.* is directed against Stoic conceptions of cosmic self-generation thus cannot be right. On her reading, there is one school or “voice” that *Eug.* attacks, but since διαφωνία presumes multiple “voices” and the text plays on the confusion that multiple philosophies create, the view that the cosmos is something that “is directed on its own” (a) is probably different from views that it is directed by “providence” (b) or “destiny” (c). If “voices” a, b, and c were all saying the same thing, there would not be much dissonance in this διαφωνία.

Van den Broek correctly surmises that the rhetorical thrust of *Eug.*’s providence doxography is to induce skepticism prior to presenting one’s own argument – a technique common among Roman philosophers utilising *Placita* literature, such as Philo⁶⁴ – in this case, the revelations of the self-originate God and His Ogdoad. The polemical orientation of *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, is, on the other hand, rather different. “Wisdom” is what is at stake in Jesus’ polemic about providence; it’s even in the title. Yet *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, having attempted to put the reader into a state of disbelief regarding the polyphony of “philosophical” beliefs about the administration of the cosmos, takes its revelation in an entirely different

61. VAN DEN BROEK, *Eugnostos* (n. 16), p. 108, regarding Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 1,29.

62. MANSFELD noted *Eug.*’s use of διαφωνία in passing with reference to VAN DEN BROEK, *Eugnostos* (n. 16), but did not develop the point (Diaphonia [n. 55], pp. 200-201).

63. MANSFELD – RUNIA, *Aëtiana 1* (n. 45), p. 191.

64. On this point, see BETEGH, *Transmission* (n. 44), p. 36; RUNIA, *Philo and Hellenistic Doxography* (n. 39), p. 307.

direction as *Eug.* As noted above, its descriptions of the heavenly world segue to a description of the origin of the demiurge Yaldabaoth and his archons, their creation of the present cosmos, and it is likely that the “providence” by which Jesus delivers his revelation is meant to contrast with the lower providence of the archons, which is known by the “wisest” among philosophers. Are these the same philosophers whom *Eug.* asks us to disregard, or does the additional, Christian frame-narrative and Gnostic content of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* shape the meaning of its providence doxography into something new?

IV. THE PROVIDENCE DOXOGRAPHY IN THE *TRIPARTITE TRACTATE* AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE *WISDOM OF JESUS CHRIST*

It is useful here to turn to the third “providence doxography” found at Nag Hammadi, embedded in that most enigmatic of treatises, the *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,5)⁶⁵. Following a discussion of the strife that ensued between the two aeonic and corresponding worldly orders of the “left” (hylic) and “right” (psychic), the author of *Tri. Trac.* tells us that since the two orders imitate one another, it can be difficult for some to distinguish which order is which⁶⁶. The work then turns to a sort of “history of knowledge”, first describing the emergence of Greek philosophy, then the arrival of Judaism, and finally Christianity⁶⁷. The former is described in terms of a providence doxography, which I gloss with the letters given to the arguments above (a, b, and c) and additional letters for additional arguments (d, e):

This is why other (opinions) were brought forth. Some say [that] whatever exists, exists [thanks to] providence – namely, those who [observe] what belongs to the regularity of the movement of [creation] and (its) agreeableness (ΕΥΘΟΟΠ ΝΖΡΗΙ ΖΝ [ΟΥ]ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ · ΕΤΕΝΕΤ[ΕΑ]ΨΤ ΝΕ ΑΠCΜΙΝΕ · ΜΠΚΙΜ · ΜΠ[C]ΨΝΤ ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΡΠΘΕ) (b). Others say that

65. The Coptic text of *Tri. Trac.* is an unusual specimen that poses unusual challenges. Translation of quoted text is my own, but I have benefited enormously from consultation of H.W. ATTRIDGE – E.H. PAGELS, *The Tripartite Tractate: Text and Translation*, in H.W. ATTRIDGE (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex): Introductions, Texts, Translations, Indices* (NHS, 22), Leiden, Brill, 1985, 192-337; E. THOMASSEN – L. PAINCHAUD, *Texte et Traduction*, in THOMASSEN (ed.), *Le Traité Tripartite* (n. 21), 49-259; P. NAGEL, *Der Tractatus Tripartitus aus Nag Hammadi Codex I (Codex Jung)* (STAC, 1), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1998, discussed in the following.

66. *Tri. Trac.* NHC I 108,13–109,5.

67. See H.W. ATTRIDGE – E.H. PAGELS, *The Tripartite Tractate: Notes*, in H.W. ATTRIDGE (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex). Notes* (NHS, 23), Leiden, Brill, 1985, 217-497, pp. 419-420.

it is an alien – namely, those who observe the inflexibility⁶⁸ and injustice of the powers, and evil (**d**). Others say that what is fated to be is what there is – namely, those ones who [were] occupied with the matter (**c**). Others say that [it is] something in accordance with nature (**e**). Others say that it is self-existent (**a**)⁶⁹. [But] the absolute majority who reach to the visible⁷⁰ [elements] have not understood more than them (ΠΡΟΥΟ Δ[Ε] ΤΗΡΩ ΝΤΑΥΠΩΖ ΨΑ ΝΙΣΤΟΙΧΙ[Θ(Ν)] ΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ · ΜΠΟΥΣΟΥΩΝ ΖΟΥΟ ΑΡΑΟΥ). Those who became wise (σοφός) among the Greeks and the barbarians met with the powers that had come into being in accordance with faulty sense-impression (φαντασία) and a vain thought, <and>⁷¹ those who came from them, in accordance with the mutual strife and rebellious manner that were active in them, and they spoke out of semblance and arrogance and a faulty sense-impression concerning those things which they thought to be “wisdom” (αγώεχε ρηή ρνν ούταντν · μν ούμντ·χασι ρητ · μνν ούμееεε μφαντασία ρα πρα ννεει ενταύμεεε · αραγ μμντρμνζητ)⁷².

As is widely recognised, all three arguments from *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* appear here, albeit in different order, along with two additional arguments⁷³. I. Dunderberg has even suggested, plausibly, that the three Nag Hammadi works draw from the same doxographical source⁷⁴. The sense of the first additional argument in the διαίρεσις – argument “**d**”, about the “alien” (αλοτριον) cause – is not quite clear. While some have taken “alien” here to refer to the opposing power administering the world (e.g., the lower gods of Marcion and the Gnostics), others have taken the reference to be the “world” with all its problems⁷⁵. Argument

68. MS: ΑΤΝΑΩΡΜΙΝΕ; I follow NAGEL (n. 65) in reading instead ΑΤΝΑΩΤΜΙΝΕ. ATTRIDGE – PAGELS (n. 65) and THOMASSEN (n. 21) rather translate the reading of the MS as “diversity”.

69. Trans. per ATTRIDGE – PAGELS (n. 65). Cf. NAGEL (n. 65), who proposes emending the text to include a negative copula, inserting ΕΝ: “it is <not> something, that is self-existent”. SMITH suggests rather “something that is spontaneous”, recalling the Epicureans again (*Guilt* [n. 28], pp. 114–115).

70. Or “manifest”.

71. Emendation THOMASSEN (n. 21), followed by NAGEL (n. 65). MS: ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΕΙ. The emendation permits one to draw up a difference between the descending angels and the Nephilim they produce.

72. NHC I 109,5–35. Text THOMASSEN in THOMASSEN (ed.), *Traité Tripartite* (n. 21), pp. 190, 192, with details noted in the preceding notes.

73. See ATTRIDGE – PAGELS, *Notes* (n. 67), pp. 420–421; THOMASSEN, *Commentaire* (n. 21), p. 410; POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), pp. 785–786; VÄHÄKANGAS, *Rejection and Reception of Philosophy* (n. 16), p. 70; SMITH, *Guilt* (n. 28), p. 114.

74. I. DUNDERBERG, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2008, p. 179.

75. For the former interpretation, see *ibid.*, p. 180 (“Sethian and related texts”). For the latter interpretation, see THOMASSEN, *Commentaire* (n. 21), p. 411 (Epicureans), followed by SMITH, *Guilt* (n. 28), p. 113. ATTRIDGE – PAGELS are parsimonious on the matter (*Notes* [n. 67], p. 421), as is POIRIER, who is content to note that the argument essentially

e, meanwhile, recalls the Stoa again⁷⁶. *Tri. Trac.* (NHC I 109,9-10), meanwhile, explicitly links observation of the regular motion of the elements to poor inferences regarding its administration, like *Soph. Jes. Chr.*⁷⁷. The providence doxography of *Tri. Trac.* thus also recalls the second and tenth Aenesidemian “modes” of inducing doubt.

As G. Smith recognises, this list “is not a neutral philosophical doxography. It is a heresy list”⁷⁸. *Tri. Trac.* proceeds to list off different schools of Jewish teaching as well, and contrasts their disunity to the harmony of “the righteous ones and the prophets”, a use of *διαφωνία* that departs from that employed in *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*⁷⁹. Thus, the Greeks were led astray by the (angelic-daimonic) powers of the left (material, *αυλικος*); the Jews, by the powers of the right (animate, *ψυχικος*), despite the truth uttered through the demiurge. The text here plays on the second-third century Christian apologetic motif wherein the plurality of philosophical schools is inspired by the evil *δαίμονες* pretending to be gods⁸⁰. Smith emphasises that the heresy list does not include Christians, and reads the ensuing discussion of the three kinds of human beings – spirituals, animates, and materials (*Tri. Trac.* NHC I 118–119) – in light of the heresy list: animates are like the Hebrews, some of whom served “as conduits for the heavenly *Logos*”, some of whom brought forth their own false opinions and thus sowed division⁸¹. Smith goes further: *Tri. Trac.* establishes a hierarchy of salvation not “to separate true Christians from false ones but rather to distinguish good Christians from better ones. Whoever embraces the Savior becomes part of the in-crowd”⁸².

Now, *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is also a work which uses a providence doxography to stake out its claim to a distinctively, explicitly Christian “wisdom”. It opens, like *Eug.*, against “the wise” and “the philosophers”, who came to myriad beliefs about “wisdom” due to their faulty sense-impressions from observing nature. Yet do we see in *Soph. Jes.*

rephrases that of *bb* in *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (*Deux doxographies* [n. 15], p. 786). The question is further muddled by the fact that Marcion reportedly (*apud* Tertullian) employed Epicurean arguments in his criticism of the God of the Old Testament; see J. GAGER, *Marcion and Philosophy*, in *VigChr* 26 (1972) 53-59.

76. ATTRIDGE – PAGELS, *Notes* (n. 67), p. 421; see also POIRIER, *Deux doxographies* (n. 15), p. 786.

77. ATTRIDGE – PAGELS, *Notes* (n. 67), p. 420.

78. SMITH, *Guilt* (n. 28), p. 115.

79. NHC I 112,14–113,5. On this passage, see SMITH, *Guilt* (n. 28), pp. 116-119.

80. See esp. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1,17,81,4-5; 1,17,86,1–87,2. Cf. also Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 54–57; *2 Apol.* 5; Theophilus, *Autolytus* 2,8; Athenagoras, *Legatio* 24,1; 24,6; 25,1-3.

81. SMITH, *Guilt* (n. 28), p. 120.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Chr. the sort of heresiographical, intra-Christian dynamic Smith identifies in *Tri. Trac.*? To be sure, “the wise” and their opinions appear in *Tri. Trac.*, too. “Wisdom” (σοφία) is a common cipher for Pagan learning in Patristic literature⁸³. As Smith observes, *Tri. Trac.* here seeks to explain how both the Greeks and Jews were led into error by angelic intermediary powers – the diversity of their opinions accords with the diversity of powers – and this passage has a strong parallel in Origen’s *On First Principles*, Book Three⁸⁴. This book is devoted to the problems of free will (*Princ.* 3,1) and its relationship to evil and the existence of opposing powers (3,2-3). *Princ.* 3,3 takes as its point of departure 1 Cor 2,6-8 (“we speak wisdom among the perfect, yet not the wisdom of this world nor of the rulers of this world, who are coming to naught...”). “We understand the wisdom of the rulers of this world”, Origen says, “to be what they call the secret and hidden philosophy of the Egyptians, and the astrology of the Chaldeans and Indians, who profess knowledge about high things, and also the manifold and diverse opinions of the Greeks about divinity. Accordingly, we find in the holy Scriptures that there are rulers over individual nations ... who ... are not human beings but certain powers ... (Dan 10,13.20; Ezek 28)”⁸⁵. These malevolent beings have been operative in the development of human arts such as poetry, geometry, or divination⁸⁶.

Origen does not introduce a providence doxography here⁸⁷, but he does give us a sense of what is at stake when *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* discuss the opinions of “the wisest among them” and “the philosophers”, namely distinguishing Pagan “wisdom” from the true Christian philosophy, based on revelation in some way concomitant with Scripture⁸⁸. Yet *Soph. Jes. Chr.* does not, at first sight, stake any ground opposed to competing

83. See e.g. *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1245a, s.v. σοφία, A.3.b.

84. Mentioned in passing at *Guilt* (n. 28), pp. 110-111.

85. *Princ.* 3,3,2, trans. J. BEHR (ed. and trans.), *Origen: On First Principles*, 2 vols. (Oxford Early Christian Texts), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017-2018, vol. 2, p. 403.

86. *Princ.* 3,3,3-4; similarly, *Tri. Trac.* NHC I 110,11-22. On the former passage, see H.S. BENJAMINS, *Eingeordnete Freiheit: Freiheit und Vorsehung bei Origenes* (VigChr-Sup. 28), Leiden – New York – Köln, Brill, 1994, pp. 135-136.

87. Rather, Origen proceeds to discuss why some people are influenced by good powers, and others by bad, at different times; the answer is that they are free to react to the demonic powers as they see fit (*Princ.* 3,3,5-6). He does formulate something of a providence doxography in *Comm. Rom.* 3,1,14-19, which opposes true Christian “wisdom” about providential care (as described in Matt 5,45; 10,29) to the multiplicity of false reasonings about providence made by three schools of philosophers, easily identifiable as the Epicureans, Aristotelians, and the Stoa. This passage does not, however, address the origins of the multiplicity of philosophical views, whether due to φαντασῖαι or δαίμονες.

88. Cf. also Tertullian, *De anima* 20,5: for the Christians, the “supreme powers” that order things are God and his adversary, the Devil; but according to “common opinions about providence”, they are instead fate, necessity, and fortune.

Christian groups. In fact, its concluding narrative constructs a polemic whose target is the gods of “Pagan” cult. Having described the appearance of Yaldabaoth and heaven’s subsequent intervention resulting in the creation of the primordial human being, Jesus exclaims:

It is I, I who came [from the First One], who was sent so that I might reveal to you He Who Is from the beginning, because of the arrogance of the Prime Begetter and his angels – for they say about themselves that they are gods (ΧΕ ΣΕΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΡΘΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ)! But it is I, I who came to relieve them of their blindness (ΤΕΥΜΝΤΒΛΛΕ), so that I might tell everyone of the God who is above the universe! So, you: tread upon their graves, humiliate their providence (ΤΕΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΜΑΘΒΕΙΟΣ), and break their yoke, and raise up whatever belongs to me! I have given you authority over all things as Sons of Light, so that you may tread their power under [your] feet⁸⁹!

This passage clearly views the Prime Begetter and his angels as false deities. As in Origen and *Tri. Trac.*, they are understood to be the gods of paganism, the evil angels who spawned Greek philosophy as part of their unholy descent to humanity. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* finishes with Jesus underlining that his revelation of the true nature of things breaks their power – their false “providence”, understood here as a cipher for Roman power and the elites who collaborate with it – and the value of the teaching of these elites. This teaching can only be the tradition of the “love of wisdom”: Greek philosophy.

Reading *Soph. Jes. Chr.* specifically as an attack on “Pagan” wisdom in the context of third-century Christian apologetical rejections of philosophy does not simply suggest a more specific rhetorical context for the work as has been hitherto suggested. The interpretation offered here also invites taking new stock of the arguments it presents in its providence doxography, as given in NHC III,4:

- aa. “Whatever comes from its own self leads a polluted existence”;
- bb. “Providence has no wisdom in it”;
- cc. “fate does not perceive”.

As discussed in sections II and III of this paper, these arguments, on their face, appear to mock the Epicureans (or Peripatetics), and then the Stoa (twice). In *Eug.*, as much appears to be the case. However, as argued by Barry, *Soph. Jes. Chr.*’s inclusion of the myth of the birth of the

89. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* NHC III 118,15–119,8, text in BARRY, *Sagesse* (n. 1), pp. 158, 160. I thank F. Watson for underlining the decisive importance of this passage for the overall message of *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, during the discussion following my presentation of the first draft of this paper in Leuven. The conclusions drawn here are, for better or for worse, my own.

malevolent demiurge Yaltabaoth, designation of him and his evil angels as beings who claim to be gods, and description of him and the world-view they purvey as “blindness”, invite us to re-read these arguments with respect to this myth. When the aeon Sophia produced without the consent of the first principle, she and her offspring led a polluted existence; the providence – that is, the worldly administration – of the demiurge has no wisdom in it, i.e., no trace of the true heavenly power from the aeonic realm; and the plan that the demiurge and his angels carry out on earth is as blind as they are.

V. CONCLUSIONS

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXTS OF THE RHETORIC OF THE PROVIDENCE DOXOGRAPHIES IN *WISDOM OF JESUS CHRIST* AND *EUGNOSTOS*

The “philosophers” under discussion in *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* are not Christians, while *Tri. Trac.* attacks Christian (and Jewish) views in addition to some “Pagan” views. The providence doxography in *Tri. Trac.* serves the dual purposes of Christian apologetics and heresiography, while the providence doxographies in *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* are directed against Greek philosophy alone. The reason may be simple: *Eug.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* may sound like they speak to readers of philosophers when they discuss providence because they wish to address themselves to readers of philosophers.

Why “readers of philosophers”? The parallels with *Tri. Trac.* and with Origen are very instructive here, since these latter works engage in apologetics and Christian heresiography alike, seguing from condemnation of the “wisdom of the Greeks” to the wisdom of their Christian competitors. The *Wisdom of Jesus Christ* is so-called because it wishes to present a “wisdom” that contrasts with that of the Hellenes. If a heresiological element is present in the text, it is not explicit – except perhaps in its frame-narrative and apocalyptic genre trappings, which presume an audience that would find its literary frame persuasive, namely a Christian one. Rather, *Soph. Jes. Chr.* engages in the kind of polemic against “Pagan philosophy” that recalls apologists like Justin Martyr or Clement of Alexandria. At the same time, *Soph. Jes. Chr.* departs from these and other “proto-orthodox” thinkers in identifying the false gods of the Pagans who have led the philosophers astray not as demons or fallen angels, but as the demiurge and his archons, who in their blindness believe themselves to be gods. True σοφία reveals them and their providence to be a sham, and that is the “Wisdom of Jesus Christ”.

The rhetorical context of the providence doxography in *Eug.* is, like so much about this work, more mysterious. It presents us with a criticism of “the wisest” and “philosophers” as well, but it does not proclaim itself to be Christian wisdom, even though that’s what it is. Here, *Eug.* separates itself from Christian apologetic claims to possess an ancient philosophy more antique than that of the Greeks (and, in *Tri. Trac.*’s rendering, than that of the “barbarians” as well)⁹⁰. Recognising that *Eug.* is almost certainly not a work of hypothetical “pre-Christian Gnosticism”⁹¹ is not mutually exclusive with reading it as a text directed from one philosophising elite to another – a philosophising elite that was fond of revelatory literature, like the authors and readers of the *Hermetica* or Zosimus of Panopolis. One wonders, then, if the author of *Eug.* was a Christian who was interested in the sort of cosmological wisdom purveyed in Gnostic and Hermetic works, but whose engagement with contemporary philosophers was relatively eirenic. To wit, *Eug.* employs a providence doxography and διαφωνία to unsettle the hegemony of Greek philosophy not in order to attack “non-Christians”, as much as in order to appeal to the strong sense of “barbarian wisdom” among second and third-century philosophers, who often prized and appealed to the revelatory wisdom of pre-Hellenic authorities⁹².

Freie Universität Berlin
 Ägyptologisches Seminar
 Fabeckstr. 23-25
 DE-14195 Berlin
 Germany
 dylan.burns@fu-berlin.de

Dylan M. BURNS

90. For comparison of *Eug.*’s anti-philosophy rhetoric with Christian claims to possess “barbarian philosophy”, see PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), pp. 8, 16-17.

91. Unconvincing is PARROTT’s suggestion that the absence of Platonism from the doxographies in question can only indicate a date of the first century BCE (*Eugnostos* [n. 17], p. 154). The later Roman Stoa (Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius) do not discuss Platonism much, if at all, and Platonists like Philo and Plutarch have works that tackle Hellenistic philosophy without significant reference to Plato (see *Prov.* and *Stoic. rep.*, respectively). For a dating of *Eug.* rather to the early second century CE, see PASQUIER, *Commentaire* (n. 3), p. 17.

92. For a recent survey of the phenomenon of Greek philosophers’ fetishising of “barbarian” wisdom vis-à-vis early Christian and Gnostic literature, see D.M. BURNS, *Apocalypse of the Alien God: Platonism and the Exile of Sethian Gnosticism* (Divinations), Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, pp. 20-28.

DATING THE *GOSPEL OF JUDAS*

INTRODUCTION

The *Gospel of Judas* is still a recent document within the field of history of religions, especially since the only manuscript known to us was made available to researchers only in 2004-2006¹. However, the codex containing the *Gospel of Judas* became well-known to a wide audience very quickly precisely because of the *Gospel of Judas*, which was thought to present a positive figure of Judas in contrast to the opinion prevailing among believers in Jesus at least since the mid-second century².

Since the first publications on Codex Tchacos and on the *Gospel of Judas*, the judgment on Judas has been diversified, developing within a debate at first easily summarised in the formula “hero or villain?”³.

1. Codex Tchacos was probably discovered in Egypt in the 1970s and stayed during many years in a bank. The announcement was first made by Rodolphe Kasser during the International Colloquium of Coptic Studies which was held in Paris in 2004. Cf. J.M. ROBINSON, *The Secrets of Judas: The Story of the Misunderstood Disciple and His Lost Gospel*, San Francisco, CA, Harper San Francisco, 2006; H. KROSNEY, *The Lost Gospel: The Quest for the Gospel of Judas Iscariot*, Washington, DC, National Geographic, 2006; R. KASSER, *Introduction. Lost and Found: The History of Codex Tchacos*, in *The Gospel of Judas together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos. Critical Edition*, Coptic text edited par R. KASSER – G. WURST, Introductions, Translations, and Notes by R. KASSER – M. MEYER – G. WURST – F. GAUDARD, Washington, DC, National Geographic, 2007, pp. 1-25. For the *editio princeps* and translation: *The Gospel of Judas together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos. Critical Edition*.

2. The *editio princeps* presents the Judas of the *Gospel of Judas* as a rehabilitated disciple.

3. It is a title of a division of the Acts of the Paris Colloquium on the *Gospel of Judas*: M. SCOPELLO (ed.), *The Gospel of Judas in Context: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Gospel of Judas. Paris, Sorbonne, October 27th-28th, 2006* (NHMS, 62), Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 155. Some scholars, as J.D. Turner, A. DeConick, L. Painchaud react to the positive opinion presented in the *editio princeps* and argue for a “villain” Judas. These two divergent opinions are fully expressed in the Acts of the Paris Colloquium. The second interpretation is well developed in the Acts of the Houston Colloquium: A.D. DECONICK (ed.), *The Codex Judas Papers: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex Held at Rice University, Houston Texas, March 13-16, 2008* (NHMS, 71), Leiden, Brill, 2009. See also L. PAINCHAUD, *À propos de la (re)découverte de l'Évangile de Judas*, in *Laval théologique et philosophique* 62 (2006) 553-568 and A.D. DECONICK, *The Thirteenth Apostle: What the Gospel of Judas Really Says*, London, Continuum, 2007 (revised edition: 2009).

The discussion then evolved to include the idea of an ambivalent Judas⁴. Beyond this debate, the *Gospel of Judas* provides information about the discussions surrounding different topics – the Eucharist, Christology, the relation to Jews and to gospel traditions – at a time when Christianity was being shaped⁵. To better understand these discussions, one must provide a date as precise as possible for the writing of the *Gospel of Judas* in the Codex Tchacos. Contrary to many other texts, the case of the *Gospel of Judas* may seem simple, since Irenaeus mentions a *Gospel of Judas* in his *Adversus haereses*. First, we will return to Irenaeus' testimony and its evaluation by scholars. Then, we would like to propose some remarks about the *Gospel of Judas* as a book at the time of Irenaeus and about the topic of treason.

I. IRENAEUS AND THE *GOSPEL OF JUDAS*

Even before Codex Tchacos was brought to light, a *Gospel of Judas* was known thanks to Irenaeus, the bishop of Lyon since the last years of the seventies of the second century. During the first years of his episcopate, Irenaeus writes, or rather completes the writing of, the five volumes of his heresiological work *Adversus haereses* (hereafter *Adv. haer.*)⁶.

4. P. TOWNSEND, *Sacrifice and Race in the Gospel of Judas*, in E.E. POPKES – G. WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium und Codex Tchacos: Studien zur religionsgeschichtlichen Verortung einer gnostischen Schriftensammlung* (WUNT, 297), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 149-172, p. 168; R. VAN DEN BROEK, *Gnostic Religion in Antiquity* (English translation by Anthony Runia; first published in Dutch in 2010), Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 59: “the function of Judas is more complicated than the dilemma ‘hero or villain?’ suggests”.

5. For example: L. JENOTT, *The Gospel of Judas* (STAC, 64), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2011; TOWNSEND, *Sacrifice and Race* (n. 4); H. SCHMID, *Was hat der ‘Judasevangelist’ eigentlich gegen die Eucharistie?*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium* (n. 4), 71-98; ID., *Eucharistie und Opfer: Das ‘Evangelium des Judas’ im Kontext von Eucharistiedeutungen des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, in *Early Christianity* 3 (2012) 85-108; D.A. CREECH, *Bodily Delight: The Pro-Life Message of the Gospel of Judas*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium*, 243-251.

6. Irenaeus may have begun to write his work before his episcopacy, when he lived among the Celts as he writes at the end of the preface of the first book (*Adv. haer.* 1, preface 3). At the beginning of book three (*Adv. haer.* 3,3,3), Irenaeus informs that Eleuthere is bishop at Rome, which he was between 175-189. G. CHIAPPARINI, *Valentino gnostico e platonico: Il valentinianesimo della ‘Grande notizia’ di Ireneo di Lione. Fra esegesi gnostica e filosofia medioplatonica*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2012, pp. 27-30, even considers that Irenaeus writes his work in two phases, the first when he was in Rome, the second when he was in Lyon, after 173. To this second phase, belongs what Irenaeus says about the “Gnostics”.

At the end of the first book, he mentions a group which possesses a *Gospel of Judas*:

Alii autem rursus Cain a superiore Principalitate dicunt, et Esau et Core et Sodomitas et omnes tales cognatos suos confitentur: et propter hoc a Factore impugnatos, neminem ex eis malum accepisse. Sophia enim illud quod proprium ex ea erat abripiebat ex eis ad semetipsam. Et haec Iudam proditorem diligenter cognovisse dicunt, et solum prae ceteris cognoscentem ueritatem, perfecisse prodictionis mysterium: per quem et terrena et caelestia omnia dissoluta dicunt. Et confi(n)ctionem adferunt huiusmodi, Iudae Euangelium illud uocantes⁷.

Iam autem et collegi eorum conscriptiones, in quibus dissoluere opera Hysteriae adhortantur: Hysteran autem Fabricatorum caeli et terrae uocant.

Others, again, say that Cain comes from the Supreme Authority on High. They confess that Esau, Core, the Sodomites, and all such persons are their relatives. And so they indeed were attacked by the Maker; but none of them were injured; for Wisdom snatched to herself from them whatever they possessed that was proper to herself. Also Judas, the traitor, they say, had exact knowledge of these things, and since he alone knew the truth better than the other apostles, he accomplished the mystery of the betrayal. Through him all things in heaven and on earth were destroyed. This fiction they adduce, and call it the Gospel of Judas (trans. van Oort: "And they adduce a composed work to this effect, which they call "the Gospel of Judas")⁸. I have also collected their writings in which they admonish to destroy the works of the Womb. This Womb they call the Maker of heaven and earth⁹.

Therefore the question of the date of the *Gospel of Judas* as found in Coptic in Codex Tchacos seems rather simple: the text must be prior to the *Adversus haereses*. However, the situation is a bit more complex, and scholars are divided regarding the value of Irenaeus' testimony concerning the *Gospel of Judas* as found in Codex Tchacos. Some scholars accept that the two refer to the same text; others argue that behind the two writings, there are more or less two different texts.

7. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,31,1-2 (Irénee de Lyon, *Contre les hérésies. Livre I. II: Texte et traduction*, ed. and trans. A. ROUSSEAU – L. DOUTRELEAU [SC, 264], Paris, Cerf, 1979) is known to us mostly in a Latin translation which may date to the third or the fourth century and which might be close to the Greek version.

8. J. VAN OORT, *Irenaeus on the Gospel of Judas: An Analysis of the Evidence in Context*, in DECONICK (ed.), *The Codex Judas Papers* (n. 3), 43-56, p. 44.

9. *Adv. haer.* 1,31: Irenaeus of Lyon, *Against the Heresies*. Vol. I: *Book I*, translated and annotated by D.J. UNGER, with further revisions by J.J. DILLON, New York – Mahwah, NJ, The Newmann Press, 1982.

1. *Two Different Gospel of Judas*

A couple of scholars doubt the identification of the *Gospel of Judas* transmitted in Coptic with the one mentioned by Irenaeus and propose a dating of the Coptic *Gospel* which is more or less independent from Irenaeus¹⁰. Indeed, when one compares in detail what is found in the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* and what Irenaeus says about “his” *Gospel of Judas*, doubts arise on the identification of the two.

Irenaeus mentions the *Gospel of Judas* at the end of a passage relating to groups he labels “Gnostics” (*Adv. haer.* 1,29–31). According to Irenaeus, the “Gnostics” are the predecessors of Valentinus and his disciples, and he divides them in different groups. One of these groups is “the others” (*alii*, 1,31,1). This group has a positive opinion of Cain and of other figures in the Jewish writings. It also considers Judas positively and possesses a *Gospel of Judas*. Soon after Irenaeus, heresiologists like Tertullian, the Greek author of the *Elenchos* and, later, the Latin author of the *Adversus omnes haereses* label these “others” “Cainites”¹¹. Based on the way Irenaeus and later Epiphanius speak of this group¹², some scholars have associated them with libertinism. Garry Trompf, considering that such an attitude is absent from the *Gospel of Judas* of Codex Tchacos, concludes that either both texts are not identical, or that the “others”

10. J.D. TURNER, *Dating the Gospel of Judas*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judas-evangelium* (n. 4), 312–332. G. TROMPF, *The Epistle of Jude, Irenaeus, and the Gospel of Judas*, in *Biblica* 91 (2010) 556–582. David Brakke admits that there are reasons to be uncertain about the identification even if for his own part, he agrees with this hypothesis: D. BRAKKE, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual and Diversity in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 38–39.

11. Cf. Tertullian, *De praescriptione omnes haereses* 33,10. The author of the *Refutation of All Heresies* 8,20,3 only mentions the “Cainites”, as he refuses to present their doctrines and practises “to prevent them from thinking themselves worthy of account by virtue of my report” (trans.: M.D. LITWA, *Refutation of All Heresies*, translated with an Introduction and Notes, Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2016, p. 619; see also M. MARCOVICH, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1986). Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses* 2,5, may rely on Irenaeus and on other sources, as he gives more details than Irenaeus. R. BURNET, *Les Douze apôtres: Histoire de la réception des figures apostoliques dans le christianisme ancien* (Judaïsme ancien et origines du christianisme, 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, p. 112, seems to suggest that this author could be Victorinus of Pettau which Jerome mentioned in his *De viris illustribus* 74 and about which he said he has written an *Against all heresies* – indeed explains that the treason of Judas was a service to the human beings.

12. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 31,2, writes that the “others” consider they can only be saved if they made any action and he adds that according to them, in every sin or shameful act, an angel is present. Two centuries later, Epiphanius detailed the supposed obscenities and sins of the “Cainites”: *Panarion* 38,2,1–3.

make only use of the *Gospel*, rather than being the authors of the text¹³. Trompf adds that it is unclear whether the Judas in Irenaeus' account plays a positive role, while, according to him, this is the case in the *Gospel* of Codex Tchacos¹⁴. These two arguments are not convincing. First, the "libertinism" of the "Cainites" is most likely a polemical construction and, at least in this passage, Irenaeus does not mention it. Second, the value of the figure of Judas in the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* is under debate. Moreover, Irenaeus seems to consider that the "others" have a positive opinion about Judas, as they have about Cain.

Another more convincing argument concerns the mythological elements which may be present in both texts. The "others" in Irenaeus' account put emphasis on Cain as the one who "comes from the Supreme Authority on High" and no mention is made of Seth. The reverse is true in the Coptic *Gospel*: Cain is absent, whereas Seth is presented as the source of the incorruptible genre or generation¹⁵. Moreover, the Coptic *Gospel* mentions some figures also named in writings labelled by scholarship as "Sethians"¹⁶ because they put emphasis on Seth and his incorruptible seed¹⁷: Barbelo, the four attendant angels, Yadalbaoth, Saklas¹⁸. However, there are also some striking differences. In the Coptic *Gospel*, Barbelo is not mentioned in the theogony¹⁹; we do not find any of the family language often used in Sethian texts to describe the triad as Father-Mother-Child. Consequently, John D. Turner seriously doubts the identity between the two gospels. He considers that these are two different texts, or that the Coptic *Gospel* is a "sethianised" rewriting of a previously non-Sethian text, a rewriting which may have taken place at the beginning of the third century²⁰.

Behind these arguments, one finds preconceptions concerning what one expects of a text and concerning the characterisation of ancient groups, especially when one mainly depends on heresiological accounts.

13. TROMPF, *The Epistle of Jude* (n. 10), p. 557. He also thinks that Irenaeus speaks of the *Gospel* at the end of his description of the group "as if its production or use might be a later development of the general drift of Cainite ideas".

14. *Ibid.*, p. 575.

15. *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 49): "the incorruptible [genre] of Seth".

16. See in particular J.D. TURNER, *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition* (BCNH.É, 6), Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001. Cf. also BRAKKE, *The Gnostics* (n. 10); VAN DEN BROEK, *Gnostic Religion* (n. 4).

17. See M.A. WILLIAMS, *The Immovable Race: A Gnostic Designation and the Theme of Stability in Late Antiquity* (NHS, 29), Leiden, Brill, 1985; cf. *Id.*, *Sethianism*, in A. MARJANEN – P. LUOMANEN (eds.), *A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics'* (VigChrSup, 76), Leiden, Brill, 2005, 32-63.

18. *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 35,18 and 47,21-26; 51,12sq.).

19. *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 47-54).

20. TURNER, *Dating the Gospel of Judas* (n. 10), p. 331.

2. A Unique Gospel of Judas

However, for the majority of scholars, these arguments are not sufficient to identify two different texts. David Brakke argues that “similarities are more compelling than their differences”²¹, and, according to Roelof van den Broek “there is no reason to assume that he (Irenaeus) was not referring to the likely rediscovered gospel”²². Barc agrees²³. Gregor Wurst was the first to develop arguments in favour of only one text in 2006²⁴.

One argument relates to Judas, who is at the centre of the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* and of the “fiction” of which Irenaeus speaks²⁵. The statement in the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* that Judas receives a certain kind of knowledge unlike the other disciples²⁶ recalls what Irenaeus writes about the Judas of the “Cainites”: “he (*sc.* Judas) alone knew the truth better than the other disciples”.

Another argument is the title. It is rather unusual to have two different books with the same title. Moreover both titles do not read “Gospel *kata* (according to; in Latin: *secundum*)” but “Gospel of” with a genitival construction: in Coptic, the particle **ⲛ** – **ⲡⲉϣⲁⲓⲣⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ** **ⲛⲟϥⲁⲗⲁⲥ** –²⁷, in the Latin translation of the *Adversus haereses*, the genitive – *Iudae euangelium*. This genitival construction of the term “gospel” and a name is unusual in the second and the third century. For the time being, we know many titles “Gospel according to NN” – *Gospel according to Mary, according to Thomas, according to Matthew*, and so on – and only few “Gospel of NN” – the *Gospel of Judas* itself and a *Gospel of Eve* which Epiphanius mentions²⁸.

21. BRAKKE, *The Gnostics* (n. 10), p. 39.

22. VAN DEN BROEK, *Gnostic Religion* (n. 4), p. 58.

23. B. BARC, *L'Évangile de Judas réhabilite-t-il le disciple qui a livré Jésus?*, in *Théophilyon* 18 (2013) 9-37.

24. G. WURST, *Irenaeus of Lyon and the Gospel of Judas*, in R. KASSER – M. MEYER – G. WURST, *The Gospel of Judas from Codex Tchacos*, Washington, DC, National Geographic, 2006, 121-135.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-133; BRAKKE, *The Gnostics* (n. 10), p. 37.

26. *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 35,23-25).

27. *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 58,27-28).

28. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26,2,6: ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται λέγοντες εὐαγγέλιον Εὐας. Εἰς ὄνομα γὰρ αὐτῆς, διήθεν ὡς εὐρούσης τὸ βρώμα τῆς γνώσεως ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῇ ὄψεως, σπορὰν ὑποτίθενται; “Others are not ashamed to speak of a ‘Gospel of Eve’. For they sow <their stunted> crop in her name because, supposedly, she obtained the food of knowledge by revelation from the serpent which spoke to her” (trans.: F. WILLIAMS, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (Sects 1-46)* [NHMS, 63], Leiden, Brill, 2009²).

Thus the text in Codex Tchacos predates Irenaeus²⁹. Scholars do not ignore the differences between what we should expect for the “others” and what we read in Codex Tchacos. However, they explain them in various ways: 1) these differences show diversity within a school of thought³⁰; 2) or the school of thought makes use of a text issued from another school³¹; 3) scholars should not read the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* in relation with what Irenaeus says³², or with what other heresiologists write about the “Cainites”; 4) the differences are due to the fact that we have two versions of the *Gospel of Judas*³³.

Other scholars propose another perspective, independent from the “others”, the “Cainites” or the “Sethians”. They suggest looking towards Basilidian ideas. Peter Nagel was the first who developed this new trend. Nagel suggests that the *Gospel of Judas* of Codex Tchacos passed through the hands of some Basilidians sometime during the history of transmission³⁴. It is not clear if this suggestion means that the *Gospel of Judas* is a sort of Basilidian version of a previous *Gospel of Judas*. James Robinson and Jean-Daniel Dubois also point out the parallels with Basilides³⁵, not to conclude for a Basilidian tractate or for an affiliation to a Basilidian group, but rather to suggest a dating around the middle or the third quarter of the second century³⁶.

29. WURST, *Irenaeus of Lyon* (n. 24), p. 133; VAN DEN BROEK, *Gnostic Religion* (n. 4), pp. 57-58; BRAKKE, *The Gnostics* (n. 10), p. 37; BARC, *L'Évangile de Judas* (n. 23), p. 13; A. VAN DEN KERCHOVE, *The Gospel of Judas versus New Testament Gospels: The Writing of a New Gospel*, in J.-M. ROESSLI – T. NICKLAS (eds.), *Christian Apocrypha: Reception of the New Testament in Ancient Christian Apocrypha*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014, 103-121.

30. Cf. BRAKKE, *The Gnostics* (n. 10), p. 37: “we should expect some diversity among the representatives of the Gnostic school of thought”. We have to recall that what Brakke names “gnostic” is the Sethians of Turner.

31. This is one of the hypothesis which Trompf puts forward.

32. BARC, *L'Évangile de Judas* (n. 23).

33. It is one of the hypotheses advanced by Turner. See also Klauck who thinks that if it is possible that the two writings refer to the same text, it is also possible to have two different texts, one being a revised version of the other: H.-J. KLAUCK, *Judas, un disciple de Jésus: Exégèse et répercussions historiques*, Paris, Cerf, 2006, p. 151.

34. P. NAGEL, *Evangelium des Judas*, in ZNW 98 (2007) 213-276.

35. Jesus laughing: *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 34,4-5): (the disciples asked Jesus) “why are you laughing at our prayer of thanksgiving?”; 36,22-23: “When Jesus heard these things, he laughed and said to them”; 55,12: “but next Jesus laughed” (and 55,13-16). Play of number, read 33,1-6 (“The secret discourse of the proclamation in which Jesus spoke with Judas Iscariot during eight days prior to the three days before he did Pascha”) and the fact that the dialogue seems to take place at least during three days (33,23-24, 36,11 and 37,20-21).

36. Respectively: J.M. ROBINSON, *The Sources of the Gospel of Judas*, in SCOPELLO, *The Gospel of Judas in Context* (n. 3), 57-68, pp. 64-65; J.-D. DUBOIS, *The Gospel of Judas and Basilidian Thought*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium* (n. 4), 121-132, p. 132.

3. *Intermediate Conclusions*

Most scholars hold that the *Gospel of Judas* of *Adversus haereses* and the one of Codex Tchacos refer to the same text. Identifying which group is behind the text is more uncertain: the “Gnostic”/“Cainite” group mentioned by Irenaeus, or another group? Whatever the precise definition of the group, it may have links with Basilidian thoughts and it makes use of some “‘Sethian’ tenets”³⁷. A minority of scholars also think it is possible that the two refer to two different texts, which are not unrelated to one another, one being a rewriting of the other. This rewriting could date from after Irenaeus.

In the next section, we will return to some arguments favouring a single text and we will propose some comments about textual diffusion at the time of Irenaeus, before adding some remarks about the dating.

II. THE *GOSPEL OF JUDAS*, A TEXT AND A CONTEXT

1. *Two Writings, One Text*

Within the debate about the date of the *Gospel of Judas* as found in Codex Tchacos, the argument of the title is the most weighty, since modern scholarship holds that it is difficult to think of two writings with the same title. However, such a situation does occur in Antiquity. The compiler of the Nag Hammadi Codex V transmits successively two texts entitled “Apocalypse of James”³⁸. The first apocalypse (NHC V,3) is presented as the “minutes”, the record of two meetings between James and Jesus, one preceding Jesus’ death, the other after Jesus’ resurrection. The second apocalypse (NHC V,4) is the last discourse which James delivered to his disciples before he was put to death. The two apocalypses are not two versions of the same text, but rather two different texts.

There is also the case of the *Gospel according to Philip*. The Nag Hammadi Codex II preserves a Coptic version of a *Gospel according to Philip* – the title may be a later addition, but at least precedes the Coptic copy in Nag Hammadi Codex II³⁹. According to Epiphanius, a group he

37. VAN OORT, *Irenaeus* (n. 8), p. 56.

38. The title of the first apocalypse is given at the beginning of the text (NHC V,3 24,10: in little letters in comparison to the rest of the text) and at the end (NHC V,3 44,9-10). The title of the second apocalypse is given at the beginning of the text (NHC V,4 11,11-12).

39. *Gospel of Philip*, NHC II,3 73,9 = *logion* 91. The title of the Coptic text was probably added during the process of copying the text, maybe because the only apostle named in the text – at least within the parts which are actually preserved – is Philip. Cf.

labels “Gnostics” or “Borborites” uses a *Gospel according to Philip* and he gives a quotation we do not read in the Coptic *Gospel according to Philip*⁴⁰. Therefore two writings were known in the fourth century with the title *Gospel according to Philip*, and it seems that these writings are unrelated to one another. Later, a third *Gospel according to Philip* is attested. Timothy, priest of Constantinople probably at the end of the sixth century or beginning of the seventh century, in his *On Reception of Heretics*, mentions books read by the Manichaeans. The tenth book of the list is a *Gospel according to Philip*. It is not sure that this *Gospel*, if Timothy is reliable, is the same as the two earlier *Gospels of Philip*⁴¹. Therefore different writings and different texts with the same title exist, even if we know only a few such examples. It is legitimate to question the identity of writings with the same title⁴².

However, the modern assumption that there is only one *Gospel of Judas* remains the most plausible one. The text of the title is striking: as we have already mentioned, “*Gospel of Judas*” is one of the rare examples of a genitival construction associating the term “gospel” and a name. The only other example of such a construction is the *Gospel of Eve* which Epiphanius mentions. We can also add two examples of the genitival construction with a noun: the *Gospel of Truth*⁴³ and the

L. PAINCHAUD, *Évangile selon Philippe (NH II, 3) – Notice*, in J.-P. MAHÉ – P.-H. POIRIER (eds.), *Écrits gnostiques: La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*, Paris, Gallimard, 2007, 335-339.

40. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26,13,2-3.

41. Timothy of Constantinople, *On the Reception of Heretics*, PG 86/1, 21C. Cf. also Pseudo-Leontius of Byzance, *The Sects*, PG 86/1, 1213 C, who speaks of books used by Manichaeans but not by the Christians and he gives two examples: *Gospel of Thomas* and *Gospel of Philip*.

42. It is also the case for the *Gospel of Truth*: Irenaeus mentions one *Gospel of Truth* when he discussed the canon of the four gospels in his *Adv. haer.* 3,11,9, and there is one Coptic text titled *Gospel of Truth* in the Nag Hammadi Codex I. “La coincidence serait trop invraisemblable s’il s’agissait de deux écrits tout à fait distincts”: E. THOMASSEN, *Évangile de la Vérité (NH I, 3; XII, 2) – Notice*, in MAHÉ – POIRIER (ed.), *Écrits gnostiques* (n. 39), p. 45. One may mention also the case of the *Gospel according to Peter*: Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 6,12,3-6) relates the story of Serapion who mentions a *Gospel according to Peter*; P.Cairo 10759, known as the “Akhmīn fragment”, has been identified as fragments of a *Gospel according to Peter*, even though it has no title. Paul Foster argues that “it remains an assumption of modern scholarship that the two texts are identical”, even if this assumption is the most plausible (P. FOSTER, *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary* [Texts and Editions for New Testament Study, 4], Leiden, Brill, 2010, p. 171; photographs of the papyrus on pp. 177-195; also: <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/GP/GP.html>). On the contrary, Markus BOCKMUEHL (*Simon Peter in Scripture and Memory: The New Testament Apostle in the Early Church*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker, 2012, p. 43) writes that it is not sure that the two texts are identical.

43. In Coptic: πεγαγγελιον ντμηε (NHC I,3 16,31); in Latin: *Veritatis* (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3,11,9).

*Gospel of Perfection*⁴⁴, though “truth” and “perfection” are not the name of a human figure. The title *Gospel of Judas* rather resembles the titles of writings such as *Book of Thomas* (NHC II,7), *Book of the Secrets of John* (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1; BG 1), (First) *Apocalypse of James* (NHC V,3): in all these texts, the name refers to the addressee of the Saviour/Jesus. The same is true for the Coptic *Gospel of Judas*, where Judas is the privileged receiver of the revelation delivered by Jesus. However, unlike the other revelations, the revelation delivered to Judas concerns in great part Judas himself, who he really is and what his action really is. As the truth in the *Gospel of Truth* is the object of the gospel, this is also the case for Judas.

The main difference is the quality of Judas when compared with Thomas, John, James, etc. Even if the Judas of the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* is not as much a villain as some scholars have thought, and even if some of the apostles we have just mentioned are not entirely positive, Judas seems to be qualitatively different. For example, in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,3), Peter’s cowardice is emphasised⁴⁵. However, at the end of the text, the Saviour tells Peter: “do not be afraid of your cowardice”⁴⁶ and he claims: “these things, then, which you have seen, you shall present to these of another genre who are not of this age”⁴⁷. Despite his cowardice, Peter is an authoritative figure. Judas is not presented as an authoritative figure in the *Gospel of Judas*. Whereas Thomas, James or the others must deliver a message in the world in favour of a few people (whoever the latter might be), Judas has no message to deliver; he only has to act.

At the end of his revelation, Jesus does not ask Judas to deliver a salvific message to a few people. Judas remains a disciple, not a revelatory figure, and he is not the spokesman of a community. Moreover, whereas, for example, the name of Philip or James could easily be used to legitimate a message for a wide audience – which could lead to different *Gospels according to Philip* or different *Apocalypses of James* –, it seems difficult to use the name of Judas in the same way⁴⁸. The text which Irenaeus mentions does not seem to have an authoritative dimension for the “others”; at least, Irenaeus does not allow that it could have

44. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26,2,5: εὐαγγέλιον τελειώσεως.

45. NHC VII,3 72,4-9.

46. NHC VII,3 80,32-33.

47. NHC VII,3 82,18-20.

48. Cf. BURNET, *Les Douze apôtres* (n. 11), pp. 111-112, where he affirms that the avarice of Judas was proverbial already during the second part of the second century.

been so. Strictly speaking, the *Gospel of Judas* is an anonymous text and it does not seem to be a pseudepigraphon⁴⁹.

2. One Text, Versions and Book

What does it mean, then, when we say there is only one *Gospel of Judas* behind the two mentions? Clearly it cannot mean that it is the same version⁵⁰. What we read in Codex Tchacos is not the writing of which Irenaeus speaks: Irenaeus refers to a Greek version⁵¹, whereas Codex Tchacos transmits a Coptic version. A carbon-14 analysis executed by A.J. Timothy Jull from the University of Arizona dated the codex to “around the last quarter of the third century (give or take a few decades)”⁵². The Coptic *Gospel* must have been translated, sometime in the third century, most probably some decades after Irenaeus and far from Lyon or from Rome, in Egypt. This situation implies there circulated several copies and the exact relation between the Greek version behind the Coptic one and the one to which Irenaeus refers is uncertain. Moreover, to translate involves some interpretation and modifications.

One can also wonder what the status was of the text to which Irenaeus had access, whether he has only heard of it or read it. Even if a final answer might be impossible, it is interesting to think about this question in the light of what we know about the diffusion and publication of texts in Antiquity. It is not because a text is known to us today that it had to be a published book in Antiquity, with an ascribed author, a title or a preface, and other paralinguistic features⁵³. Indeed, many texts were intentionally not meant for a wider audience, but rather only for a circle of friends or pupils. Such texts were considered as unfinished (*hypomnemata* in Greek or *commentarii* in Latin), lacking an ascribed author or a preface or other paralinguistic features. Galen, to mention a physician contemporaneous to Irenaeus, distinguishes between two kinds of books:

49. On anonymity, pseudepigraphy and pseudonymity, cf. F. AMSLER, *Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe: Retour sur une pratique ancienne à la lumière de la mémoire culturelle*, in *Études théologiques et religieuses* 91 (2016) 541-561.

50. It was rightly put in WURST, *Irenaeus of Lyon* (n. 24), p. 135.

51. Irenaeus does not explicitly say the *Gospel of Judas* is written in Greek. However, considering the fact that most of the writings of the time are in Greek, if it was not the case, Irenaeus would have said so.

52. WURST, *Irenaeus of Lyon* (n. 24), p. 134. To understand how a radio-carbon analysis works, read H. LUNDHAUG, in this volume, 117-142. Cf. also a short report in KROSNY, *The Lost Gospel* (n. 1).

53. The author of a text is therefore a construction, thanks to the publication, “a social construction” (M.D.C. LARSEN, *Gospels before the Book*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2018, p. 17).

those which he writes for a wider audience, and those for an individual or a little group⁵⁴. The problem is that in many cases, “indelicate” people could diffuse a writing without the author’s authorisation or would even steal a writing. Galen complains that some of his works only intended for friends were used by others claiming to be their author⁵⁵. A little later, Tertullian also claims that one of his books is already being diffused before he wanted it to be published⁵⁶.

While some texts are later published in an authorised version, others “remain (often intentionally) update-able and lithe, often existing therefore in a variety of forms” and lack “a high-degree of textuality fixity”⁵⁷. They nevertheless circulate. William A. Johnson argues that there was “a well-rooted tradition of special access to special texts”⁵⁸. It could be the case for the *Gospel of Judas*: it probably intentionally lacks an author and it may not have been intended for a wide audience. This situation does not prevent it from being diffused beyond the intended audience and later translated. Irenaeus may have benefited from an unauthorised access to the book.

The *Gospel of Judas* about which Irenaeus speaks and the Coptic *Gospel* are two versions, not only because of the process of copying and of translating, but also probably because of the kind of access Irenaeus has to the text. For all that, we do not need to suppose that the structure of the text was changed during the copying process – indeed Louis Painchaud has convincingly shown that the text is coherent and has been composed as a whole –⁵⁹, nor that the text was largely corrupted because it is not canonical⁶⁰. However, some modifications may have occurred. This situation can explain some of the differences between the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* and Irenaeus’ statement. Thus, we must evaluate the reliability of Irenaeus’ testimony and reflect on his access to the text.

54. Galen, *De libris propriis*.

55. *Ibid.* Cf. W.A. JOHNSON, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 219-216; LARSEN, *Gospels* (n. 53), pp. 11-36.

56. Cf. *Against Marcion* 2: he says the previous book he wrote against Marcion was stolen; he takes this occasion to write again and expand this book: no longer a few notes, but a writing in four books.

57. LARSEN, *Gospels* (n. 53), pp. 68-69.

58. JOHNSON, *Readers and Reading* (n. 55), p. 132.

59. L. PAINCHAUD, *The Dispositio of the Gospel of Judas*, in ZAC 17 (2013) 268-270.

60. For the question of corruption of non-canonical texts, cf. the remarks made by F. WISSE, *The Nature and Purpose of Redactional Changes in Early Christian Texts: The Canonical Gospels*, in W.L. PETERSEN (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 1989, 39-53.

3. Irenaeus, Reader, Sponsor and Polemist

Concerning Irenaeus as reader of the *Gospel of Judas* – whether as a published book or not –, there is no unanimity among scholars. Gregor Wurst argues that Irenaeus knows the *Gospel* only by hearsay⁶¹. Bernard Barc agrees⁶². Johannes van Oort thinks that, on the basis of the mention of a collection of texts⁶³, Irenaeus has probably read the texts he gathered, and that there is no reason to doubt he read the *Gospel*⁶⁴. Different questions arise: is the *Gospel* included in the collection Irenaeus gathered? Who gathered the texts technically? If Irenaeus read the text, what sort of reading was it?

One thing is certain: Irenaeus has at least heard of a text entitled *Gospel of Judas*. Did he read it? We have examples of individuals who speak of a book, even argue in its favour or against it, without having read it. Thanks to Eusebius⁶⁵, we know that Serapion, bishop of Antioch between ca. 191 – ca. 211, heard of a text, the *Gospel according to Peter*, and approved it. It is only later that he declared the text “heretic” after he finally had a copy in his hands. Around 402, Augustine argued against a Latin translation made by Jerome without having read it⁶⁶. Do we have a similar situation with Irenaeus? Having heard of a *Gospel of Judas*, did he want to see for himself what such a text contained? Or was it sufficient for him to have some glimpses of its content in order to condemn the text? In the preface of his *Adversus haereses*, Irenaeus informs his addressee that he has read some commentaries of the disciples of Valentinus (*Adv. haer.* 1, preface 2), and indeed he gives a detailed account of the doctrine of Ptolemy⁶⁷. However, the Valentinian doctrine and ideas are central to Irenaeus’ argumentation in his *Adversus haereses*. This is not the case for the “others”. When Irenaeus speaks about them, it seems to be no more than an appendix to his first book, in order to show the various ideas of the “heretics”, a variety which is enough to attest their non-orthodox character. It suffices for him to condemn them through the denunciation of a few of their ideas, and here through the critique of their discourse about Judas. Moreover, he does not mention the text elsewhere in his work, neither when he discusses Judas again, nor when he examines the number of gospels which carry authority in

61. WURST, *Irenaeus of Lyon* (n. 24), pp. 127-128.

62. BARC, *L'Évangile de Judas* (n. 23), p. 13.

63. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,31,2.

64. VAN OORT, *Irenaeus* (n. 8), p. 51.

65. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6,12,3-6.

66. Augustine, *Letter* 71,3,1 and 71,3,3.

67. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1,1,1-9,5.

Christian communities⁶⁸. Therefore, what Irenaeus says about the *Gospel of Judas* does not lead us to affirm with certainty that he has read the *Gospel*.

Yet, this does not mean that this work does not belong to the collection Irenaeus had gathered. The act of reading might be independent of the act of gathering and needs not be implied by it. Even if Irenaeus writes that he gathers texts (*collegi*), this statement certainly means that he posits himself as a sponsor, that he asks for copies, and not that he himself copies these books. It does imply that he has some financial support to request copies⁶⁹. This is another testimony of the vigorous book collecting activities of the early Roman Empire. Irenaeus may have begun his collection when he was in Rome, where we know, thanks to Galen, that there was a quarter of booksellers next to the public libraries⁷⁰; there are also traveling scribes or book dealers, who allow educated people to acquire books from the whole empire⁷¹. Irenaeus probably possessed a “private library” for his own use or for the use of his collaborators⁷². At least concerning the collection that he discusses in *Adv. haer.* 1,31,2, he has no intention to diffuse it publicly, since it contains writings Irenaeus condemns.

Even if we consider that Irenaeus read the text, what would it mean “to read” in Antiquity and for Irenaeus in particular? According to Johnson, reading is not “solely, or even mostly, a neurophysiologically based act of cognition”, but also “a complex sociocultural construction that is tied, *essentially*, to particular context”⁷³. Reading in Antiquity is not exactly the same activity as our own readings. Because the paralinguistic informations are fewer at that time, the reader has “much more responsibility for interpretation”⁷⁴. Reading could easily become communal, an activity done with friends, colleagues or pupils⁷⁵. As for

68. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3,11,7-9, when he discussed the number of gospels which must have authority in Christian communities, he discussed the case of the *Gospel of Truth*, the title and the pretention of the Valentinians to have access to the truth and he did not mention the *Gospel of Judas*.

69. Cf. R.S. BAGNALL, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2009, p. 21.

70. P. FIDELI, *Biblioteche private e pubbliche a Roma e nel mondo romano*, in G. CAVALLO (ed.), *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, Roma – Bari, Laterza & Figli, 2002⁶ (1988), 29-64.

71. JOHNSON, *Readers and Reading* (n. 55), pp. 180-185.

72. For “private libraries”, see *ibid.*, p. 159.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Johnson’s emphasis.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

75. H.Y. GAMBLE, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*, New Haven, CT – London, Yale University Press, 1997, p. 205. Cf. too

Irenaeus, his reading here is certainly polemical, with no intention to engage the text positively, with no effort to understand what the text may really mean. Moreover, he does not even engage with the text, in contrast to what he does with the commentaries of Valentinus' disciples⁷⁶. Indeed, he gives a detailed account of the latter, and he criticises them in detail. In contrast, Irenaeus is interested in the *Gospel of Judas* only because of the emphasis on the figure of Judas and because this emphasis contradicts his own opinion and contributes to disqualifying the "others".

4. *The Gospel of Judas, Philosophical Controversy and Persecutions*

Another way to date a writing is to study its content and to compare it with other documents. We have seen that some scholars study the links of the *Gospel of Judas* with Basilidian ideas. Others have observed the relationship with the *Didachè* when it comes to the Eucharist⁷⁷, as well as with the *Epistle of James* (NHC I,2)⁷⁸, and with the gospels which soon became canonical. In this last case, there is no unanimity concerning the gospel that could have informed the *Gospel of Judas*⁷⁹. Is it even possible to speak of one specific writing? Is it not better to speak of gospel traditions⁸⁰ known at the time, before the end of the second century, when these traditions began to be recognised and to circulate without being really books with authority⁸¹? Another question is the kind of link between the *Gospel of Judas* and the gospel traditions. Is

B.J. WRIGHT, *Communal Reading in the Time of Jesus: A Window into Early Christian Reading Practices*, Minneapolis, MN, Fortress, 2017, p. 115.

76. On an "engaged reader", see JOHNSON, *Readers and Reading* (n. 55), p. 85.

77. T. NICKLAS, *Der Demiurg des Judasevangeliums*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium* (n. 4), 99-120, pp. 101-102.

78. J. HARTENSTEIN, *Die literarische Gestalt des Judasevangeliums*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium* (n. 4), 37-54.

79. ROBINSON, *The Sources* (n. 36), pp. 60-61: "hence the *Gospel of Judas* may have access to a papyrus codex containing only Luke-Acts". *Contra* Robinson, Simon Gathercole considers the links with Matthew are more evident: S. GATHERCOLE, *Matthean or Lukan Priority? The Use of the NT Gospels in the Gospel of Judas*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium* (n. 4), 291-302. Matteo Grosso puts emphasis on Mark: M. GROSSO, *Three Days and Eight Days: Chronology in the Gospel of Judas*, in DECONICK (ed.), *The Codex Judas Papers* (n. 3), 453-469. Anders Klostergaard Petersen does not consider one gospel besides the other, but he rather speaks of the New Testament gospel traditions which he takes for granted: A. KLOSTERGAARD PETERSEN, *The Gospel of Judas: A Scriptural Amplification or a Canonical Encroachment?*, in POPKES – WURST (eds.), *Judasevangelium* (n. 4), 253-290.

80. Cf. KLOSTERGAARD PETERSEN, *The Gospel of Judas* (n. 79), p. 254: Petersen prefers to speak of New Testament gospel traditions.

81. Cf. also LARSEN, *Gospels* (n. 53).

the *Gospel* a reversal of gospel accounts⁸², or do we have a case of “*Neuinszenierung*” / “re-enactment”⁸³?

One element often mentioned, though not in relation to the dating of the writing, is the *Gospel of Judas*’ treatment of the treason of Judas. During the middle of the second century, Judas is used in some texts as the prototype of the traitor, and this use must be connected to betrayals of Christians in some Roman cities. The author of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* compares the Christians who denounce Polycarp to Judas, saying that they will receive the same punishment⁸⁴. This statement attests that denunciation is a problem for Christian communities, since it is one of the principal means for the authorities to identify Christians⁸⁵. Denunciation is also a polemical tool to criticise Jesus and his teaching. Around 178, the philosopher Celsus writes an entire section on Judas⁸⁶, where he polemicises against Jesus’ prediction of his own death and the events surrounding his death (the denial of Peter and the treason of Judas). Celsus argues that this prediction suggests absurdities about the disciples in general, and about Jesus, Peter and Judas in particular⁸⁷. For Celsus, the prediction of the treason should have led Judas to renounce treason. He adds that it is really strange for a disciple to betray his master⁸⁸. Indeed, Celsus compares this situation with the one which normally prevailed in philosophical “schools”: the master is a spiritual guide and develops an affective relationship with his closest disciples, who become *philoi*⁸⁹. For Celsus, Judas’ betrayal indicates that Jesus,

82. C.M. TUCKETT, *Principles of Gnostic Exegesis*, in J. SCHRÖTER – T. NICKLAS – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Experiments in Reception* (BZNW, 235), Berlin – Boston, MA, 2019, 277-310, p. 301.

83. Cf. T. Nicklas while speaking about the *Gospel according to Peter*: T. NICKLAS, *Anti-Jewish Polemics? The Gospel of Peter Revisited*, in G. Bady – D. CUNY (eds.), *Les polémiques religieuses du I^{er} au IV^e siècle de notre ère: Hommage à B. Pouderon*, Paris, Beauchesne, 2019, 153-176, p. 172. See also ID., *Zwischen Redaktion und ‘Neuinszenierung’: Vom Umgang erzählender Evangelien des 2. Jahrhunderts mit ihren Vorlagen*, in SCHRÖTER – NICKLAS – VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Gospels and Gospel Traditions* (n. 82), 311-330. One example of this re-enactment would be the confession of Peter (Matt 16,13-28 // Mark 8,27-30 // Luke 9,18-21) which is transferred to all disciples: *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos 34,11-12).

84. *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 6,2. See KLAUCK, *Judas, un disciple de Jésus* (n. 33), p. 140. Klauck also mentions the *Pastor* of Hermas, even if the name of Judas is absent.

85. Read Pliny, *Letter to Trajan* 86 (97) who attests for the use of torture and denunciation to better know the Christian groups.

86. Celsus in Origen, *C. Celsum* 2,15-20.

87. Celsus in Origen, *C. Celsum* 2,16-18.

88. Celsus in Origen, *C. Celsum* 2,20.

89. É. DES PLACES, art. *Direction spirituelle. I; Dans l’Antiquité classique*, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, t. III, col. 1002-1008; P. HADOT, *Qu’est-ce que la philosophie antique?*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995, pp. 322-333. G. FILORAMO (ed.), *Maestro e discepolo*:

according to philosophical standards, was not a good master. His conclusion is that Jesus' teaching is false⁹⁰.

The *Gospel of Judas* could be connected to this polemical context and particularly to the problem of denunciation in relation with persecutions. This double challenge could be the background of the *Gospel*. Concerning the master-disciple relationship, Judas is singled out among the group of disciples as the beneficiary of a specific revelation; the betrayal belongs to the revelation. However, is it really a prediction? The phrase "you will sacrifice" (*Gospel of Judas* [Codex Tchacos 56,19]) identifies the event which is about to happen⁹¹. Concerning the problem of denunciation, we agree with Painchaud who considers that the author of the *Gospel* is "dissuading readers from identifying with Judas or his 'generation'"⁹². Judas is not a model for Christians; and the *Gospel* also reassesses that Jesus is a good master, despite Judas' betrayal. The difficulty is that these ideas are expressed in narrative and dialogue form, and not in a dialectical argument. We have to wait for Origen to find a detailed answer to polemics and to the problem of treason⁹³.

CONCLUSION: DATING THE *GOSPEL OF JUDAS*

Even though different writings can receive the same title during the course of their transmission, it is probably simpler to assume that the Coptic *Gospel of Judas* and the one mentioned in Irenaeus refer to the same text. Yet, because of the Coptic translation and the process of transmission that covers roughly several decades, we have at least two different versions. This does not necessarily mean important changes were made in this double process of transmission and translation.

Tem e problemi della direzione spirituale tra VI secolo a.C. e VII secolo d.C., Brescia, Morcelliana, 2002.

90. Celsus in Origen, *C. Celsum* 2,20.

91. At the background of this argument, there is the distinction between *semainein* and *poiein*. This distinction is made by Origen in his answer to Celsus, and apparently also already earlier by Theodotus, a disciple of Valentinus.

92. PAINCHAUD, *The Dispositio* (n. 59), p. 286.

93. See for example, Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 32,148-163 and 237-246; *Philocalia* 23,3; *Comm. Mt.* 11,9; *C. Celsum* 2,2; 2,11. Cf. S. LAEUCHLI, *Origen's Interpretation of Judas Iscariot*, in *Church History* 1 (1953) 253-268; P.-E. DAUZAT, *Judas trahi par la traduction: Traduction, trahison et mort volontaire des Évangiles à Sylvia Plath*, in *Revue française de psychanalyse* 72 (2008) 973-989; en ligne: <http://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-psychanalyse-2008-4-page-973.htm>; BURNET, *Les Douze apôtres* (n. 11), pp. 120-124.

The text could have been composed during the third quarter of the second century, perhaps a couple of years before Irenaeus mentions it in his *Adversus haereses*. This is a time when gospel traditions begin to be relatively well diffused, but their authoritative status is not yet fixed. This situation allows for developments which would have proved more difficult later. It is also a period when the question of betrayal is urgent, both in the context of persecutions and of polemics surrounding the teachings of Jesus. The *Gospel of Judas* could have been composed in order to defend the teachings of Jesus and Jesus' status as a good master, as well as to dissuade Christians to follow the model of Judas – or of the other eleven disciples.

83 bd Arago
FR-75014 Paris
France
petosiris33@gmail.com

Anna VAN DEN KERCHOVE

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	The Anchor Bible
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
BCNH.É	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Études
BCNH.T	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Textes
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
EBR	Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception
FC	Fontes Christiani
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
PG	Patrologia Graeca
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies. Monograph Series
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VigChrSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- ACHTEMEIER, P.J. 57
 ADAMS, S. 252
 ALAND, B. 233
 ALAND, K. 213
 ALBRECHT, F. 115
 ALGRA, K. 260
 ALLISON, D.C. 23 212
 ALSTON, R.D. 73
 AMÉLINEAU, É. 237
 AMEZAGA, L.D. 52 70
 AMSLER, F. 283
 ANDRESEN, C. 167
 ARCARI, L. 133
 ÅSGEIRSSON, J.M. 174
 ASKELAND, C. 124
 ATKINSON, M. 32
 ATTRIDGE, H.W. 84 176-179 183 218
 265-267
 AUDET, J.P. 83
 AUSBÜTTEL, F.M. 73

 BAARDA, T. 107
 BADY, G. 288
 BAGNALL, R.S. 122 286
 BAK HALVGAARD, T. 262
 BAKKE, O.M. 62-63
 BARC, B. 231-232 235-237 239 243
 248-249 278-279 285
 BARNARD, L.W. 51
 BARNES, T.D. 8
 BARNES, J. 260
 BARRETT, C.K. 15 24
 BARRY, C. 251 254-258 261 269
 BARTHE, R. 117
 BAUCKHAM, R.J. 114
 BAUER, W. 99 110
 BAUR, F.C. 101
 BEATON, R.C. 6
 BEHNKE, S. 189
 BEHR, J. 268
 BENJAMINS, H.S. 268
 BERDING, K. 58
 BERGER, K. 99

 BERTRAND, D. 104
 BETEGH, G. 260 263 264
 BETHGE, H.-G. 173 204 218
 BIDMEAD, J. 120
 BOCKMUEHL, M. 6 281
 BÖHLIG, A. 227 246
 BORLEFFS, J.W.P. 149 157 159-160
 165 167-168
 BRACHT, K. 181
 BRAKKE, D. 241-242 259 276-279
 BRANKAER, J. 218 210
 BREGMAN, J. 133
 BREMMER, J. 261
 BREYTENBACH, C. 53 62 203
 BROADHEAD, E. 100
 BRONK RAMSEY, C. 128
 BROWN, R.E. 14
 BROX, N. 156-157 160 163 167
 BRÜSKE, G. 112
 BRYANT, J. 117
 BULL, C.H. 134 233
 BULTMANN, R. 212
 BURNET, R. 276 283 289
 BURNS, D.M. 4 119 126 242-243
 251-271 252 258-259 271

 CAMERON, R. 174 226
 CAMPLANI, A. 133 234
 CARLETON PAGET, J. 54 59 61-62 100
 CARSON, D.A. 6
 CAVALLO, G. 286
 CERQUIGLINI, B. 118
 CHARLESWORTH, J.H. 80 87
 CHIAPPARINI, G. 274
 CLIVAZ, C. 106 109-110 177
 COBLENTZ, D. 125
 COLLINS, J.J. 74
 CONCANNON, C.W. 92
 CONNOR, A.J. 75
 CONZELMANN, H. 57
 COSENTINO, A. 181
 CREECH, D.A. 246-247 274
 CRÉGHEUR, E. 118 134 231

- CULLMANN, O. 54
 CUMONT, F. 88
 CUNY, D. 288
 CURETON, W. 43-44

 DAHL, N.A. 163
 DANIEL-HUGHES, C. 146
 DAUMAS, F. 238
 DAUZAT, P.-E. 289
 DAVIES, W.D. 23 100 212
 DAVIS, S.J. 242 259
 DE CENIVAL, F. 74-75
 DECHOW, J.F. 122
 DECONICK, A.D. 174 273 275 287
 DEE, M.W. 129
 DE HALLEUX, A. 90
 DENZEY LEWIS, N. 133 144
 DEPUYDT, L. 122
 DES PLACES, É. 288
 DIAS CHAVES, J.C. 133
 DIBELIUS, M. 57
 DIELS, H. 259-260
 DILLON, J.J. 275
 DILLON, J.M. 205 262
 DOHMEN, C. 90
 DONFRIED, K.P. 68 70
 DORESSE, J. 123
 DORIVAL, G. 262
 DOUTRELEAU, L. 275
 DRAPER, J.A. 82 90
 DRIJVERS, J.W. 183
 DU TOIT, D.S. 68
 DUBOIS, J.-D. 4 **231-249** 236 279
 DUNDERBERG, I. 71 134 195-197 233
 240 266
 DUNN, J.D.G. 20 57

 EDWARDS, M.J. 133
 EHRMAN, B.D. 47 55-56
 EISELE, W. 179 182 204
 ELLIOTT, J.K. 104
 EMMEL, S. 118 121-122 124 132 181
 242 259
 ERLEMANN, K. 53 56

 FABER STAPULENSIS, J. 49
 FALKENBERG, R. 133 251-252
 FALLON, F.T. 174 251
 FEE, G.D. 23

 FELDMIEIER, R. 115 201 205
 FELLMETH, U. 73
 FEYEL, C. 79
 FIDELI, P. 286
 FILORAMO, G. 288
 FISH, S. 117
 FITZMYER, J.A. 22 24 179
 FLEMMING, T. 34
 FOSTER, P. 2 **5-50** 10 31 42-43 45 49
 281
 FOWLER, K.A. 133-134
 FREY, J. 3 15 74 **97-116** 101-102 104
 106 110-112 122 173-174 176 181
 186 198
 FÜRST, A. 100 183
 FULLER, R.H. 211
 FUNK, W.-P. 235-236 243 248 256

 GABLER, H.W. 117
 GABRA, G. 121
 GAGER, J. 267
 GAMBLE, H.Y. 44 286
 GAMMIE, J.G. 90
 GATHERCOLE, S.J. 174-175 181 184
 187-192 195 199 203 287
 GAUDARD, F. 273
 GEORGES, T. 115
 GERSON, L.P. 260
 GIET, S. 90
 GILHUS, I.S. 133
 GILLIAM, P.R. 49
 GIVERSEN, S. 234 236
 GOEHRING, J.E. 120 233 240
 GÖRG, M. 256
 GOFF, M.J. 126 252
 GOLB, N. 74
 GOLTZ, E. VON DER 16
 GOODACRE, M. 174 210
 GOODWIN, W.W. 261
 GRANT, R.M. 17
 GREGORY, A.F. 31 53 58 66 101 103
 107-108 112 174
 GRENFELL, B.P. 173 176-179
 GRIBETZ, S.K. 133-134
 GRIPENTROG, S. 74
 GRONEWALD, M. 109
 GROSSMANN, P. 120
 GROSSO, M. 287
 GRÜNSTÄUDL, W. 97

- GRUNDEKEN, M. 49
GUTSFELD, A. 73
- HADOT, P. 288
HAENCHEN, E. 182
HAENDLER-KLÄSENER, A. 112
HAINES, C.R. 263
HAMMOND, P.C. 120
HANNAH, J.W. 10 28
HANSON, R.P.C. 29 32
HARDER, K.J. 52 70
HARNACK, A. 61 234
HARTENSTEIN, J. 196 198 210 218-219 221 224-226 251-252 254 259 287
HARTOG, P. 58
HEDRICK, C.W. 174
HELLHOLM, D. 163
HENGEL, M. 217
HENNECKE, E. 103-104
HERRMANN, R. 74
HERRON, T.J. 54
HILGENFELD, A. 103
HILL, C.E. 31
HILLS, J.V. 215
HODGE, C.J. 79
HOLL, K. 169
HOLMES, M.W. 7 17 47
HORBURY, W. 100
HORN, C. 201
HORNSCHUH, M. 210
HÜBNER, R.M. 9
HUNT, A.S. 173 176-179
HURTADO, L.W. 176-179
HVALVIK, R. 100
- IRICINSCHI, E. 133-134 144
IRMSCHER, J. 144
ISENBERG, W.W. 144
- JACOBI, C. 3 104 **143-172** 175
JAKAB, A. 100
JAUBERT, A. 61
JEFFORD, C.N. 52 70
JENOTT, L. 118 120-122 124-127 132-134 144 180-181 233 274
JOCHAM, T.J. 117 127
JOHNSON, W.A. 89 177 284 286-287
JOLY, R. 8
- JÜLICHER, A. 213
JULL, A.J.T. 283
- KAELBLE, H. 73
KAESTLI, J.-D. 236
KALER, M. 133
KAMESAR, A. 202
KAPLONY, A. 127
KASSER, R. 273 278
KEENAN, D.J. 129
KELHOFFER, J.A. 68 70
KELLNER, K.A.H. 149
KING, K.L. 118 174 232-233 235 243 246
KIRCHNER, D. 218-219 221-224
KLAUCK, H.-J. 104 279 288
KLJN, A.F.J. 101 104 106-108 240
KLINGHARDT, M. 74 86-88 98
KLOPPENBORG, J.S. 3 **73-95** 78 83 89 94
KLOSTERGAARD PETERSEN, A. 288
KLUMBIES, P.-G. 68
KNIBB, M.A. 87
KNOPE, R. 51
KNUST, J. 113
KOESTER, H. 66 99 175 226
KRAUSE, M. 123 125
KRETSCHMAR, G. 154
KROSNEY, H. 273 283
KRUTZSCH, M. 123
KYNES, W. 252
- LAEUCHLI, S. 289
LAKE, K. 52
LAMBDIN, T.O. 200
LAMPE, P. 62
LANFRANCHI, P. 235
LARSEN, M.D.C. 283-284 287
LAYTON, B. 144 176 181 200 242 246
LEASE, G. 120
LECHNER, T. 9
LEE, S. 128
LEFORT, L.T. 120
LEHTIPUU, O. 134 233
LESSING, G.E. 102
LIBBY, W.F. 127
LIED, L.I. 118 133 232 251
LIGHTFOOT, J.B. 7 10-12 16 39 41 43-45 47 49 51 54 68

- LINDEMANN, A. 52-53 55 57 59-60 70
 LITWA, M.D. 276
 LIVINGSTONE, E.A. 54 102
 LÖHR, H. 16 24 45 48 186 188-189
 LÖHR, W. 151
 LOGAN, A. 235
 LONA, H.E. 52 54-55 57-59 61 154
 LOSEKAM, C. 233
 LOUTH, A. 8
 LÜHRMANN, D. 102 105 179
 LUJENDIJK, A. 92 176-179
 LUKAS, V. 149
 LUNDHAUG, H. 3 **117-142** 118 120-122 124-127 129 132-134 144 146 152 166 176 180-181 232-233 251 283
 LUOMANEN, P. 103 277
 LUTTIKHUIZEN, G.P. 246
 LUZ, U. 23 212

 MÄNNLEIN-ROBERT, I. 206
 MAHÉ, J.-P. 151 158 248 281
 MALININE, M. 218-219 221
 MANNING, S.W. 129
 MANSFELD, J. 259-261 263-264
 MARCOVICH, M. 276
 MARCUS, J. 213-214
 MARJANEN, A. 189-191 231 277
 MARKSCHIES, C. 101 123 143 160 173 177 183 210
 MARTIN, A. 100
 MARX, M.J. 117 127
 MATES, B. 263
 MATZKOW, W. 213
 MCGINN, B. 192
 MCGUIRE, A.M. 118 144-145 232
 METZGER, B.M. 15 213
 MEYER, M.W. 120 221 273 278
 MIKAT, P. 57 62-63
 MIMOUNI, S. 103
 MIROSHNIKOV, I. 134 198 202 233
 MODRZEJEWSKI, M. 115
 MONSON, A. 81
 MORTLEY, R. 133
 MOSS, C.R. 178
 MÜHLENBERG, E. 167
 MÜLLER, J. 201
 MÜLLER, K. 75

 MUNOZ GALLARTE, I. 204
 MURRAY, M. 185

 NAGEL, P. 191 200 234 265-266 279
 NEWSOM, C. 90
 NICHOLS, S.G. 118
 NICKLAS, T. 4 106 110 174 178 279 287-288
 NIEDERWIMMER, K. 84 88 90-91
 NIEHOFF, M. 205
 NORD, C. 99

 OAKES, P. 53
 O'BRIEN, C. 262
 ÖHLER, M. 91
 OLFERT, R. 76
 OLYAN, S.M. 79
 ONUKI, T. 242

 PAGELS, E.H. 133 145 233 265-267
 PAINCHAUD, L. 118 120 132-134 180 231-233 248 256 265 273 281 284 289
 PARDEE, D. 74
 PARKHOUSE, S. 210-211
 PARROTT, D.M. 256-258 271
 PASQUIER, A. 132 251 254 257-259 263-264 271
 PATTERSON, S.J. 173-174 198 205 207
 PEARSON, B.A. 233 240
 PERDUE, L.G. 90
 PERKINS, P. 221
 PERRONE, L. 100
 PETERSEN, W.L. 284
 PIETSCH, C. 205
 PITRE, B. 27-28
 PLEŠE, Z. 235-237 239
 PLISCH, U.-K. 174 187-189 218-219 221
 POETHKE, G. 123
 POFFET, J.-M. 236
 POIRIER, P.-H. 120 173 233 248 256 261 266-267 281
 POKORNÝ, P. 174 187
 POLAND, F. 88
 POPKES, E.E. 122 173-174 176 181 186 198 274 276 279-288
 POUILLOUX, J. 234
 PRATSCHER, W. 60 70-71 91

- PUCCI BEN-ZEEV, M. 115
 PUECH, H.-C. 173
 QIMRON, E. 87
 RADICE, R. 202
 RASIMUS, T. 118 134 182 231 252
 RASSART-DEBERGH, M. 124
 RATHBONE, D. 75
 REIMER, P.J. 128
 RIES, J. 124 238
 RIHLL, T.E. 79
 RITTER, A.M. 167
 RIUS-CAMPS, J. 8
 ROBERT, L. 78
 ROBERTSON, A. 32
 ROBINSON, J.A.T. 54 99
 ROBINSON, J.M. 119-120 122-123
 125 127 218 273 279 287
 ROESSLI, J.-M. 279
 ROGAN, A.K.B. 75
 ROGAN, E. 75
 ROIG LANZILLOTTA, L. 204
 RORDORF, W. 85 90
 ROTHSCHILD, C.K. 59 65 68 72
 ROULEAU, D. 210 218-219 221
 ROUSSEAU, A. 275
 ROWLANDSON, J. 75
 ROY, L. 210
 RUNIA, D.T. 259-264
 SCHAFF, P. 31-32
 SCHENKE, H.-M. 123 144-147 151
 161 218-219 234
 SCHLIESSER, B. 97
 SCHMID, H. 154 274
 SCHMIDT, C. 234
 SCHMIDT, M. 97
 SCHMIDT, M.A. 167
 SCHNEEMELCHER, W. 104
 SCHOEDEL, W.R. 10 16-17 20 25 36
 40 46
 SCHOFIELD, M. 260
 SCHØYEN, M. 117 127
 SCHRAGE, W. 193
 SCHRIEWER, J. 73
 SCHRÖTER, J. 1 4 101 104 112 122
 144 173-177 179 181 183 186 189
 191 198 210 288
 SCHÜRER, E. 57
 SCHWARTZ, D.R. 74
 SCHWARZ, K. 1 3 144 **173-207** 173
 175 186-187 200
 SCHWEMER, A.M. 115
 SCOPELLO, M. 233 248 273 279
 SELLEW, M.H. 134 190
 SHOEMAKER, S.J. 40
 SIJPESTEIJN, P.J. 122
 SIMONETTI, M. 29
 SKARSAUNE, O. 100
 SMITH, G. 257 266-268
 SÖDER, J. 201
 SOKOLOWSKI, F. 88
 SPAETH, J. 112
 STEARNS, G.J. 120
 STEFANIW, B. 134
 STEMBERGER, G. 186
 STILLINGER, J. 117
 STOCK, B. 88
 STONE, M.E. 228
 STRECKER, G. 104
 STREETER, B.H. 6
 STROUMSA, G. 233
 STRUTWOLF, H. 145
 STURDY, J. 100
 SULLIVAN, F.A. 19 47
 SWANSON, R. 213
 TAKLA, H.N. 121
 TAPPENDEN, F.S. 146
 TARDIEU, M. 231-232 234-235 237
 239-242 244 256-257 261
 TAYLOR, V. 215
 TELFORD, W. 215
 TERVAHAUTA, U. 134 233
 THEISSEN, G. 91
 THOM, J.C. 202
 THOMASSEN, E. 133 144-145 257
 265-266 281
 THOMPSON, J.W. 20
 THORNTON, T.C.G. 102
 TILL, W.C. 123 256
 TIMOTIN, A. 262
 TIWALD, M. 62
 TOLAND, J. 101
 TORNAU, C. 201 205
 TOWNSEND, P. 133 144 274
 TRAPP, M. 262

- TREBILCO, P. 21
 TREU, K. 123 144
 TRIPALDI, D. 235 238-239
 TROMPF, G. 276-277
 TUCKETT, C.M. 2 31 **51-72** 55 59
 64 66 69-70 176 178-179 210 225
 288
 TUILIER, A. 85 90
 TURNER, E.G. 122
 TURNER, J.D. 118 144-145 232 234-
 235 273 276-277 279
 TURNER, M.L. 145
 TUTTY, P. 121 126

 UHRIG, C. 150
 ULLUCCI, D. 79
 ULRICH, J. 54 56
 UNGER, D.J. 275
 UPTON, B.G. 213
 URO, R. 89 174 189 191

 VÄHÄKANGAS, P. 256-258 263 266
 VALANTASIS, R. 174 187
 VALL, G. 19 26
 VAN DEN BROEK, R. 240 242 256 258
 264 274 277-279
 VAN DEN KERCHOVE, A. 4 **273-290**
 279
 VAN DER EIJK, P. 259
 VAN DER HORST, P.W. 163
 VAN ELDEREN, B. 120
 VAN KOOTEN, G.H. 203-204
 VAN MINNEN, P. 73
 VAN OORT, J. 123 275 280 285
 VAN OS, B. 210
 VAN UNNIK, W.C. 62-63 148
 VERHEYDEN, J. 4 49 62 174 178 235
 288
 VIELHAUER, P. 104
 VINZENT, M. 98 134

 WAITZ, H. 103
 WALDSTEIN, M. 232 244 246
 WALKER, M. 127-128
 WALLACE, H. 31-32
 WALLIS, R.T. 133
 WARNS, R. 70-71
 WASSERMAN, E. 79
 WASSERMAN, T. 113
 WATSON, F. 3 **209-230** 211 217 269
 WEEDEN, T.J. 215
 WEINFELD, M. 74
 WELBORN, L.L. 53-54 56 62
 WENDT, H. 93
 WESSEL, K. 167
 WHITTAKER, J. 242
 WILES, M.F. 233
 WILLIAMS, F.E. 29 218 221 224 278
 WILLIAMS, M.A. 124-125 132 174
 232 277
 WILSON, R.McL. 144
 WISE, M. 74
 WISSE, F. 118 227 232-233 244 284
 WITETSCHEK, S. 188 195-196
 WITTE, M. 189
 WOLTER, M. 68
 WRIGHT, B.J. 287
 WRIGHT, W. 13 43 45
 WUCHERPFENNIG, A. 144
 WURST, G. 273-274 276 278-279
 283 285 288

 YARBRO COLLINS, A. 213
 YARNOLD, E.Y. 233
 YOUTIE, H.C. 84

 ZAHN, T. VON 44
 ZENOS, A.C. 31
 ZIMMERMANN, C. 196
 ZSCHARNACK, L. 102
 ZUMSTEIN, J. 177 236

INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES

OLD TESTAMENT

<i>Genesis</i>	187 246	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
1-2	201		108
1,2	247	6,3	57
1,26	202 241	6,12	108
2,7	242	6,20	108
2,21-22	247	7-9	113
2,21	247	7	241
6,18	247	7,27	113
		8,1	258
<i>Exodus</i>		<i>Sirach</i>	108
2,2	248	10,4	57
28,33-34	216	24	113 241
39,25-26	216	24,7	113
<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
23,32	191	2,3	216
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		11,1-3	112
36,21	191	40,3	88
<i>2 Ezra (LXX)</i>		40,9-11	102 105
6,9-10	57	54	68-69
		54,1	65 67
<i>Tobit</i>		61,1	244
12,8	195	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
<i>1 Maccabees</i>		15,10	102 106
7,33	57	<i>Ezekiel</i>	107
<i>2 Maccabees</i>	148	8,6LXX	107
		16,13	102 105
<i>Psalms</i>		18,5-9	112
18,5	216	28	268
88,13	106	<i>Daniel</i>	
119,21LXX	36	10,13	268
<i>Proverbs</i>		10,20	268
2,4-5	108	14,36.39	107
8	241	<i>Micah</i>	
8,15-16	57	7,5-7	102 105
8,17	108		

NEW TESTAMENT

<i>Matthew</i>	6 63 72 101-102 104 194-195 207 209 211 214 216 228-229 278	28,7 212 28,10 212 28,11-15 212 28,16-20 106 28,16 212 225 28,19-20 212
1,21	23	
2,1-12	40	
3,2	23	
4,8	107	
5,2	212	
5,23-24	83	<i>Mark</i> 6 209 212 214 216- 217
5,45	268	1,4 23
6	189	1,16-8,26 215
6,1-17	195	2,18-20 189
7,7	108	2,19-20 189
7,15	91	3,18 196
7,24-27	226	3,20-21 114
9,9	109	3,31-35 114
9,18-19	160	4,11 214
9,23-25	160	6,3 41
10,2	212	8,14-21 214
10,3	196	8,15 214
10,5	212	8,17-21 223
10,29	268	8,17-18 214
10,32	66	8,19-21 214
11,29	108	8,27-14,9 215
12,33	186	8,27-30 288
12,42	252	8,29-33 215
13,1-52	194	12,10-11 187
13,3-9	226	14,1-2 22
13,10-23	194	14,10-72 215
13,36-52	194	14,12-17 22
15,2	237	14,22-25 22
16,13-28	288	14,22 22
18,2-3	194	14,24 22
18,12-14	226	14,28 213
20,1-16	226	15,40 39
23,13	186	16,1 39
23,25-26	201	16,7-8 213
23,25	201	16,7 213
24,1-3	194	16,8 212-213
25,1-13	189 226	16,9-20 213
26,2	22	16,15 213
26,5	22	16,19 213
26,17-20	22	
26,18	22	<i>Luke</i> 72 209 216-217 229
26,26-29	22	1,2 221
26,28	23	2,7 42
28,1-7	211	2,41-52 252

3,22	244	7,53-8,11	113
4,18	244	10,1-16	226
4,29-30	107	11,16	196
5,27	109	11,39	160
6,15	196	14,5	196
6,32	66	14,9	200
6,44	186	18	247
7,11-17	160	20-21	150
7,12	160	20	149
9,18-21	288	20,19	158
10,16	217	20,24-29	196
11,9	108	20,25	229
11,31	252	20,28	14 15 28
11,39-40	201	20,29	229
11,39	201	20,30-31	197
11,52	186	20,31	197-198
12,15	223	21,2	196
15,8-10	226	21,11	196
17,21	182	21,20-25	236
22,1	22		
22,7-14	22	<i>Acts</i>	217 219
22,14-20	22	1,13	196
22,15	22	1,23	109
22,17	22	20,28	15
22,19	22	24,5	102
22,20	22	26,16	221
24	149-150		
24,47	212	<i>Romans</i>	58 61 92
		2,25-29	192
<i>John</i>	47 195-198 207 209	6,1	69
	216-217	13,1-7	56
1	235	13,14	163 165
1,1-18	247		
1,1	98 245	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	58 170
1,3	97 102 105 245	2,6-8	268
1,14-18	242	4,1	221
1,14	31 66 113 150 246	5,7	23
1,18	113	8,2-3	205
1,33-34	244	8,6	203
4,23-24	241	10,16	157
5,24-47	188	11,23-26	22
5,39-40	188	11,24-25	23
6	171	11,26	24
6,26-58	148	13,12	205
6,51-58	170-171	15	148 159-160
6,51	170	15,7	114
6,53-55	27-28	15,35-55	170-171
6,53-54	153-154 170	15,35-54	159
6,57-58	170	15,37-38	171

15,42-44	171	3,13	21
15,49	163	4,6	21
15,50	154	4,14	21
15,53-54	163 171	5,1	21
15,53	171	5,2	21
16,15-18	20	5,17-19	21
16,16	20	5,17	21
		5,19	21
<i>2 Corinthians</i>		<i>2 Timothy</i>	
5,1-10	159	2,17-18	148
5,1-4	163	4,5	21
5,4	171	4,11	21
<i>Galatians</i>		<i>Titus</i>	
2,9	218	1,5	21
2,12	218	1,7	21
3,27	165	3,1	56
3,28	163	<i>Philemon</i>	47 220
4	65 68	<i>Hebrews</i>	54 61 109
4,27	68	1	59
<i>Ephesians</i>	10	<i>James</i>	92
4,22-24	163 165	1,1	218
5,4	112	<i>1 Peter</i>	92
<i>Philippians</i>	12	1,17	59
1,1	47	2,11	59
3,20-21	171	2,13-17	56
<i>Colossians</i>		2,22	156
1,14	157	<i>2 Peter</i>	59 92
1,15	242	<i>1 John</i>	
1,16-17	203	4,2	18
1,22	156	<i>2 John</i>	91
2,9-10	242	10	91
3,9-10	163 165	<i>3 John</i>	91
<i>1 Timothy</i>		1	220
1,12	21	<i>Revelation</i>	
2,2	56-57	2-3	92
3	21		
3,1-7	48		
3,1	21		
3,2	21		
3,8	21		
3,10	21		
3,12	21		

INDEX OF OTHER REFERENCES

OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>					
	223			<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>	
9,16	223			45	57
				224	57
2 <i>Baruch</i>	148				
6,3	107			<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>	
					148
1 <i>Enoch</i>	148			<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	
60,3-5	254				148
4 <i>Ezra</i>	148 188 228			<i>Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
14	228				148
14,44-46	188				
14,45-47	228				

DEAD SEA SCROLLS

1QS	74 83 87-88	1QS 6.20-21	84
1QS 2.5-10	87	1QS 8.15	88
1QS 2.11-19	87	1QSa	87-88
1QS 5.20-21	80	1QSa 2.21	87
1QS 5.25	85	1QSB 1.1-10	87
1QS 6.2-3	87	4QS ms D.frag. 1.2.7	
1QS 6.6-7	88		87
1QS 6.13-14	80		

PHILO AND JOSEPHUS

Philo	203 205 228 239-240	<i>On Flight and Finding</i>	
	260 264 271	95	202
<i>Against Flaccus</i>		<i>On Providence</i>	271
49	57	2,1	257
<i>On the Change of Names</i>		<i>On the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel</i>	
152	108	59	202
<i>On Drunkenness</i>		<i>On the Special Laws</i>	
176-177	263	1,327-329	202
199	263	<i>That Every Good Person Is Free</i>	
<i>On the Embassy to Gaius</i>		42	108
157, 317	57		

Josephus*Against Apion*

2,73 54

2,102-103 54

Jewish Antiquities

3,151-152 54

3,224-257 54

20,199-203 112

Jewish War

2,138 84

2,140 57

2,197 57

2,408-410 57

APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Barnabas

7-8 54

9 192

1 Clement 2-3 51-72 216

1,1 52 54 65

1,3 58

5-6 52

7,1 55

13,1-2 58-59

20,3 62

20,9 62

20,10 62

20,11 62

21,3 58

21,6 58

23,3-4 65

29-30 61

34,6-42,2 51

36 59

41 54

42,1-4 215

44,2-3 53

44,4-5 52 66

46,8 59

47,6 53

49 58

59-61 56-57

60,4 62

61,1 56-57

63,2 62

63,3 53

2 Clement 2-3 51-72 108

1,1-2 64

1,1 64-64

1,2 71

1,6 67

2 67

2,1 68-69

2,3 68-69

3,1 70-71

3,2 66

3,4 67

4,5 67

5 71

5,1 59 67

5,5 71 108

6,7 67 71 108

7,6 64

8,4 67

9,1-5 64

9,5 64 66

9,11 67

10,1 67

10,3-5 68-69

10,3 69

11,2-3 65

13,2-3 67

13,4 66

14 70 72

14,1 67

14,2 65 70

15,2 67 71

16,3 64

17,1 67

17,3 66-67

17,5 64

17,6 67

18,2 66

Didache 2-3 73-96 287

6,1 90

7-10 82 90

7-8	195	inscrip.	16 18
7	83	3,1	50
7,2	82	5,2	24-25
7,3	82	7,2	16-18 30 32
8,2-3	86	13,1	25
9-10	83 86	18,2	16 18 47 145
9,1	24	19	9
9,2-5	88	19,1-2	40
9,5	24 83-84	19,2	40
10,2	89	20,2	24-25 27
10,6	82	<i>To the Magnesians</i>	
11-15	82		7-8 45
11,1-3	90	7,1	34
11,1-2	90 94	11,1	16
11,1	82 90	<i>To the Philadelphians</i>	
11,2	90		7-8 35-36 45
11,3	90	3,3	36
11,4-12	90-91	4	25
11,4-6	82	4,1	26 35-36
11,8	82 91 94	<i>To Polycarp</i>	7-8 13 43-46
11,10	82 91	8,3	46
11,11	82 90	<i>To the Romans</i>	7-8 13 36 43-45 48 58
11,12	82	3,1	58
12,1-15,4	90	6,3	17
12,1	82	7,3	24 26 36-37 48
12,2-5	82	<i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>	
13,1-3	83		7-8 16 45
13,4	82 90	1,1-2	16
13,5	82	1,1	16 18
14,1-4	90	3,1-2	170
14,1-2	83-84	3,3-12,1	8 44
14,2	82	6,2	26 38 48
15,1-2	90	7,1	25 38 48 156
15,1	83 86 90 94	8,1	25 27
15,2	90	<i>To the Trallians</i>	
15,3-4	90		7-8 18-19 45
15,3	85	2,2-3	19 33
15,4	195	3,1	19
		4-5	45
<i>Diognetus</i>		8,1	25
3,3-5	54	9,1-2	16
		<i>Pseudo-Ignatius</i>	
<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>		<i>First Epistle to John</i>	
	288		39
<i>Ignatius of Antioch</i>		<i>Second Epistle to John</i>	
	1-2 5-50 63 92 156		41-42
	162	<i>Hero</i>	
<i>To the Ephesians</i>	7-9 13 18 43-45	3,1	34

<i>Letter of Mary of Cassobola</i>	49	Polycarp	58 63 219
<i>To the Tarsians</i>	32	<i>To the Philippians</i>	
2,1	33	2,3	58
		4,2	58
Martyrdom of Polycarp		4,3	58
	288	12,3	57
6,2	288		
10,2	57		

NAG HAMMADI CODICES

Nag Hammadi Codices		2,15-16	224 226
2-3 117-142		2,16	222
		2,29	226
NHC I	123-125 127 129-132	2,31	226
	135-137 140-142 160	2,33-39	222
	218 281	2,34	219
		2,38	222
NHC I,2 Apocryphon of James		2,39-3,7	222
	3 209-230 287	2,40-3,2	222
1,1	218	3,3	222
1,8-17	220	3,4	222
1,10-12	218	3,6-7	223
1,15-25	221	3,7	229
1,16-20	228	3,11-25	230
1,20-25	228-229	3,14	226 228
1,20-21	224	3,17-18	226
1,21	223	3,17	226
1,24-25	218	3,19	226
1,26	226	3,27	226
1,27	224	3,30-31	226
1,28-2,7	223-224	4,18-22	226
1,30-31	218	4,31-5,20	226
1,30	226	5,33-35	226
1,33-34	224	6,2-3	226
1,35-36	218	6,5-7	226
1,35	219	6,6-7	226
2,1-2	224	6,14-15	226
2,2	224	7,23-35	226
2,3	224	7,23	226
2,4	224	8,4-10	226
2,5	224	8,16-27	226
2,6-7	224	8,25	226
2,7-21	221	8,31-36	224
2,7-16	222	8,32	219
2,7-15	226	9,1-4	226
2,7	224	9,35	226
2,11-14	229	10,1	226

10,15-16	226		
10,28	224		
10,34	226		
11,11	226		
11,13	226		
11,14	226		
11,28	226		
12,9	226		
12,15	226		
12,22-30	226		
12,22-23	226		
12,38	226		
12,39	226		
12,40-41	226		
13,8-9	226		
13,9	226		
13,11	224		
13,12	226		
13,18	226		
13,29-30	226		
13,35-36	226		
13,38-14,1	224		
14,1	219		
14,5-6	228		
14,14	226		
14,37	226		
14,44-47	228		
15,28-29	222		
15,37-16,2	224		
15,38-39	220 228		
16,2-11	225		
16,2	224		
16,5-8	218		
16,5	228		
16,8-11	218		
16,25-26	224		
16,28-30	220		
24,10-11	227		
25,1-2	227		
NHC I,3 Gospel of Truth			
	249 281-282		
16,31	281		
22,5,14-15	71		
40,30-42,35	71		
NHC I,4 Treatise on Resurrection (Epistle to Rheginus)			
	125 148 161 220		
47	161		
NHC I,5 Tripartite Tractate			
	4 246 251-271		
57,8-23	242		
67,10-21	253		
67,30-34	253		
73,8-18	253		
108,13-109,5	265		
109,5-35	266		
109,9-10	267		
110,11-22	268		
112,14-113,5	267		
118-119	267		
NHC II		121 123-126 136	
		144 173 180-181	
		184 280	
NHC II,1 Apocryphon of John (see also III,1; IV,1; BG 1)			
		4 123 184 231-249	
		282	
1,17-2,25	254		
6,10-15	243		
11,15-22	237		
12,17	258		
19,10	236		
30,11-13	232		
NHC II,2 Gospel of Thomas			
		2-3 99 108 125	
		144 173-207 209-	
		210 231 278 281	
<i>incipit</i>		188 196-197 203	
2		108 203 205	
3		182 196 199 204	
4		182 204	
5		204	
6		188 195	
8		196	
10		197	
12		114 202	
13		194 196-197	
14		188-190 193 195	
16		197 200 204	
18		203-204	
19		187 204	
20		187 194	
21		204	
22		191 204 206	
24		197 206	

27	191 199 204
28	190 197 200 206
30	180 200 203
36–39	179
36	180
37	180 188 196–197 200
39	186–187
43	185 197 204
44	196
45	186
46	187 204
49	189 204
50	196 199–200
52	187 188 192
53	192
54	194
56–61	206
56	206
57	189 199
58	203
60	204 206
61	194 197 199–200 206
64	199–200 204
65	187 200
66	187
67	203
69	199
75	189
76	199
77	180 197 202–203
79	200
80	206
83–84	202
83	199
85	187 201–202
89	191 201
91	197 204
96–99	199
99	199–200
100	200
102	186–187
104	189–190 193
108	206
110	191
113	199
114	194 197
<i>subscriptio</i>	173

NHC II,3 Gospel of Philip

2–3	143–172
	184 280–282
7 (52,25–33)	190
11a (53,23–35)	168
11b (53,35–54,5)	169
12c (54,13–18)	169
22 (56,20–26)	164 166
23 (56,26–57,19)	146–172
24 (57,19–22)	155 163
26b (58,10–14)	145
27b (58,15–17)	155–158
45–46 (61,36–62,6)	204
53 (63,21–24)	154
63c (66,16–20)	165
68 (67,27–30)	154
72c (68,31–37)	153
77 (70,5–9)	155 163–164
82a (71,3–10)	145
83 (71,18–21)	145
83a (71,16–21)	171
89 (72,30–73,1)	145
90a (73,1–5)	165
91 (73,8–15)	145
91 (73,9)	280
99 (75,2–10)	145
101 (75,21–25)	155 163 165
106 (76,22–31)	155 163 164

NHC II,4 Hypostasis of the Archons

	243
138,6–15	108
141,3–4	108

NHC II,5 On the Origin of the World

	180 243
101,26–28	258
108,7–24	258
109,3–6	258
111,14–18	258
111,31–112,1	258
125,23–32	258

NHC II,7 Book of Thomas the Contender

282

NHC III,1 Apocryphon of John (see also II,1; IV,1; BG 1)

	121 123 136
	231–232 282
39,11–13	232

NHC III,2 <i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i> (see also IV,2)	110 227	NHC V,4 <i>Second Apocalypse of James</i>	280 282
68,1-9	227	11,11-12	280
68,10-69,5	227	NHC VI,2 <i>Thunder: Perfect Mind</i>	123 125-126 132 136
69,6	227		181 262
NHC III,3 <i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i> (see also V,1)	4 240 251-271	NHC VII	121-125 131-132 135-136
70,2-71,13	254-255	NHC VII,2 <i>Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	147
NHC III,4 <i>Sophia of Jesus Christ</i> (see also BG 3)	4 123 251-271	NHC VII,3 <i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	72,4-9 282
90,14-91,24	254	80,32-33	282
90,18-91,1	225	82,18-20	282
91,24-93,24	254-255	NHC VII,4 <i>Teachings of Silvanus</i>	252
118,15-119,8	269	NHC VIII	123 125-126 136
119,14-16	225	NHC VIII,1 <i>Zostrianos</i>	241
NHC III,5 <i>Dialogue of the Saviour</i>	108	3,23-4,19	254
NHC IV,1 <i>Apocryphon of John</i> (see also II,1; III,1; BG 1)	123 125-126 136	NHC VIII,2 <i>Letter of Peter to Philip</i>	132,16-133,1 (C. Tchacos 1,5-9)
	231-232		225
46,23-27	232	134,9-135,7	254
NHC IV,2 <i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i> (see also III,2)	110 227	140,11-13 + 23-27 (C. Tchacos 9,8-12)	225
80,15-25	227	NHC IX	123 125-126 136
80,26-81,2	227	NHC X	121 123 125-126 136
NHC V	121 123 125-126	NHC XI	123-126 131 135-136
	136	NHC XII	121 123 136
NHC V,1 <i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i> (see also III,3)	251 253-259	NHC XII,1 <i>Sentences of Sextus</i>	252
NHC V,3 <i>First Apocalypse of James</i>	218 224 227-228	NHC XIII	121 123 125 132 136
	280 282		180
23,10-24,7	227	NHC XIII,1 <i>Trimorphic Protennoia</i>	243
23,15-19	227		
24,7-25,8	227		
24,10	280		
24,10-11	227		
24,13-16 (C. Tchacos 10,2-5)	218		
	227		
24,16-17	227		
25,1-2	227		
44,9-10	280		

NHC XIII,2 <i>On the Origin of the World</i>	180	29,18–30,4	243
		30,9–31,5	244
		31,5–16	245
BG 8502,1 <i>Gospel of Mary</i>	3 123 210 225 278	31,10–11	244
8,21–9,24	225	31,17–32,19	245
15–16	71	38,6–12	248
18,18–19,2	225	43,12	258
		73,4–12	248
		75,10–13	232
BG 8502,2 <i>Apocryphon of John</i> (see also NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1)	123 231–232 256–257 282	BG 8502,3 <i>Sophia of Jesus Christ</i> (see also NHC III,4)	123 251–271
20,8–17	237	77,15–17	225
26,19–23	241	127,5–9	225
27,11	241		
29–30	241	BG 8502,4 <i>Acts of Peter</i>	123

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

<i>Acts of John</i>	249	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>	2–3 97–116 205 209
<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	164	<i>Gospel of Judas</i> (Codex Tchacos)	2–4 210 273–290
1	212	33,1–6	279
<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	12 73–96	33,23–24	279
7	3 73	34,4–5	279
<i>Egerton Gospel</i>	209	34,11–12	288
<i>Epistle of the Apostles</i>	210 216 219	35,18	277
1,1	219	35,23–25	278
1,2	210 215	36,11	279
1,4	215	36,22–23	279
2,2	215	37,20–21	279
7,1	210 219	47–54	277
11 [22]	150 170	47,21–26	277
19 [30]	170	49	277
21 [31]	170	51,12	277
29,7–30,5	225	55,12	279
<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>	103	55,13–16	279
<i>Gospel of Eve</i>	278 281	56,19	289
		58,27–28	278
		<i>Gospel of Matthias</i>	183
		<i>Gospel of the Nazarenes</i>	103–105 111

<i>Gospel of Perfection</i>	282	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>	42 209
<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	183 209 281 285	1,1	216
9,47–10,42	211	8,3	216
<i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>	42	9,2	42
		<i>Pseudo-Clementine Recognitiones</i>	234 257
		8,40	257

CLASSICAL AND ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

Aenesidemus	263	Aesop	186
Aëtius	29 257 261 264	Athanasius	17
<i>Placita</i>		Ps-Athanasius	
1,28,3	256 257 261-262	<i>On Virginity</i>	
		13	88
Alexander of Alexandria		Athenagoras	
<i>Deposition of Arius</i>	31-32	<i>Legatio</i>	
Alexander of Aphrodisias	263	24,1	267
		24,6	267
		25,1-3	267
Alkinoos		Augustine	187 285
<i>Didaskalikos</i>		<i>Letters</i>	
7,5	204	71,3,1	285
16,2	201	71,3,3	285
28,3-4	205		
Apelles	157-158	Aulus Gellius	
Apuleius	240	<i>Attic Nights</i>	
<i>On the Doctrines of Plato</i>		13,23,1	86
2,23	205		
Aquila	248	Basilides	147 157 279
Aristides	240	Caius of Rome	219
		Celsus	288
Aristotle		<i>Chaldean Oracles</i>	241
<i>The Constitution of the Athenians</i>		Chrysippus	257 261
55,3	79	Cicero	86 260
Ps.-Aristotle		<i>Academy</i>	
<i>On the Cosmos</i>		2,119-121	263
397b9	202		
Arius	31-32		

On the Nature of the Gods

1 262

On the Responses of the Haruspices

11,23 87

Clement of Alexandria

103-104 107-112 114-115 154 270

Excerpts

78,2 71

Stromateis

1,17,81,4-5 267

1,17,86,1-87,2 267

2,9,45 107

2,45 205

2,45,5 97 102 205

3,63,1 110

5,96,2-3 107

5,96,3 205

Clement of Rome

229

Corpus Hermeticum

237 271

Cyril of Alexandria

146

Cyril of Jerusalem

184

Catechetical Lectures

4,36 183

6,31 183

12,16 106

Demosthenes*On the Crown*

259 87

Didymus

111 113-114

Commentary on Ecclesiastes

7,22 113

Commentary on the Psalms

109

Dio Cassius

67,1 55

67,14 55

Diogenes Laërtius

9,78-79 263

9,80-81 263

9,83 263

Dionysius of Alexandria

219

Dionysius of Corinth

52-53

Ephrem the Syrian

164

Epictetus

271

Epiphanius of Salamis

29 42 101 103 111

219 276 278 280-281

Ancoratus

87 169

Panarion

26,2,5 282

26,2,6 278

26,13,2-3 281

28,2,1-2 219

28,2,3-4,6 219

29,3,9 42

30 103

30,3,7 111

30,13,2 111

33,3,3 257

33,5,11-13 191

38,2,1-3 276

51,21,7 106

64,2-9 152

76,6,1 29

Eunomius

29

Eusebius

56 65 101-103 105

110-111 113-114 183-

184 285

Ecclesiastical History

13

3,3,3 209

3,16 52

3,18 55

3,25,4-6 209

- 3,25,5 110 210
 3,25,6-7 183
 3,27,4 111
 3,28,1-5 219
 3,36 8
 3,38,4 64
 3,39,14-16 216
 3,39,16 111
 3,39,17 102 113
 4,5,3 114
 4,22 52
 4,22,4 42
 4,22,8 103 105
 4,23 52
 5,8,2-4 217
 6,12,2-6 209
 6,12,3-6 281 285
Eusebian canons
 213
Letter to Carpianus
 220
Preparation for the Gospel
 1,7-8 261
Theophany
 frag. 4,22 103

Excerpta Patrum
 64

Florilegium Edessenum
 64

Florus 191

Galen 283 286
On My Own Books
 284

Gelasius 17

Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople 40
Homily on the Dormition
 1 41

Gregory of Nyssa
Catechetical Oration
 37,2-3.9-12 162

Hegesippus 42 52-53 103-105
 111 115

Heraclitus 261

Ps.-Hippolytus
Refutation of All Heresies
 181-182 184 276
 5,6,4 182
 5,7,20 181-182
 6,35,3-6 244
 8,20,3 276
 10,13,4 160

Irenaeus 3-4 98 101 143-172
 216-217 219 223
 229 273-290

Against Heresies
 92 274-276 278 280
 290
 1, preface 167
 1, preface 2 285
 1, preface 3 274
 1,1,1-9,5 285
 1,2,6 145
 1,3,2 223
 1,10,1 167
 1,10,3 167
 1,24,4 147
 1,26,1 219
 1,29-31 276
 1,29 234-235 242-243
 247
 1,30 242-243
 1,30,14 223
 1,31 275
 1,31,1-2 275
 1,31,1 276
 1,31,2 276 285-286
 2,13,3 245
 2,13,8 245
 3, preface 217
 3,1,1 217
 3,1,2 217
 3,3,3 64 274
 3,3,4 219
 3,10,5 213
 3,11,7-9 286
 3,11,9 281

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 3,21,10 | 171 | | 42,1 | 216 |
| 4,38,1 | 170 | | 42,2 | 216 |
| 5 | 167 | | 100,4 | 216 |
| 5,2,2 | 156-157 | | 101,3 | 216 |
| 5,2,3 | 152 163 170-171 | | 102,5 | 216 |
| 5,13,1 | 160 | | 104,1 | 216 |
| 5,13,3 | 171 | | | |
| 5,14,3 | 156 | | | |
| Jacob of Serugh | | | Juvenal | |
| 164 | | | <i>Satires</i> | |
| | | | 6,557-564 | 93 |
| Jerome | 64 101-107 111-112 | | Ps.-Leontius of Byzance | |
| 285 | | | <i>The Sects</i> | 281 |
| <i>Commentary on Ephesians</i> | | | Lucian of Samosata | 92 |
| | 112 | | <i>The Death of Peregrine</i> | |
| 3 | 112 | | 11 | 92 |
| 5,4 | 110 | | 12 | 92 |
| <i>Commentary on Ezechiel</i> | | | 13 | 93 |
| 4 | 102 105 | | 16 | 93 |
| 6 | 112 | | <i>The Ignorant</i> | |
| <i>Commentary on Isaiah</i> | | | 30 | 186 |
| 4 | 112 | | <i>Timon</i> | |
| 11 | 102 105 | | 14 | 186 |
| <i>Commentary on Micah</i> | | | | |
| 2 | 102 105 | | Lucretius | |
| <i>On Illustrious Men</i> | | | <i>On the Nature of Things</i> | |
| 2,12-13 | 112 | | 2,1079-1107 | 256 |
| 74 | 276 | | | |
| Justin Martyr | 59 98 222 229 270 | | Marcion | 3 61-62 72 98 |
| <i>1 Apology</i> | | | | 157 267 |
| 17 | 57 | | Marcus Aurelius | 262 271 |
| 39,2 | 216 | | 4,3 | 263 |
| 54-57 | 267 | | | |
| 65 | 95 | | Marius Victorinus | |
| 66 | 162 | | <i>Against the Arians</i> | |
| 66,3 | 216 | | I, 50,1-5 | 241 |
| 67,3 | 216 | | | 241 |
| <i>2 Apology</i> | | | Maximus of Tyre | 262 |
| 5 | 267 | | <i>Orations</i> | |
| 7 | 257 | | 5,4-7 | 262 |
| <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i> | | | 5,4 | 257 262 |
| 2,1-2 | 257 | | | |
| 12,3 | 191 | | Minucius Felix | |
| 17,4 | 186 | | <i>Octavius</i> | |
| 19,3 | 192 | | 5,8 | 258 |
| 19,5 | 192 | | 5,9-10 | 258 |
| 24,2 | 192 | | | |

Numenius	201	<i>Phaedrus</i>	
		263b-266c	262
Origen	101-107 109-115	<i>Republic</i>	
	169 181 228 239-	364e	87
	240 269 289	<i>Sophist</i>	
<i>Against Celsus</i>		235b-d, 253c-e	262
2,2	289	<i>Theaetetus</i>	
2,11	289	155d	205
2,15-20	288	<i>Timaeus</i>	108
2,16-18	288	28c	201
2,20	288	90d	205
<i>Commentary on Jeremiah</i>		Pliny	
15,4	102 106	<i>Letter to Trajan</i>	
<i>Commentary on John</i>		86 (97)	288
	105	<i>Natural History</i>	
2,12	97 102 105 107	28,3	86
2,34,199-201	188	Plotinus	205 239 243
2,34,207	64	<i>Tractate 33, Against the Gnostics</i>	235
32,148-163	289	Plutarch	205 260 271
32,237-246	289	<i>Placita</i>	
<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>		885a-d	261
11,9	289	885c-d	262
<i>Commentary on Romans</i>		<i>On Stoic Self-Contradiction</i>	
3,1,14-19	268		271
<i>Homilies on Jeremiah</i>		Ps.-Plutarch	260-261
	105-106	Porphry	
<i>Homilies on Luke</i>	183	<i>On Abstinence</i>	
1	183	2,60-61	80
<i>Philocalia</i>		Seneca	205 271
23,3	289	Serapion	
<i>On Principles</i>	246	<i>Euchologium</i>	
3,1	268	13,13	88
3,2-3	268	Severus of Antioch	
3,3	268		17 64
3,3,2	268	Sextus Empiricus	263
3,3,3-4	268	<i>Outlines of Pyrrhonism</i>	
3,3,5-6	268	1,29	264
<i>Selection from Psalms</i>		1,79-90	263
	106	1,151	263
Papias	102 104 111 113		
	195 216-217		
Pausanias			
8,15,1	87		
Plato	240		
<i>Laws</i>			
10,885b	262		

Socrates of Constantinople*Ecclesiastical History*

31

1,5 31

Stobaeus 260*Eclogues*

1,15,15-16 262

Suetonius*Domitian*

11 55

Tatian*Address to the Greeks*

3,3 257

Tertullian 3 143-172 267 284*Against Marcion*

2 284

Apology

5 55

30,39 57

35,40 57

On the Flesh of Christ

149 162

1,1-2 150-151

6,3 158

On the Prescription of Heretics

160

33,10 276

36 167

On the Resurrection of the Flesh

149 157 162

2 157

2,1 149

2,2-6 157

19 165

19,5 165-166

19,6 168

23 149

52,1-3 159

55,1 160

On the Soul

20,5 268

Ps.-Tertullian*Against All Heresies*

2,5 276

4,5 160

Thallus

29

Theodoret of Cyrrihus

17 260

Theophilus

146

Autolycus

1,11 57

2,8 267

Theophrastus 79-80*On Eusebius*

frag. 8 80

Timothy of Constantinople*On the Reception of Heretics*

281

Valentinus 157 160 240-241 287**Victorinus of Pettau**

276

Xenarchus of Seleucia

261

Xenophon*Memorabilia*

2,2,13 79

Zosimus of Panopolis

271

PAPYRI AND INSCRIPTIONS

AÉ 1928, 161 78

AÉ 1929, 161 74-75

AÉ 1929, 161.12-14

84

AÉ 1929, 161.13-15

82

AÉ 1987, 198 80

AÉ 2012, 312 74

Agora 16:161 = GRA I 14	IG II ² 1012.19 = GRA I 42
74-75	85
Agora 16:161.2 = GRA I 14	IG II ² 1275 = GRA I 8
77	74-75
AM 32 (1907) 295-297 (no. 18).4-11	IG II ² 1283 = GRA I 23
78	74-75
ASAA 22 (1939/40) 148,2	IG II ² 1283.13 = GRA I 23
85	77
BGU VIII 1741; 1742; 1743	IG II ² 1297.15-17 = GRA I 24
85	87
BGU XIV 2368.5 = GRA II 248	IG II ² 1298.13 = GRA I 20
85	85
BGU XIV 2371 74-75	IG II ² 1324 = GRA I 32
BGU XIV 2371.1 77	85
British Museum Add. 12175	IG II ² 1328 = GRA I 34
43	74-75 85
British Museum Add. 14618	IG II ² 1328.8 = GRA I 34
43	77
British Museum Add. 17192	IG II ² 1334 = GRA I 45
43	85
Chester Beatty papyrus 2554	IG II ² 1339 = GRA I 46
122	74-75
CIL 6.10234 74-75 77 80	IG II ² 1339.5-6 = GRA I 46
CIL 6.10234.6-7 78	77
CIL 6.10234.11 78	IG II ² 1339.17 = GRA I 46
CIL 6.10298 78	78
CIL 6.33885 74-75 81 84	IG II ² 1361 = GRA I 4
CIL 8.14683 74-75	74-75
CIL 10.6483 80	IG II ² 1361.21-24
CIL 14.246 81	78
CIL 14.2112 74-75 77-78 81	IG II ² 1361.22 = GRA I 4
Clara Rhodos 2 (1932) 193,21	78
85	IG II ² 1365-1366 = GRA I 53
I.Alex.imp. 46 = GRA III 176	74-75
85	IG II ² 1368 = GRA I 51
I.Alex.imp. 90 = GRA III 167	74-75 77 81
85	IG II ² 1368.31-38 79
I.Alex.imp. 92.4 = GRA III 182	IG II ² 1368.32, 37 = GRA I 51
85	77
I.Alex.imp. 94.2 = GRA III 173	IG II ² 1368.37-38 = GRA I 51
85	78
I.Alex.imp. 96 = GRA III 166	IG II ² 1368.90-94 = GRA III 51
85	81
ID 1520.58-68 81	IG II ² 1368.111-117 = GRA I 51
ID 1521.17-18 78	88
ID 1522.8, 10, 17 85	IG II ² 1368.162-163 = GRA I 51
I.Fayum II 122 = GRA III 229	82
85	IG II ² 1369 = GRA I 49
I.Fayum III 212.8 = GRA III 204	74-75 77
85	

- IG II² 1369.31-34
80
- IG VII 2808.b.9-12
78
- IG IX,1² 670 = GRA I 61
74-75 77 81
- IG XII,1 49 85
- IG XII,1 50 85
- IG XII,1 731 85
- IG XII,3 183 80
- IG XII,3 329 85
- IG XII,3 329.12 85
- IG XII,3 330.139-141
80
- IG XII,3 330.276-277
77
- IG XII,3 Suppl. 1295
85
- IGRR I 1114.2 = GRA III 203
85
- I.Lindos II 208 85
- I.Lindos II 378 85
- I.Pergamon II 374.D.17-22 = GRA II
111 78
- I.Prose I 40.41 = GRA III 160
78
- I.Rhamnous II 59.2, 6 = GRA I 27
85
- I.Smyrna 731.14-15
78
- I.Smryna 732 78
- LSAM 80 = GRA II 152
74-75
- Maiuri, NSER 20 85
- OGIS I 130 = GRA III 244
85
- P¹⁰ 92
- P⁵² 247
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 241
74-75
- P.Bagnall 42 = P.Tebt. Suppl. 1578
74-75
- P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 = P.Assoc. p. 103-
131 74-75
- P.Berol. 10581 8 44
- P.Berol. 8502 123 234 251
- P.Cair. 10759 281
- P.Cair. 30605 = P.Assoc. p. 73-78,
222-225 74-75
- P.Cair. 30606 = P.Assoc. p. 45-51,
218-219 74-75
- P.Cair. 30606.8 76
- P.Cair. 30606.18 = GRA III 191
81
- P.Cair. 30606.19 = GRA III 191
81
- P.Cair. 30606.21 = GRA III 191
81
- P.Cair. 30618 A-B = P.Assoc. p. 229-
236 74-75
- P.Cair. 30619 = P.Assoc. p. 93-97,
227-229 74-75
- P.Cair. 31178 = P.Assoc. p. 39-40,
215-218 74-75
- P.Cair. 31179 = P.Assoc. p. 63-68,
221-222 74-75
- P.Deir.Balizeh ii.v.3-11
88
- P.Dem.Louvre E 7840 bis = P.Louvre
Eisenlohr 6 74-75
- P.Egerton Fr. 1,7-10
188
- P.Enteuxis 20 76
- P.Enteuxis 21 76
- P.Hamburg.Bibliothek.dem. 1 =
P.Assoc. p. 59-61, 219-220
74-75
- P.Lille.dem. 29 = P.Assoc. p. 3-10
74-75
- P.Lille.dem. 29.10 = GRA III 188
81
- P.Lille.dem. 29.22 76
- P.Lille.dem. 29.25 = GRA III 188
81
- P.Lond. III 1178.6, 70 = GRA III 265
78
- P.Lond. VII 2193 = GRA III 199
74-75 77 81
- P.Lond. VII 2193.8-10 = GRA III 199
81
- P.Lond. VII 2193.13
77
- P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2 = GRA III 210
81
- P.Mich. II 123.6.18; 9.45; 10.6;
11.36; 16.12; 17.38
75
- P.Mich. II 124 2.23 75

P.Mich. V 243 = GRA III 206		P.Oxy. IV 654,6-9	205
	74-76 81	P.Oxy. IV 654,8-9	205
P.Mich. V 243.3	76	P.Oxy. IV 654,15-16	182
P.Mich. V 243.3, 9 = GRA III 206		P.Oxy. IV 654,23-24	182
	81	P.Oxy. IV 654,33-35	188
P.Mich. V 243.7-8 = GRA III 206		P.Oxy. IV 655	173 178-180
	81	P.Oxy. IV 655 col. I,21	
P.Mich. V 243.8 = GRA III 206			180
	81	P.Oxy. IV 655 col. I,3-17	
P.Mich. V 244.9-10 = GRA III 212			180
	81	P.Prague.Satzung = P.Assoc. p. 83-91	
P.Mich. V 244	74-76		74-75
P.Mich. V 244.10-12, 19-20		P.Ryl. 463	225
	76	P.Ryl. II 94 = GRA III 205	
P.Mich. V 244.15 = GRA III 212			81
	81	P.StanGreenDem 21	74-75
P.Mich. V 244.16-18 = GRA III 212		P.Tebt. II 401.vi.23-24 = GRA III	
	82		81
P.Mich. V 244.18 = GRA III 212		P.Würzb. 4	76
	85-86	P.Würzburg.dem. 10	
P.Mich. V 245	74-75		74-75
P.Mich. V 245.3	77	Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 2	
P.Mich. V 248	75-76		85
P.Mich. VIII 511	84 89	SB 3.6319 r.ii.43-44 = GRA III 197	
P.Mich. VIII 511.4 = GRA III 240			81
	78	SB 3.6704	74-75
P.Mich.Zen. I 57.3 = GRA III 185		SEG 31:122 = GRA I 50	
	81		74-75
P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77-78		SEG 31:122.3 = GRA I 50	
	74-75		77
P.Oxy. 405	92	SEG 31:122.39 = GRA I 50	
P.Oxy. 654,5-9	108		78
P.Oxy. 1081	251	SEG 54:235 = GRA I 47	
P.Oxy. I 1	173 178-180		86
	184 191	Stud.Pal. IV cols. vii-x	
P.Oxy. I 1,4-11	190		76
P.Oxy. I 1,27-30	180 203	TAM V 1539 = GRA II 117	
P.Oxy. IV 654	173 176 178-		74-75 82
	180 182 184		

BIBLIOTHECA EPHEMERIDUM THEOLOGICARUM
LOVANIENSIMUM

SERIES III

131. C.M. TUCKETT (ed.), *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, 1997. xxiv-721 p. 60 €
132. J. VAN RUITEN & M. VERVENNE (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Isaiah. Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken*, 1997. xx-540 p. 75 €
133. M. VERVENNE & J. LUST (eds.), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature. Festschrift C.H.W. Brekelmans*, 1997. xi-637 p. 75 €
134. G. VAN BELLE (ed.), *Index Generalis ETL / BETL 1982-1997*, 1999. ix-337 p. 40 €
135. G. DE SCHRIJVER, *Liberation Theologies on Shifting Grounds. A Clash of Socio-Economic and Cultural Paradigms*, 1998. xi-453 p. 53 €
136. A. SCHOORS (ed.), *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*, 1998. xi-528 p. 60 €
137. W.A. BIENERT & U. KÜHNEWEG (eds.), *Origeniana Septima. Origenes in den Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts*, 1999. xxv-848 p. 95 €
138. É. GAZIAUX, *L'autonomie en morale: au croisement de la philosophie et de la théologie*, 1998. xvi-760 p. 75 €
139. J. GROOTAERS, *Actes et acteurs à Vatican II*, 1998. xxiv-602 p. 75 €
140. F. NEIRYNCK, J. VERHEYDEN & R. CORSTJENS, *The Gospel of Matthew and the Sayings Source Q: A Cumulative Bibliography 1950-1995*, 1998. 2 vols., vii-1000-420* p. 95 €
141. E. BRITO, *Heidegger et l'hymne du sacré*, 1999. xv-800 p. 90 €
142. J. VERHEYDEN (ed.), *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, 1999. xxv-828 p. 60 €
143. N. CALDUCH-BENAGES & J. VERMEYLEN (eds.), *Treasures of Wisdom. Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. Festschrift M. Gilbert*, 1999. xxvii-463 p. 75 €
144. J.-M. AUWERS & A. WÉNIN (eds.), *Lectures et relectures de la Bible. Festschrift P.-M. Bogaert*, 1999. xlii-482 p. 75 €
145. C. BEGG, *Josephus' Story of the Later Monarchy (AJ 9,1-10,185)*, 2000. x-650 p. 75 €
146. J.M. ASGEIRSSON, K. DE TROYER & M.W. MEYER (eds.), *From Quest to Q. Festschrift James M. Robinson*, 2000. xlii-346 p. 60 €
147. T. RÖMER (ed.), *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History*, 2000. xii-265 p. 75 €
148. F.D. VANSINA, *Paul Ricœur: Bibliographie primaire et secondaire - Primary and Secondary Bibliography 1935-2000*, 2000. xxvi-544 p. 75 €
149. G.J. BROOKE & J.-D. KAESTLI (eds.), *Narrativity in Biblical and Related Texts*, 2000. xxi-307 p. 75 €

150. F. NEIRYNCK, *Evangelica III: 1992-2000. Collected Essays*, 2001. xvii-666 p. 60 €
151. B. DOYLE, *The Apocalypse of Isaiah Metaphorically Speaking. A Study of the Use, Function and Significance of Metaphors in Isaiah 24-27*, 2000. xii-453 p. 75 €
152. T. MERRIGAN & J. HAERS (eds.), *The Myriad Christ. Plurality and the Quest for Unity in Contemporary Christology*, 2000. xiv-593 p. 75 €
153. M. SIMON, *Le catéchisme de Jean-Paul II. Genèse et évaluation de son commentaire du Symbole des apôtres*, 2000. xvi-688 p. 75 €
154. J. VERMEYLEN, *La loi du plus fort. Histoire de la rédaction des récits davidiques de 1 Samuel 8 à 1 Rois 2*, 2000. xiii-746 p. 80 €
155. A. WÉNIN (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Genesis. Literature, Redaction and History*, 2001. xxx-643 p. 60 €
156. F. LEDEGANG, *Mysterium Ecclesiae. Images of the Church and its Members in Origen*, 2001. xvii-848 p. 84 €
157. J.S. BOSWELL, F.P. MCHUGH & J. VERSTRAETEN (eds.), *Catholic Social Thought: Twilight of Renaissance*, 2000. xxii-307 p. 60 €
158. A. LINDEMANN (ed.), *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus*, 2001. xxii-776 p. 60 €
159. C. HEMPEL, A. LANGE & H. LICHTENBERGER (eds.), *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, 2002. xii-502 p. 80 €
160. L. BOEVE & L. LEIJSEN (eds.), *Sacramental Presence in a Postmodern Context*, 2001. xvi-382 p. 60 €
161. A. DENAUX (ed.), *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift J. Delobel*, 2002. xviii-391 p. 60 €
162. U. BUSSE, *Das Johannesevangelium. Bildlichkeit, Diskurs und Ritual. Mit einer Bibliographie über den Zeitraum 1986-1998*, 2002. xiii-572 p. 70 €
163. J.-M. AUWERS & H.J. DE JONGE (eds.), *The Biblical Canons*, 2003. lxxxviii-718 p. 60 €
164. L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*, 2003. xxv-x-1406 p. 180 €
165. R. BIERINGER, V. KOPERSKI & B. LATAIRE (eds.), *Resurrection in the New Testament. Festschrift J. Lambrecht*, 2002. xxxi-551 p. 70 €
166. M. LAMBERIGTS & L. KENIS (eds.), *Vatican II and Its Legacy*, 2002. xii-512 p. 65 €
167. P. DIEUDONNÉ, *La Paix clémentine. Défaite et victoire du premier jansénisme français sous le pontificat de Clément IX (1667-1669)*, 2003. xxxix-302 p. 70 €
168. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, 2003. xxxiv-491 p. 60 €
169. D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et Certamen: The Relationship between Grace and Free Will in the Discussion of Augustine with the So-Called Semipelagians*, 2003. lvii-468 p. 75 €
170. G. COOMAN, M. VAN STIPHOUT & B. WAUTERS (eds.), *Zeger-Bernard Van Espen at the Crossroads of Canon Law, History, Theology and Church-State Relations*, 2003. xx-530 p. 80 €
171. B. BOURGINE, *L'herméneutique théologique de Karl Barth. Exégèse et dogmatique dans le quatrième volume de la Kirchliche Dogmatik*, 2003. xxii-548 p. 75 €

172. J. HAERS & P. DE MEY (eds.), *Theology and Conversation: Towards a Relational Theology*, 2003. xiii-923 p. 90 €
173. M.J.J. MENKEN, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist*, 2004. xii-336 p. 60 €
174. J.-P. DELVILLE, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au xvi^e siècle. Interprétations de la parabole des ouvriers à la vigne (Matthieu 20,1-16)*, 2004. xlii-775 p. 70 €
175. E. BRITO, *J.G. Fichte et la transformation du christianisme*, 2004. xvi-808 p. 90 €
176. J. SCHLOSSER (ed.), *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition*, 2004. xxiv-569 p. 60 €
177. R. FAESEN (ed.), *Albert Deblaere, S.J. (1916-1994): Essays on Mystical Literature – Essais sur la littérature mystique – Saggi sulla letteratura mistica*, 2004. xx-473 p. 70 €
178. J. LUST, *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays*. Edited by K. HAUSPIE, 2004. xiv-247 p. 60 €
179. H. GIESEN, *Jesu Heilsbotschaft und die Kirche. Studien zur Eschatologie und Ekklesiologie bei den Synoptikern und im ersten Petrusbrief*, 2004. xx-578 p. 70 €
180. H. LOMBAERTS & D. POLLEFEYT (eds.), *Hermeneutics and Religious Education*, 2004. xiii-427 p. 70 €
181. D. DONNELLY, A. DENAUX & J. FAMERÉE (eds.), *The Holy Spirit, the Church, and Christian Unity. Proceedings of the Consultation Held at the Monastery of Bose, Italy (14-20 October 2002)*, 2005. xii-417 p. 70 €
182. R. BIERINGER, G. VAN BELLE & J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Luke and His Readers. Festschrift A. Denaux*, 2005. xxviii-470 p. 65 €
183. D.F. PILARIO, *Back to the Rough Grounds of Praxis: Exploring Theological Method with Pierre Bourdieu*, 2005. xxxii-584 p. 80 €
184. G. VAN BELLE, J.G. VAN DER WATT & P. MARITZ (eds.), *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, 2005. xii-561 p. 70 €
185. D. LUCIANI, *Sainteté et pardon. Vol. 1: Structure littéraire du Lévitique. Vol. 2: Guide technique*, 2005. xiv-vii-656 p. 120 €
186. R.A. DERRENBACHER, JR., *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, 2005. xxviii-290 p. 80 €
187. P. VAN HECKE (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible*, 2005. x-308 p. 65 €
188. L. BOEVE, Y. DEMAESENEER & S. VAN DEN BOSSCHE (eds.), *Religious Experience and Contemporary Theological Epistemology*, 2005. x-335 p. 50 €
189. J.M. ROBINSON, *The Sayings Gospel Q. Collected Essays*, 2005. xviii-888 p. 90 €
190. C.W. STRÜDER, *Paulus und die Gesinnung Christi. Identität und Entscheidungsfindung aus der Mitte von 1Kor 1-4*, 2005. lii-522 p. 80 €
191. C. FOCANT & A. WÉNIN (eds.), *Analyse narrative et Bible. Deuxième colloque international du RRENAB, Louvain-la-Neuve, avril 2004*, 2005. xvi-593 p. 75 €
192. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ & M. VERVENNE (eds.), in collaboration with B. DOYLE, *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, 2005. xvi-464 p. 70 €
193. F. MIES, *L'espérance de Job*, 2006. xxiv-653 p. 87 €

194. C. FOCANT, *Marc, un évangile étonnant*, 2006. xv-402 p. 60 €
195. M.A. KNIBB (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism*, 2006. xxxi-560 p. 60 €
196. M. SIMON, *La célébration du mystère chrétien dans le catéchisme de Jean-Paul II*, 2006. xiv-638 p. 85 €
197. A.Y. THOMASSET, *L'ecclésiologie de J.H. Newman Anglican*, 2006. xxx-748 p. 80 €
198. M. LAMBERIGTS – A.A. DEN HOLLANDER (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450-1800*, 2006. xi-360 p. 79 €
199. J.Z. SKIRA – M.S. ATTRIDGE, *In God's Hands. Essays on the Church and Ecumenism in Honour of Michael A. Fahey S.J.*, 2006. xxx-314 p. 90 €
200. G. VAN BELLE (ed.), *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, 2007. xxxi-1003 p. 70 €
201. D. POLLEFEYT (ed.), *Interreligious Learning*, 2007. xxv-340 p. 80 €
202. M. LAMBERIGTS – L. BOEVE – T. MERRIGAN, in collaboration with D. CLAES (eds.), *Theology and the Quest for Truth: Historical- and Systematic-Theological Studies*, 2007. x-305 p. 55 €
203. T. RÖMER – K. SCHMID (eds.), *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque*, 2007. x-276 p. 65 €
204. J.-M. VAN CANGH, *Les sources judaïques du Nouveau Testament*, 2008. xiv-718 p. 84 €
205. B. DEHANDSCHUTTER, *Polycarpiana: Studies on Martyrdom and Persecution in Early Christianity. Collected Essays*. Edited by J. LEEMANS, 2007. xvi-286 p. 74 €
206. É. GAZIAUX, *Philosophie et Théologie. Festschrift Emilio Brito*, 2007. lviii-588 p. 84 €
207. G.J. BROOKE – T. RÖMER (eds.), *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography. L'historiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne*, 2007. xxxviii-372 p. 75 €
208. J. VERSTRAETEN, *Scrutinizing the Signs of the Times in the Light of the Gospel*, 2007. x-334 p. 74 €
209. H. GEYBELS, *Cognitio Dei experimentalis. A Theological Genealogy of Christian Religious Experience*, 2007. lii-457 p. 80 €
210. A.A. DEN HOLLANDER, *Virtuelle Vergangenheit: Die Textrekonstruktion einer verlorenen mittelniederländischen Evangelienharmonie. Die Handschrift Utrecht Universitätsbibliothek 1009*, 2007. xii-168 p. 58 €
211. R. GRYSOON, *Scientiam Salutis: Quarante années de recherches sur l'Antiquité Chrétienne. Recueil d'essais*, 2008. xlvi-879 p. 88 €
212. T. VAN DEN DRIESCHE, *L'altérité, fondement de la personne humaine dans l'œuvre d'Edith Stein*, 2008. xxii-626 p. 85 €
213. H. AUSLOOS – J. COOK – F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – B. LEMMELIN – M. VERVENNE (eds.), *Translating a Translation: The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, 2008. x-317 p. 80 €
214. A.C. OSUII, *Where is the Truth? Narrative Exegesis and the Question of True and False Prophecy in Jer 26–29 (MT)*, 2010. xx-465 p. 76 €
215. T. RÖMER, *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*, 2008. xxvii-742 p. 85 €
216. D. DONNELLY – J. FAMERÉE – M. LAMBERIGTS – K. SCHELKENS (eds.), *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council: International Research Conference at Mechelen, Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve (September 12-16, 2005)*, 2008. xii-716 p. 85 €

217. J. DE TAVERNIER – J.A. SELLING – J. VERSTRAETEN – P. SCHOTSMANS (eds.), *Responsibility, God and Society. Theological Ethics in Dialogue. Festschrift Roger Burggraeve*, 2008. XLVI-413 p. 75 €
218. G. VAN BELLE – J.G. VAN DER WATT – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *Miracles and Imagery in Luke and John. Festschrift Ulrich Busse*, 2008. XVIII-287 p. 78 €
219. L. BOEVE – M. LAMBERIGTS – M. WISSE (eds.), *Augustine and Postmodern Thought: A New Alliance against Modernity?*, 2009. XVIII-277 p. 80 €
220. T. VICTORIA, *Un livre de feu dans un siècle de fer: Les lectures de l'Apocalypse dans la littérature française de la Renaissance*, 2009. XXX-609 p. 85 €
221. A.A. DEN HOLLANDER – W. FRANÇOIS (eds.), *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, 2009. XVIII-488 p. 80 €
222. F.D. VANSINA, *Paul Ricœur. Bibliographie primaire et secondaire. Primary and Secondary Bibliography 1935-2008*, Compiled and updated in collaboration with P. VANDECASTEELE, 2008. XXX-621 p. 80 €
223. G. VAN BELLE – M. LABAHN – P. MARITZ (eds.), *Repetitions and Variations in the Fourth Gospel: Style, Text, Interpretation*, 2009. XII-712 p. 85 €
224. H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN – M. VERVENNE (eds.), *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, 2008. XVI-564 p. 80 €
225. E. BRITO, *Philosophie moderne et christianisme*, 2010. 2 vol., VIII-1514 p. 130 €
226. U. SCHNELLE (ed.), *The Letter to the Romans*, 2009. XVIII-894 p. 85 €
227. M. LAMBERIGTS – L. BOEVE – T. MERRIGAN in collaboration with D. CLAES – M. WISSE (eds.), *Orthodoxy, Process and Product*, 2009. X-416 p. 74 €
228. G. HEIDL – R. SOMOS (eds.), *Origeniana Nona: Origen and the Religious Practice of His Time*, 2009. XIV-752 p. 95 €
229. D. MARGUERAT (ed.), *Reception of Paulinism in Acts – Réception du paulinisme dans les Actes des Apôtres*, 2009. VIII-340 p. 74 €
230. A. DILLEN – D. POLLEFEYT (eds.), *Children's Voices: Children's Perspectives in Ethics, Theology and Religious Education*, 2010. X-450 p. 72 €
231. P. VAN HECKE – A. LABAHN (eds.), *Metaphors in the Psalms*, 2010. XXXIV-363 p. 76 €
232. G. AULD – E. EYNIKEL (eds.), *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel*, 2010. X-397 p. 76 €
233. C. VIALLE, *Une analyse comparée d'Esther TM et LXX: Regard sur deux récits d'une même histoire*, 2010. LVIII-406 p. 76 €
234. T. MERRIGAN – F. GLORIEUX (eds.), *"Godhead Here in Hiding": Incarnation and the History of Human Suffering*, 2012. X-327 p. 76 €
235. M. SIMON, *La vie dans le Christ dans le catéchisme de Jean-Paul II*, 2010. XX-651 p. 84 €
236. G. DE SCHRIJVER, *The Political Ethics of Jean-François Lyotard and Jacques Derrida*, 2010. XXX-422 p. 80 €
237. A. PASQUIER – D. MARGUERAT – A. WÉNIN (eds.), *L'intrigue dans le récit biblique. Quatrième colloque international du RRENAB, Université Laval, Québec, 29 mai – 1^{er} juin 2008*, 2010. XXX-479 p. 68 €
238. E. ZENGER (ed.), *The Composition of the Book of Psalms*, 2010. XII-826 p. 90 €

239. P. FOSTER – A. GREGORY – J.S. KLOPPENBORG – J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008*, 2011. XXIV-828 p. 85 €
240. J. VERHEYDEN – T.L. HETTEMA – P. VANDECASTEELE (eds.), *Paul Ricœur: Poetics and Religion*, 2011. XX-534 p. 79 €
241. J. LEEMANS (ed.), *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Ancient Christianity. Festschrift Boudewijn Dehandschutter*, 2010. XXXIV-430 p. 78 €
242. C. CLIVAZ – J. ZUMSTEIN (eds.), *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context – Lire les papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte*, 2011. XIV-446 p. 80 €
243. D. SENIOR (ed.), *The Gospel of Matthew at the Crossroads of Early Christianity*, 2011. XXVIII-781 p. 88 €
244. H. PIETRAS – S. KACZMAREK (eds.), *Origeniana Decima: Origen as Writer*, 2011. XVIII-1039 p. 105 €
245. M. SIMON, *La prière chrétienne dans le catéchisme de Jean-Paul II*, 2012. XVI-290 p. 70 €
246. H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN – J. TREBOLLE-BARRERA (eds.), *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts – The Historical Books*, 2012. XIV-319 p. 84 €
247. G. VAN OYEN – A. WÉNIN (eds.), *La surprise dans la Bible. Festschrift Camille Focant*, 2012. XLII-474 p. 80 €
248. C. CLIVAZ – C. COMBET-GALLAND – J.-D. MACCHI – C. NIHAN (eds.), *Écritures et réécritures: la reprise interprétative des traditions fondatrices par la littérature biblique et extra-biblique. Cinquième colloque international du RRENAB, Universités de Genève et Lausanne, 10-12 juin 2010*, 2012. XXIV-648 p. 90 €
249. G. VAN OYEN – T. SHEPHERD (eds.), *Resurrection of the Dead: Biblical Traditions in Dialogue*, 2012. XVI-632 p. 85 €
250. E. NOORT (ed.), *The Book of Joshua*, 2012. XIV-698 p. 90 €
251. R. FAESIN – L. KENIS (eds.), *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540-1773). Proceedings of the International Congress at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven (3-5 December 2009)*, 2012. X-295 p. 65 €
252. A. DAMM, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem: Clarifying Markan Priority*, 2013. XXXVIII-396 p. 85 €
253. A. DENAUX – P. DE MEY (eds.), *The Ecumenical Legacy of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands (1909-2006)*, 2012. XIV-376 p. 79 €
254. T. KNIIPS-PORT LE ROI – G. MANNION – P. DE MEY (eds.), *The Household of God and Local Households: Revisiting the Domestic Church*, 2013. XI-407 p. 82 €
255. L. KENIS – E. VAN DER WALL (eds.), *Religious Modernism of the Low Countries*, 2013. X-271 p. 75 €
256. P. IDE, *Une Théologie du Don: Le Don dans la Trilogie de Hans Urs von Balthasar*, 2013. XXX-759 p. 98 €
257. W. FRANÇOIS – A. DEN HOLLANDER (eds.), *“Wading Lambs and Swimming Elephants”: The Bible for the Laity and Theologians in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Era*, 2012. XVI-406 p. 84 €
258. A. LIÉGOIS – R. BURGGRAEVE – M. RIEMSLAGH – J. CORVELEYN (eds.), *“After You!”: Dialogical Ethics and the Pastoral Counselling Process*, 2013. XXII-279 p. 79 €

259. C. KALONJI NKOKESHA, *Penser la tradition avec Walter Kasper: Pertinence d'une catholicité historiquement et culturellement ouverte*, 2013. xxiv-320 p. 79 €
260. J. SCHRÖTER (ed.), *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology*, 2013. xii-804 p. 90 €
261. P. DE MEY – P. DE WITTE – G. MANNION (eds.), *Believing in Community: Ecumenical Reflections on the Church*, 2013. xiv-608 p. 90 €
262. F. DEPOORTERE – J. HAERS (eds.), *To Discern Creation in a Scattering World*, 2013. xii-597 p. 90 €
263. L. BOEVE – T. MERRIGAN, in collaboration with C. DICKINSON (eds.), *Tradition and the Normativity of History*, 2013. x-215 p. 55 €
264. M. GILBERT, *Ben Sira. Recueil d'études – Collected Essays*, 2014. xiv-402 p. 87 €
265. J. VERHEYDEN – G. VAN OYEN – M. LABAHN – R. BIERINGER (eds.), *Studies in the Gospel of John and Its Christology. Festschrift Gilbert Van Belle*, 2014. xxxvi-656 p. 94 €
266. W. DE PRIL, *Theological Renewal and the Resurgence of Integrism: The René Draguet Case (1942) in Its Context*, 2016. xliv-333 p. 85 €
267. L.O. JIMÉNEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, *The Articulation between Natural Sciences and Systematic Theology: A Philosophical Mediation Based on Contributions of Jean Ladrière and Xavier Zubiri*, 2015. xxiv-541 p. 94 €
268. E. BIRNBAUM – L. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER (eds.), *Hieronymus als Exeget und Theologe: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Koheletkommentar des Hieronymus*, 2014. xviii-333 p. 80 €
269. H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN (eds.), *A Pillar of Cloud to Guide: Text-critical, Redactional, and Linguistic Perspectives on the Old Testament in Honour of Marc Vervenne*, 2014. xxviii-636 p. 90 €
270. E. TIGCHELAAR (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, 2014. xxvi-526 p. 95 €
271. E. BRITO, *Sur l'homme: Une traversée de la question anthropologique*, 2015. xvi-2045 p. (2 vol.) 215 €
272. P. WATINE CHRISTORY, *Dialogue et Communion: L'itinéraire œcuménique de Jean-Marie R. Tillard*, 2015. xxiv-773 p. 98 €
273. R. BURNET – D. LUCIANI – G. VAN OYEN (eds.), *Le lecteur: Sixième Colloque International du RRENAB, Université Catholique de Louvain, 24-26 mai 2012*, 2015. xiv-530 p. 85 €
274. G.B. BAZZANA, *Kingdom of Bureaucracy: The Political Theology of Village Scribes in the Sayings Gospel Q*, 2015. xii-383 p. 85 €
275. J.-P. GALLEZ, *La théologie comme science herméneutique de la tradition de foi: Une lecture de «Dieu qui vient à l'homme» de Joseph Moingt*, 2015. xix-476 p. 94 €
276. J. VERMEYLEN, *Métamorphoses: Les rédactions successives du livre de Job*, 2015. xvi-410 p. 84 €
277. C. BREYTENBACH (ed.), *Paul's Graeco-Roman Context*, 2015. xxii-751 p. 94 €
278. J. GELDHOF (ed.), *Mediating Mysteries, Understanding Liturgies: On Bridging the Gap between Liturgy and Systematic Theology*, 2015. x-256 p. 78 €
279. A.-C. JACOBSEN (ed.), *Origeniana Undecima: Origen and Origenism in the History of Western Thought*, 2016. xvi-978 p. 125 €

280. F. WILK – P. GEMEINHARDT (eds.), *Transmission and Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah in the Context of Intra- and Interreligious Debates*, 2016. XII-490 p. 95 €
281. J.-M. SEVRIN, *Le quatrième évangile. Recueil d'études*. Édité par G. VAN BELLE, 2016. XIV-281 p. 86 €
282. L. BOEVE – M. LAMBERIGTS – T. MERRIGAN (eds.), *The Normativity of History: Theological Truth and Tradition in the Tension between Church History and Systematic Theology*, 2016. XII-273 p. 78 €
283. R. BIERINGER – B. BAERT – K. DEMASURE (eds.), *Noli me tangere in Interdisciplinary Perspective: Textual, Iconographic and Contemporary Interpretations*, 2016. XXII-508 p. 89 €
284. W. DIETRICH (ed.), *The Books of Samuel: Stories – History – Reception History*, 2016. XXIV-650 p. 96 €
285. W.E. ARNAL – R.S. ASCOUGH – R.A. DERRENBACHER, JR. – P.A. HARLAND (eds.), *Scribal Practices and Social Structures among Jesus Adherents: Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, 2016. XXIV-630 p. 115 €
286. C.E. WOLFTEICH – A. DILLEN (eds.), *Catholic Approaches in Practical Theology: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, 2016. X-290 p. 85 €
287. W. FRANÇOIS – A.A. DEN HOLLANDER (eds.), *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era*, 2017. VIII-305 p. 94 €
288. P. RODRIGUES, *C'est ta face que je cherche ... La rationalité de la théologie selon Jean Ladrière*, 2017. XIV-453 p. 92 €
289. J. FAMERÉE, *Ecclésiologie et œcuménisme. Recueil d'études*, 2017. XVIII-668 p. 94 €
290. P. COOPER – S. KIKUCHI (eds.), *Commitments to Medieval Mysticism within Contemporary Contexts*, 2017. XVI-382 p. 79 €
291. A. YARBRO COLLINS (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Book of Revelation*, 2017. X-644 p. 98 €
292. J. FAMERÉE – P. RODRIGUES (eds.), *The Genesis of Concepts and the Confrontation of Rationalities*, 2018. XIV-245 p. 78 €
293. E. DI PEDE – O. FLICHY – D. LUCIANI (eds.), *Le Récit: Thèmes bibliques et variations*, 2018. XIV-412 p. 95 €
294. J. ARBLASTER – R. FAESEN (eds.), *Theosis/Deification: Christian Doctrines of Divinization East and West*, 2018. VII-262 p. 84 €
295. H.-J. FABRY (ed.), *The Books of the Twelve Prophets: Minor Prophets – Major Theologies*, 2018. XXIV-557 p. 105 €
296. H. AUSLOOS – D. LUCIANI (eds.), *Temporalité et intrigue. Hommage à André Wénin*, 2018. XL-362 p. 95 €
297. A.C. MAYER (ed.), *The Letter and the Spirit: On the Forgotten Documents of Vatican II*, 2018. X-296 p. 85 €
298. A. BEGASSE DE DHAEM – E. GALLI – M. MALAGUTI – C. SALTO SOLÁ (eds.), *Deus summe cognoscibilis: The Current Theological Relevance of Saint Bonaventure International Congress, Rome, November 15-17, 2017*, 2018. XII-716 p. 85 €
299. M. LAMBERIGTS – W. DE PRIL (eds.), *Louvain, Belgium and Beyond: Studies in Religious History in Honour of Leo Kenis*, 2018. XVIII-517 p. 95 €
300. E. BRITO, *De Dieu. Connaissance et inconnnaissance*, 2018. LVIII-634 + 635-1255 p. 155 €

301. G. VAN OYEN (ed.), *Reading the Gospel of Mark in the Twenty-first Century: Method and Meaning*, 2019. xxiv-933 p. 105 €
302. B. BITTON-ASHKELONY – O. IRSHAI – A. KOFSKY – H. NEWMAN – L. PERRONE (eds.), *Origeniana Duodecima: Origen's Legacy in the Holy Land – A Tale of Three Cities: Jerusalem, Caesarea and Bethlehem*, 2019. xiv-893 p. 125 €
303. D. BOSSCHAERT, *The Anthropological Turn, Christian Humanism, and Vatican II: Louvain Theologians Preparing the Path for Gaudium et Spes (1942-1965)*, 2019. lxxviii-432 p. 89 €
304. I. KOCH – T. RÖMER – O. SERGI (eds.), *Writing, Rewriting, and Overwriting in the Books of Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets. Essays in Honour of Cynthia Edenburg*, 2019. xvi-401 p. 85 €
305. W.A.M. BEUKEN, *From Servant of YHWH to Being Considerate of the Wretched: The Figure David in the Reading Perspective of Psalms 35–41 MT*, 2020. xiv-173 p. 69 €
306. P. DE MEY – W. FRANÇOIS (eds.), *Ecclesia semper reformanda: Renewal and Reform beyond Polemics*, 2020. x-477 p. 94 €
307. D. HÉTIER, *Éléments d'une théologie fondamentale de la création artistique: Les écrits théologiques sur l'art chez Karl Rahner (1954-1983)*, 2020. xxiv-492 p. 94 €
308. P.-M. BOGAERT, *Le livre de Jérémie en perspective: Les deux rédactions conservées et l'addition du supplément sous le nom de Baruch*. Recueil de ses travaux réunis par J.-C. HAELEWYCK – B. KINDT, 2020. lviii-536 p. 95 €
309. D. VERDE – A. LABAHN (eds.), *Networks of Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible*, 2020. x-395 p. 85 €
310. P. VAN HECKE (ed.), *The Song of Songs in Its Context: Words for Love, Love for Words*, 2020. xxxiv-643 p. 95 €
311. A. WÉNIN (ed.), *La contribution du discours à la caractérisation des person-nages bibliques. Neuvième colloque international du RRENAB, Louvain-la-Neuve, 31 mai – 2 juin 2018*, 2020. xx-424 p. 95 €
312. J. VERHEYDEN – D.A.T. MÜLLER (eds.), *Imagining Paganism through the Ages: Studies on the Use of the Labels "Pagan" and "Paganism" in Controversies*, 2020. xiv-343 p. 95 €
313. E. BRITO, *Accès au Christ*, 2020. xvi-1164 p. 165 €
314. B. BOURGINE (ed.), *Le souci de toutes les Églises: Hommage à Joseph Famerée*, 2020. xliv-399 p. 93 €
315. C.C. APINTILIESEI, *La structure ontologique-communionnelle de la personne: Aux sources théologiques et philosophiques du père Dumitru Staniloae*, 2020. xxii-441 p. 90 €
316. A. DUPONT – W. FRANÇOIS – J. LEEMANS (eds.), *Nos sumus tempora: Studies on Augustine and His Reception Offered to Mathijs Lamberigts*, 2020. xx-577 p. 98 €
317. D. BOSSCHAERT – J. LEEMANS (eds.), *Res opportuna nostrae aetatis: Studies on the Second Vatican Council Offered to Mathijs Lamberigts*, 2020. xii-578 p. 98 €
318. B. OIRY, *Le Temps qui compte: Construction et qualification du temps de l'histoire dans le récit de 1 S 1 – 1 R 2* forthcoming

